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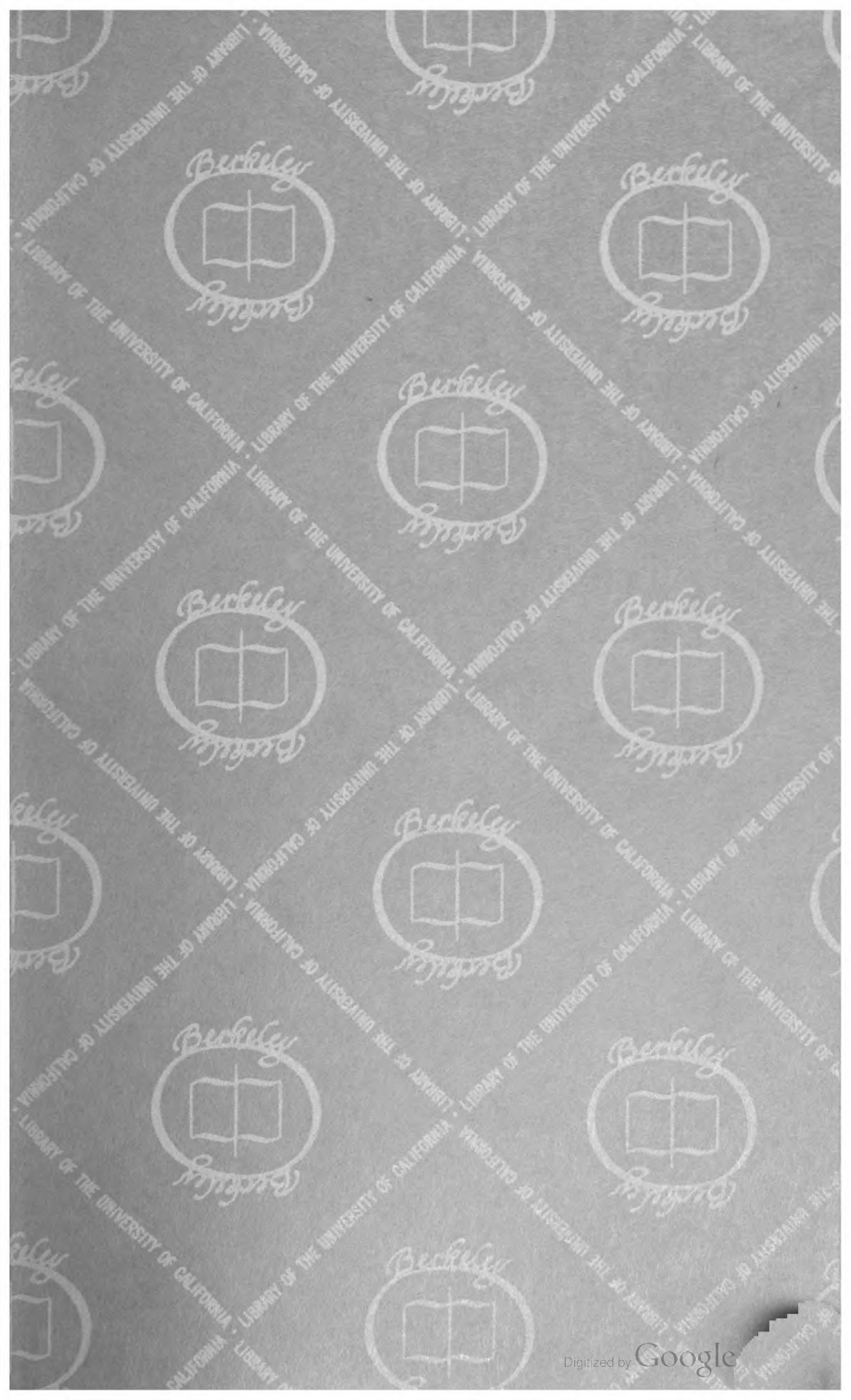
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THE
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TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XXIII



Oxford

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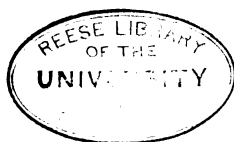
THE ZEND-AVESTA

PART II

THE SÎRÔZAHS, YASTS, AND NYÂVIS

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES DARMESTETER



Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1883

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REESE

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INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume contains a translation of the *Sîrôzahs* and *Yasts*, and of the *Nyâyis*. This part of the *Avesta* treats chiefly of the mythical and legendary lore of Zoroastrianism.

For a satisfactory translation of these texts, the etymological and comparative method is generally considered as the best or as the only possible one, on account of the entire absence of any traditional interpretation. I have tried, however, to reduce the sphere of etymological guesswork to its narrowest limits, with the help of different Pahlavi, Persian, and Sanskrit translations, which are as yet unpublished, and have been neglected by former translators. I found such translations for the *Sîrôzahs*, for *Yasts* I, VI, VII, XI, XXIII, XXIV, and for the *Nyâyis*¹ (besides the already published translations of *Yasts* XXI and XXII).

Of the remaining *Yasts*, which are mostly of an epical character, there is no direct translation available; but a close comparison of the legends in Firdausi's *Shâh Nâmah* seems to throw some light, even as regards philological points, on not a few obscure and important passages. This has enabled me, I believe, to restore a few myths to their original form, and to frame a more correct idea of others².

In this volume, as in the preceding one, I have to thank Mr. West for his kind assistance in making my translation more readable, as well as for valuable hints in the interpretation of several passages.

JAMES DARMESTER.

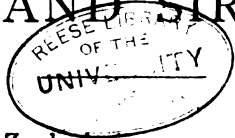
PARIS,
13 December, 1882.

¹ These translations have been edited in our *Études Iraniennes*, II, 253 seq. (Paris, Vieweg, 1883).

² See *ibidem*, II, 206 seq.

YASTS AND SÎRÔZAHS.

YASTS AND SÎRÔZAHs.



THE word *yast*, in Zend *yēsti*, means properly 'the act of worshipping,' the performance of the *yasna*; and it is often used in Parsi tradition as synonymous with *yasna*. But it has also been particularly applied to a certain number of writings in which the several Izedes are praised and magnified. These writings are generally of a higher poetical and epical character than the rest of the Avesta, and are most valuable records of the old mythology and historical legends of Iran.

The Parsis believe that formerly every Amshaspand and every Ized had his particular *Yast*, but we now possess only twenty *Yasts* and fragments of another¹. The writings known as *Yast* fragments, the *Âfrîn Zartust*, and *Vîstâsp Yast* (printed as *Yasts* XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV in Westergaard's edition), are not proper *Yasts*, and have no liturgical character; they are not devoted to the praise of any Ized.

The order in which the *Yasts* have been arranged by the Parsis follows exactly the order of the *Sîrôzah*, which is the proper introduction to the *Yasts*.

SÎRÔZAH.

Sîrôzah means 'thirty days:' it is the name of a prayer composed of thirty invocations addressed to the several Izedes who preside over the thirty days of the month.

There are two *Sîrôzahs*, but the only difference between them is that the formulas in the former are shorter², and there is also, occasionally, some difference in the epithets, which are fuller in the latter.

¹ The *Bahman Yast* (see *Yt.* I, §§ 24 and following).

² In the greater *Sîrôzah* the names of the gods invoked are introduced with the word *yazamaidê*, 'we sacrifice to;,' in the lesser *Sîrôzah* there is no introductory word, the word *khshnao-thra*, 'propitiation,' being understood, as can be seen from the introductory formulas to the several *Yasts*.

In India the Sîrôzah is recited in honour of the dead, on the thirtieth day after the death, on the thirtieth day of the sixth month, on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month, and then every year on the thirtieth day from the anniversary day (Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta*, II, 315).

The correspondence between the formulas of the Sîrôzah and the Yasts is as follows :

1. Ormazd.	Ormazd Yast (I, 1-23).
2. Bahman.	Bahman Yast (I, 24-33).
3. Ardibehest.	Ardibehest Yast (III).
4. Shahrêvar.	
5. Sapendârmad.	
6. Khordâd.	Khordâd Yast (IV).
7. Murdâd.	
8. Dai pa Âdar.	
9. Âdar.	
10. Âbân.	Âbân Yast (V).
11. Khorshêd.	Khorshêd Yast (VI).
12. Mâh.	Mâh Yast (VII).
13. Tîr.	Tîr Yast (VIII).
14. Gôš.	Gôš Yast (IX).
15. Dai pa Mihir.	
16. Mihir.	Mihir Yast (X).
17. Srôsh.	Srôsh Yast (XI).
18. Rashn.	Rashn Yast (XII).
19. Farvardîn.	Farvardîn Yast (XIII).
20. Bahrâm.	Bahrâm Yast (XIV).
21. Râm.	Râm Yast (XV).
22. Bâd.	
23. Dai pa Dîn.	
24. Dîn.	Dîn Yast (XVI).
25. Ard.	Ashi Yast (XVII).
26. Âstâd.	Âstâd Yast (XVIII).
27. Âsmân.	
28. Zemyâd.	Zemyâd Yast (XIX).
29. Mahraspand.	
30. Anêrân.	

The Yasts that have been lost are, therefore, those of Khshathra-vairya, Spenta-Ârmaiti, Ameretâ, Âtar, Vâta, Asman, Mâthra-Spenta, and Anaghra raokau. The second Yast, or Yast of the seven Amshaspands, appears to have been no independent Yast : it was common to all the seven Yasts devoted to the several

Amshaspands, and, accordingly, it is recited on the first seven days of the month. One might suppose that it was originally a part of the Ormazd Yast, as the Amesha-Spentas are invoked in company with Ahura Mazda (Sîrôzah I, 8, 15, 23). There may, indeed, have been several Yasts for one and the same formula of the Sîrôzah, as in all of these formulas more than one Ized are invoked: this would apply not only to the Yast of the seven Amshaspands, but also to the *Vanant* Yast (Yast XX), which, in that case, ought to follow the Tîr Yast (see Sîrôzah 13).

Not every Yast, however, is devoted to the Ized whose name it bears: thus the Ardibehest Yast is mostly devoted to Airyaman; the Râm-Yast and the Zemyâd-Yast are devoted to Vayu and to the *Hvarenô*: but Airyaman, Vayu, and the *Hvarenô* are invoked in the same Sîrôzah formulas as Ardibehest, Râm, and Zemyâd, and a Yast is named from the opening name in the correspondent Sîrôzah formula.

The systematic order so apparent in the Sîrôzah pervades the rest of the liturgy to a great extent: the enumeration of Izeds in Yasna XVII, 12-42 (XVI, 3-6) follows exactly the order of the Sîrôzah, except that it gives only the first name of each formula; and the question may be raised whether this passage in the Yasna is taken from the Sîrôzah, or whether the Sîrôzah is developed from the Yasna.

The very idea of the Sîrôzah, that is to say the attribution of each of the thirty days of the month to certain gods, seems to have been borrowed from the Semites: the tablets found in the library of Assurbanipal contain an Assyrian Sîrôzah, that is, a complete list of the Assyrian gods that preside over the thirty days of the month¹.

SÎRÔZAH I.

I. Ormazd.

To Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious², and to the Amesha-Speñtas³.

¹ J. Halévy, *Revue des Études Juives*, 1881, October, p. 188.

² See Yt. I, 1-23.

³ See Yt. II.

2. Bahman.

To Vohu-Manô¹; to Peace², whose breath is friendly³, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures⁴; to the heavenly Wisdom⁵, made by Mazda; and to the Wisdom acquired through the ear⁶, made by Mazda.

3. Ardibehest.

To Asha-Vahista, the fairest⁶; to the much-desired Airyaman, made by Mazda⁷; to the instrument made by Mazda⁸; and to the good Saoka⁹, with eyes of love¹⁰, made by Mazda and holy.

¹ See Yt. I, 24-33.

² Âkhsti does not so much mean Peace as the power that secures peace; see note 4.

³ Hām-vaiṇti, from hām-vâ (Yt. X, 141); possibly from van, to strike: 'Peace that smites.'

⁴ Taradhâtem anyâis dâmân, interpreted: tarvînitârtûm min zakî ân dâmân pun anâshtîh akâr kartan (Phl. Comm.), 'more destroying than other creatures, to make Non-peace (Anâ-khsti) powerless.'

⁵ Âsnya khratu, the inborn intellect, intuition, contrasted with gaoshô-srûta khratu, the knowledge acquired by hearing and learning. There is between the two nearly the same relation as between the parâvidyâ and aparâvidyâ in Brahmanism, the former reaching Brahma in se (parabrahma), the latter sabda-brahma, the word-Brahma (Brahma as taught and revealed). The Mobeds of later times interpreted their name Magûs, مغوش, as meaning, 'men without ears,' ماگوش, 'pour insinuer que leur Docteur avait puisé toute sa science dans le ciel et qu'il ne l'avait pas apprise par l'ouïe comme les autres hommes' (Chardin, III, 130; ed. Amsterdam).

⁶ See Yt. III.

⁷ See Vend. XXII.

⁸ The 'golden instrument' mentioned in Nyâis I, 8.

⁹ A personification of the Ormazdean weal; cf. Vend. XXII, 3 [8], and Yt. XIII, 42.

¹⁰ Vouru-dôithra, kâmak dôisr; she is 'the genius of the good

4. Shahrêvar.

To Khshathra-vairya; to the metals¹; to Mercy and Charity.

5. Sapendârmad.

To the good Spenta-Ârmaiti², and to the good Râta³, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

6. Khordâd.

To Haurvatât⁴, the master; to the prosperity of the seasons and to the years, the masters of holiness.

7. Murdâd.

To Ameretât⁵, the master; to fatness and flocks; to the plenty of corn; and to the powerful Gaoke-rena⁶, made by Mazda.

(At the gâh⁷ Hâvan): to Mithra⁸, the lord of wide pastures and to Râma Hvâstra⁹.

(At the gâh Rapithwin): to Asha-Vahista and to Âtar¹⁰, the son of Ahura Mazda¹¹.

eye, mînôî hušasmîh' (Vend. XIX, 36 [123]), the reverse of the evil eye (Yasna LXVII, 62 [LXVIII, 22]; cf. Études Iraniennes, II, 182).

¹ Vend. Introd. IV, 33; Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 202-206.

² Ibid.

³ Vend. Introd. IV, 30.

⁴ See Yt. IV.

⁵ See Vend. Introd. IV, 34.

⁶ The white Hôrn, or plant of immortality; see Vend. Introd. IV, 28.

⁷ See Gâhs.

⁸ See Yt. X.

⁹ See Yt. XV. Cf. Yasna I, 3 (7-9), where Mithra and Râma are invoked in company with the genius of the Hâvani period of the day.

¹⁰ The Genius of Fire.

¹¹ Cf. Yasna I, 4 (10-12), where Asha-Vahista and Âtar are invoked in company with the genius of the Rapithwin period of the day.

(At the gâh Uzîren): to Apâm Napât¹, the tall lord, and to the water made by Mazda².

(At the gâh Aiwiŕrûthrem): to the Fravashis³ of the faithful, and to the females that bring forth flocks of males⁴; to the prosperity of the seasons; to the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength, to Verethraghna⁵, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant⁶.

(At the gâh Ushahin): to the holy, devout, fiend-smiting Sraosha⁷, who makes the world grow; to Rashnu Razista⁸, and to Arstât⁹, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase¹⁰.

8. Dai pa Âdar¹¹.

To the Maker Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and to the Amesha-Spêntas.

¹ Literally 'the Son of the Waters;' he was originally the Fire of lightning, as born in the clouds (like the Vedic Apâm napât); he still appears in that character, Yt. VIII, 34; he is for that reason 'the lord of the females' because the waters were considered as females. (cf. Yasna XXXVIII, 1 [2]). But, as napât means also 'navel' (the same words having often the two meanings of 'navel' and 'offspring;' cf. nâbhi in the Vedas and the Zend nâfyô, 'offspring,' from nâfa 'navel'), Apâm Napât was interpreted as 'the spring of the waters, the navel of the waters,' which was supposed to be at the source of the Arvand (the Tigris; Neriosengh ad Yasna I, 5 [15]); cf. Yt. V, 72.

² Cf. Yasna I, 5 [13-15].

³ See Yt. XIII.

⁴ Perhaps better: 'to the flocks of Fravashis of the faithful, men and women.'

⁵ The Genius of Victory; see Yt. XIV.

⁶ Cf. Yasna I, 6 [16-19].

⁷ See Yt. XI and Vend. Introd. IV, 31; Farg. XVIII, 14 seq.

⁸ The Genius of Truth; see Yt. XII.

⁹ Truth; see Yt. XVIII.

¹⁰ Cf. Yasna I, 7 [20-23].

¹¹ The day before Âdar (Dai is the Persian دی, 'yesterday,' which is the same word as the Sanskrit hyas, Latin heri). The eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-third days of the month are under the

9. Âdar.

To Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; to the Glory and to the Weal, made by Mazda ; to the Glory of the Aryas¹, made by Mazda ; to the awful Glory of the Kavis², made by Mazda.

To Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; to king Husravah³ ; to the lake of Husravah⁴ ; to Mount Âsnavan⁵, made by Mazda ; to Lake Kaêkasta⁶, made by Mazda ; to the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda⁷.

rule of Ahura and the Amesha-Spentas, like the first day ; they have therefore no name of their own and are named from the day that follows. The month was divided into four weeks, the first two numbering seven days, the last two numbering eight.

¹ Or better 'the Glories of the Aryas' (Eramdesarîzâm): the Glory or *Hvarenô* (Vend. Introd. IV, 11, p. lxiii, note 1) is threefold, according as it illuminates the priest, the warrior, or the husbandman. Yast XIX is devoted to the praise of the *Hvarenô*.

² Or 'the awful kingly glory:' Kavi means a king, but it is particularly used of the kings belonging to the second and most celebrated of the two mythical dynasties of Iran. The Kavis succeeded the Paradhâta or Pêshdâdians, and Darius Codomanes was supposed to be the last of them. For an enumeration of the principal Kavis, see Yt. XIII, 132 seq. The *Hvarenô* alluded to in this clause is the *Hvarenô* of the priest ; 'it is the fire known as Âdaraprâ [Âdar Frobâ] ; or better Âdar Farnbag : see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 84 ; its object is the science of the priests ; by its help priests become learned and clever' (Sanskrit transl. to the Âtash Nyâyish).

³ See Yt. V, 41, note.

⁴ See Yt. XIX, 56.

⁵ A mountain in Adarbaigân (Bundahis XII, 26), where king Husravah settled the fire Gushasp.

⁶ See Yt. V, 49.

⁷ The glory of the warriors, the fire known as Âdar Gushasp or Gushnasp ; with its help king Husravah destroyed the idol-temples near Lake Kêkasta, and he settled it on Mount Âsnavan (Bund. XVII, 7).

To Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; to Mount Raêvant¹, made by Mazda; to the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda².

To Âtar, the beneficent, the warrior; the God who is a full source of Glory, the God who is a full source of healing.

To Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, with all Âtars³; to the God Nairyô-Sangha⁴, who dwells in the navel of kings⁵.

10. Âbân.

To the good Waters, made by Mazda; to the holy water-spring Ardvi Anâhita⁶; to all waters made by Mazda; to all plants made by Mazda.

11. Khorshêd.

To the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun⁷.

12. Mâh.

To the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull⁸; to the only-created Bull⁹; to the Bull of many species¹⁰.

¹ A mountain in Khorâsân on which the Burzîn fire is settled (Bund. XII, 18).

² 'The fire known as Âdaraburagâmihira [Âdar Burzîn Mihr]; its object is the science of husbandry.' King Gustâsp established it on Mount Raêvant (Bund. XVII, 8).

³ All sorts of fires. See another classification, Yasna XVII, 11 [63-67] and Bundahis XVII, 1.

⁴ See Vend. XXII, 7.

⁵ The fire Nairyô-sangha, as the messenger of Ahura, burns hereditarily in the bosom of his earthly representative, the king.

⁶ See Yt. V.

⁷ See Yt. VI.

⁸ See Yt. VII and Vend. XXI, 1, text and note.

⁹ Aêvô-dâta gâus; see Vend. I.1. and Bundahis IV.

¹⁰ Pouru-saredha gâus: the couple born of the seed of the

13. Tîr.

To Tistrya¹, the bright and glorious star; to the powerful Satavaêsa², made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward; to the stars, made by Mazda, that have in them the seed of the waters, the seed of the earth, the seed of the plants³; to the star Vanant⁴, made by Mazda; to those stars that are seven in number, the Haptôiringas⁵, made by Mazda, glorious and healing.

14. Gôs.

To the body of the Cow, to the soul of the Cow, to the powerful Drvâspa⁶, made by Mazda and holy.

15. Dai pa Mihir.

To the Maker Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and to the Amesha-Speñtas.

16. Mihir.

To Mithra⁷, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes, a God invoked by his own name; to Râma Hvâstra⁸.

17. Srôsh.

To the holy, strong Sraosha⁹, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly God.

18. Rashn.

To Rashnu Razista⁹; to Arstât¹⁰, who makes the

only-created Bull, and from which arose two hundred and eighty species (Bund. XI, 3).

¹ See Yt. VIII.

² See Yt. VIII, 9.

³ See Yt. XII, 29-31.

⁴ See Yt. VIII, 12.

⁵ See Yt. IX.

⁶ See Yt. X.

⁷ See Yt. XV.

⁸ See Yt. XI.

⁹ See Yt. XII.

¹⁰ See Yt. XVIII.

world grow, who makes the world increase; to the true-spoken speech, that makes the world grow.

19. Farvardîn.

To the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the holy ones¹.

20. Bahrâm.

To the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength; to Verethraghna², made by Ahura; to the crushing Ascendant.

21. Râm.

To Râma *Hvâstra*³; to Vayu³, who works highly⁴ and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures: to that part of thee, O Vayu, that belongs to Spenta-Mainyu⁵; to the sovereign Sky, to the Boundless Time⁶, to the sovereign Time of the long Period⁶.

22. Bâd.

To the bounteous Wind, that blows below, above, before, and behind; to the manly Courage.

23. Dai pa Dîn.

To the Maker, Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious; to the Amesha-Spentas.

24. Dîn.

To the most right *Kîsta*⁷, made by Mazda and holy; to the good Law⁷ of the worshippers of Mazda.

¹ See Yt. XIII.

² See Yt. XIV.

³ See Yt. XV.

⁴ Powerfully.

⁵ See Yt. XV, 1.

⁶ See Vend. Introd. IV, 39 and lxxxii, 1.

⁷ See Yt. XVI.

25. Ard.

To Ashi Vanguhi¹; to the good *Kîsti*²; to the good Erethe³; to the good *Rasâstât*⁴; to the Weal and Glory, made by Mazda; to *Pârendi*⁵, of the light chariot; to the Glory of the Aryas made by Mazda; to the kingly Glory made by Mazda; to that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized⁶, made by Mazda; to the Glory of Zarathustra, made by Mazda.

26. Âstâd.

To *Arstât*⁷, who makes the world grow; to Mount Ushi-darena⁸, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness.

27. Âsmân.

To the high, powerful Heavens; to the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy ones.

28. Zemyâd⁹.

To the bounteous Earth; to these places, to these fields; to Mount Ushi-darena⁸, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness; to all the mountains made by Mazda, that are seats of holy happiness, of full happiness; to the kingly Glory made by Mazda;

¹ See Yt. XVII.

² Religious knowledge, wisdom (*fargânak*; *nirvânagnânam*).

³ Thought (*kittam*).

⁴ Thoughtfulness (*kittasthiti*).

⁵ The keeper of treasures; cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 30.

⁶ *Ahvaretem hvarenô*: 'the *hvarenô* of the priests: that it cannot be forcibly seized means that one must take possession of it through virtue and righteous exertion' (Neriosengh and Pahl. Comm. to Yasna I and IV, 14 [42]).

⁷ See Yt. XVIII.

⁸ See Yt. I, 31, text and note.

⁹ See Yt. XIX.

to that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized¹, made by Mazda.

29. Mahraspand.

To the holy, righteousness-performing Mâthra Spenta²; to the Law opposed to the Daêvas, the Law of Zarathustra; to the long-traditional teaching³; to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda; to the Devotion to the Mâthra Spenta; to the understanding that keeps⁴ the Law of the worshippers of Mazda; to the knowledge of the Mâthra Spenta; to the heavenly Wisdom made by Mazda; to the Wisdom acquired through the ear⁵ and made by Mazda.

30. Anêrân.

To the eternal⁶ and sovereign luminous space⁷; to the bright Garô-nmâna⁸; to the sovereign place of eternal Weal⁹; to the K'invat-bridge¹⁰, made by Mazda; to the tall lord Apâm Napât¹¹ and to the water made by Mazda; to Haoma¹², of holy birth; to the pious and good Blessing; to the awful cursing thought of the wise³; to all the holy Gods of the

¹ See p. 11, note 6.

² The Holy Word.

³ Daregha upayana: the Genius of Teaching (*sixâm adriya-rûpizîm*; Yasna I, 12 [40]).

⁴ In memory.

⁵ See above, § 2.

⁶ Or boundless (*anaghra*; the Parsi *anêrân*).

⁷ Or Infinite Light; see Vend. Introd. p. lxxxii and Bund. I, 2.

⁸ The abode of Ahura Mazda; see Vend. XIX, 32.

⁹ See Vend. XIX, 36, note 1.

¹⁰ See Vend. XIX, 29, note 3.

¹¹ See Sîrôzah II, 7, note.

¹² See Vend. Introd. IV, 28.

¹³ 'The blessing (*âfriti*) is twofold: one by thought, one by words; the blessing by words is the more powerful; the curse

heavenly world and of the material one; to the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the faithful, to the Fravashis of the first men of the law, to the Fravashis of the next-of-kin¹; to every God invoked by his own name².

SÎRÔZAH II.

1. Ormazd.

We sacrifice unto the bright and glorious Ahura Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent.

2. Bahman.

We sacrifice unto Vohu-Manô, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto Peace, whose breath is friendly, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures. We sacrifice unto the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Wisdom acquired through the ear, made by Mazda.

3. Ardibehest.

We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista, the fairest, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the much-desired Airyaman; we sacrifice unto the instrument made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

(upamana) in thought is the more powerful' (Neriosengh ad Yasna I, 15 [44]). Upamana is the same as the Vedic manyu.

¹ See Yt. XIII, o.

² In contradistinction to general invocations.

4. Shahrêvar.

We sacrifice unto Khshathra-Vairya, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the metals; we sacrifice unto Mercy and Charity.

5. Sapendârmad.

We sacrifice unto the good Spenta Ârmaiti; we sacrifice unto the good Râta, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

6. Khordâd.

We sacrifice unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons. We sacrifice unto the years, the holy and masters of holiness.

7. Murdâd.

We sacrifice unto Ameretât, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto fatness and flocks; we sacrifice unto the plenty of corn; we sacrifice unto the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

(At the gâh Hâvan): We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; we sacrifice unto Râma Hvâstra.

(At the gâh Rapithwin): We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista and unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda.

(At the gâh Uzîren): We sacrifice unto Apâm Napât, the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord, the lord of the females; we sacrifice unto the water made by Mazda and holy.

(At the gâh Aiwisrûthrem): We sacrifice unto the good, powerful, beneficent Fravashis of the holy ones; we sacrifice unto the females that bring forth flocks of males; we sacrifice unto the thrift of the

seasons ; we sacrifice unto the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength ; we sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant.

(At the gâh Ushahin) : We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow, the holy and master of holiness ; we sacrifice unto Rashnu Razista ; we sacrifice unto Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

8. Dai pa Âdar.

We sacrifice unto the Maker Ahura Mazda, the bright and glorious ; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent.

9. Âdar.

We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the Glory, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the Weal, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the awful Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; we sacrifice unto king Husravah ; we sacrifice unto the lake of Husravah ; we sacrifice unto Mount Âsnavant, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto Lake Kaêkasta, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the awful Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; we sacrifice unto Mount Raêvant, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the awful Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; we sacrifice unto Âtar, the beneficent, the warrior.

We sacrifice unto that God, who is a full source of glory. We sacrifice unto that God, who is a full source of healing.

We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; we sacrifice unto all Fires ; we sacrifice unto the God, Nairyô-Sangha, who dwells in the navel of kings.

10. Âbân.

We sacrifice unto the good Waters, made by Mazda and holy ; we sacrifice unto the holy water-spring Ardvi Anâhita ; we sacrifice unto all waters, made by Mazda and holy ; we sacrifice unto all plants, made by Mazda and holy.

11. Khorshêd.

We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

12. Mâh.

We sacrifice unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull. We sacrifice unto the Soul and Fravashi of the only-created Bull ; we sacrifice unto the Soul and Fravashi of the Bull of many species.

13. Tîr.

We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star ; we sacrifice unto the powerful Satavaêsa, made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward ; we sacrifice unto all the Stars that have in them the seed of the waters ; we sacrifice unto all the Stars that have in them the seed of the earth ; we sacrifice unto all the Stars that have in them the seeds of the plants ; we sacrifice unto the Star Vanant, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto those stars that are seven in number, the Haptôiringas, made by Mazda, glorious and healing ; in order to oppose the Yâtus and Pairikas.

14. Gôs.

We sacrifice unto the soul of the bounteous Cow ;
we sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by
Mazda and holy.

15. Dai pa Mihir.

We sacrifice unto the Maker Ahura Mazda, the
bright and glorious ; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-
Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent.

16. Mihir.

We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pas-
tures, who has a thousand ears and ten thousand
eyes, a God invoked by his own name ; we sacrifice
unto Râma *Hvâstra*.

17. Srôsh.

We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-
smiting, world-increasing Sraosha, holy and master
of holiness.

18. Rashn.

We sacrifice unto Rashnu Razista ; we sacrifice
unto Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes
the world increase ; we sacrifice unto the true-spoken
speech that makes the world grow.

19. Farvardîn.

We sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent
Fravashis of the holy ones.

20. Bahrâm.

We sacrifice unto the well-shapen, tall-formed
Strength ; we sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by
Ahura ; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant.

21. Râm.

We sacrifice unto Râma *Hvâstra*; we sacrifice unto the holy Vayu; we sacrifice unto Vayu, who works highly and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures. Unto that part of thee do we sacrifice, O Vayu, that belongs to Spenta-Mainyu. We sacrifice unto the sovereign Sky; we sacrifice unto the Boundless Time; we sacrifice unto the sovereign Time of the long Period.

22. Bâd.

We sacrifice unto the beneficent, bounteous Wind; we sacrifice unto the wind that blows below; we sacrifice unto the wind that blows above; we sacrifice unto the wind that blows before; we sacrifice unto the wind that blows behind. We sacrifice unto the manly Courage.

23. Dai pa Dîn.

We sacrifice unto the Maker Ahura Mazda, the bright and glorious; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas.

24. Dîn.

We sacrifice unto the most right *Kîsta*, made by Mazda and holy; we sacrifice unto the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

25. Ard.

We sacrifice unto Ashi Vanguhi, the bright, high, strong, tall-formed, and merciful; we sacrifice unto the Glory made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Weal made by Mazda. We sacrifice unto Pârendi, of the light chariot; we sacrifice unto the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda; we sacrifice

unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto that awful Glory, that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the Glory of Zarathustra, made by Mazda.

26. Âstâd.

We sacrifice unto Arstât, who makes the world grow ; we sacrifice unto Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, a God of holy happiness.

27. Âsmân.

We sacrifice unto the shining Heavens ; we sacrifice unto the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy ones.

28. Zemyâd.

We sacrifice unto the Earth, a beneficent God ; we sacrifice unto these places, unto these fields ; we sacrifice unto Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, a God of holy happiness ; we sacrifice unto all the mountains, that are seats of holy happiness, of full happiness, made by Mazda, the holy and masters of holiness ; we sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the awful Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda.

29. Mahraspand.

We sacrifice unto the Mâthra Spenta, of high glory ; we sacrifice unto the Law opposed to the Daêvas ; we sacrifice unto the Law of Zarathustra ; we sacrifice unto the long-traditional teaching ; we sacrifice unto the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the Devotion to the Mâthra Spenta ; we sacrifice unto the understanding that keeps the Law of the worshippers of Mazda ; we sacrifice unto

the knowledge of the *Māthra Spenta*; we sacrifice unto the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Wisdom acquired through the ear and made by Mazda.

30. *Anêrân.*

We sacrifice unto the eternal and sovereign luminous space; we sacrifice unto the bright *Garô-nmâna*; we sacrifice unto the sovereign place of eternal Weal; we sacrifice unto the *Kinvat*-bridge, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto *Apām Napât*, the swift-horsed, the high and shining lord, who has many wives; and we sacrifice unto the water, made by Mazda and holy; we sacrifice unto the golden and tall *Haoma*; we sacrifice unto the enlivening *Haoma*, who makes the world grow; we sacrifice unto *Haoma*, who keeps death far away; we sacrifice unto the pious and good Blessing; we sacrifice unto the awful, powerful, cursing thought of the wise, a God; we sacrifice unto all the holy Gods of the heavenly world; we sacrifice unto all the holy Gods of the material world.

I praise, I invoke, I meditate upon, and we sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent *Fravashis* of the holy ones¹.

¹ Cf. *Yasna XXVI, 1.*

I. ORMAZD YAST.

The Ormazd Yast, properly so called, ends with § 23. The rest of the Yast, from § 24 to the end, is wanting in several manuscripts, and is supposed by the Parsis to be a fragment of the Bahman Yast.

The Ormazd Yast is exclusively devoted to an enumeration of the names of Ahura and to a laudation of their virtues and efficacy: the recitation of these names is the best defence against all dangers.

§§ 1-6. The names of Ahura Mazda are the most powerful part of the Holy Word.

§§ 7-8. The twenty names of Ahura Mazda are enumerated.

§§ 9-11. Efficacy of these names.

§§ 12-15. Another list of names.

§§ 16-19. Efficacy of Ahura's names.

§§ 20-23. Sundry formulas of invocation.

As may be seen from this summary, the subject has been treated twice over, first in §§ 1-11, and then in §§ 12-19; yet it does not appear that this Yast was formed out of two independent treatises, and it is more likely that the vague and indefinite enumeration in §§ 12-15, which interrupts so clumsily the train of ideas, is due either to an interpolation or simply to the literary deficiency of the writer himself.

The Ormazd Yast is recited every day at the Hâvan Gâh, after the morning prayer (Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta*, II, 143): it is well also to recite it when going to sleep and when changing one's residence (§ 17).

Speculations on the mystical powers of God's names have always been common among Orientals. The number of these names went on increasing: Dastûr Nôshîrvân wrote on the 101 names of God; Dastûr Marzbân on his 125 names. With the Musulmans, Allah had 1001 names. On the names of God among the Jews, see *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXV, pp. 162, 532.

We have three native translations of this Yast; one in Pahlavi (East India Office, XII, 39, and St. Petersburg, XCIX, 39; edited by Carl Salemann), one in Persian (East India Office, XXII, 43), and one in Sanskrit (Paris, fonds Burnouf, V, 66); the last two edited in our *Études Iraniennes*, II, 255).

The second part of the Yast, the so-called Bahman Yast fragment, is in a state of the utmost corruption. It is difficult to trace any connection in the ideas, yet §§ 28, 29, 30 seem to point rather clearly to the final struggle between Ormazd and Ahriman and to the annihilation of the Daêvas, and, thereby, some connection is established between this fragment and the Pahlavi Bahman Yast¹, which deals with the same subject. If that correspondence be real, § 26 might refer to the beginning of the Pahlavi Bahman Yast, in which Zarathustra is shown by Ahura the times to come and the end of the world.

Of this fragment we have only a bad Pahlavi translation in the St. Petersburg manuscript mentioned above.

o². May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! May Angra Mainyu be destroyed! by those who do truly what is the foremost wish (of God³).

I praise well-thought, well-spoken, and well-done thoughts, words, and deeds. I embrace all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; I reject all evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.

I give sacrifice and prayer unto you, O Amesha-Spentas! even with the fulness of my thoughts, of my words, of my deeds, and of my heart: I give unto you even my own life⁴.

I recite the 'Praise of Holiness⁵':

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. Well is it for it, well is it for that holiness which is perfection of holiness!'

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura⁶;

¹ Translated by West (Pahlavi Texts, I).

² The formulas of this section serve as an introduction to all Yasts.

³ The last clause of this sentence is imitated from Yasna XLVI [XLV], 19: 'he who does truly in holiness what was the foremost wish of Zarathustra' (that is, what he ordered most earnestly; Pahl. Comm.).

⁴ 'If I must give up my life for the sake of my soul, I give it up' (Pahl. Comm.). The two sentences, 'I praise . . .', 'I give unto you . . .', are taken from Yasna XI, 17, 18 [XII].

⁵ The Ashem Vohû, one of the holiest and most frequently recited prayers.

⁶ The Fravarânê or profession of faith of the Zoroastrian (Yasna I, 23 [65-68]).

For sacrifice¹, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani]², the holy and master of holiness;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Sâvan-ghi and Vîsya]³, the holy and masters of holiness;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto the Masters of the days, of the periods of the day, of the months, of the seasons, and of the years⁴;

Unto AHURA MAZDA, bright and glorious, be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness : the riches of Vohû-Manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave him to relieve the poor.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

'What of the Holy Word is the strongest ? What is the most victorious ? What is the most glorious ? What is the most effective ?

2. 'What is the most fiend-smiting ? What is the best-healing ? What destroyeth best the malice of Daêvas and Men ? What maketh the material world best come to the fulfilment of its wishes⁵ ? What freeth the material world best from the anxieties of the heart⁶ ?'

¹ He shows himself a Zoroastrian by offering sacrifice

² The actual Gâh during which the Yast is being recited must be mentioned here. Hâvani is the first Gâh (see Gâhs).

³ The Genii who co-operate with Hâvani, his hamkârs; for each Gâh the names of its proper hamkârs should be mentioned (see Gâhs).

⁴ See Vendîdâd VIII, 19, text and notes.

⁵ Pun minishn ît barâ matârtûm, mandûm frârûn (Phl. tr.); manasas asti prâpakatarâ (Sansk. tr.); مراد رساننده (Pers. tr.).

⁶ Pun akhû ît barâ mûshîrtûm : pîm(i) u mandûm î apârûn

3. Ahura Mazda answered : 'Our Name, O Spitama Zarathustra! who are the Amesha-Spentas, that is the strongest part of the Holy Word; that is the most victorious; that is the most glorious; that is the most effective;

4. 'That is the most fiend-smiting; that is the best-healing; that destroyeth best the malice of Daêvas and Men; that maketh the material world best come to the fulfilment of its wishes; that freeth the material world best from the anxieties of the heart.'

5. Then Zarathustra said : 'Reveal unto me that name of thine, O Ahura Mazda! that is the greatest, the best, the fairest, the most effective, the most fiend-smiting, the best-healing, that destroyeth best the malice of Daêvas and Men;

6. 'That I may afflict all Daêvas and Men; that I may afflict all Yâtus and Pairikas¹; that neither Daêvas nor Men may be able to afflict me; neither Yâtus nor Pairikas.'

7. Ahura Mazda replied unto him : 'My name is the One of whom questions are asked², O holy Zarathustra!

'My second name is the Herd-giver³.

'My third name is the Strong One⁴.

(Phl. tr.); vitarkânâm asti mûshakatarâ (Sansk. tr.); خیا لات
دفع کننده بیم چیزی اوارون (Pers. tr.).

¹ See Vendîdâd, Introd. IV, 20-21.

² As the revealer of the law, which is generally expounded by a process of questions from Zarathustra and answers from Ahura. The revelation itself is called spentô frasna, 'the holy questions' (Vendîdâd XXII, 19).

³ 'That is, I give herds of men and cattle' (Phl. tr.).

⁴ 'Strong, that is, I have strength for the works of the law' (Phl. tr.); the Sanskrit translation has, 'powerful, that is, I have power to create.'

'My fourth name is Perfect Holiness¹.

'My fifth name is All good things created by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

'My sixth name is Understanding²;

'My seventh name is the One with understanding.

'My eighth name is Knowledge;

'My ninth name is the One with Knowledge.

8. 'My tenth name is Weal;

'My eleventh name is He who produces weal.

'My twelfth name is AHURA (the Lord)³.

'My thirteenth name is the most Beneficent.

'My fourteenth name is He in whom there is no harm⁴.

'My fifteenth name is the unconquerable One.

'My sixteenth name is He who makes the true account⁵.

'My seventeenth name is the All-seeing One.

'My eighteenth name is the healing One.

'My nineteenth name is the Creator.

'My twentieth name is MAZDA (the All-knowing One).

9. 'Worship me, O Zarathustra, by day and by

¹ Asha-Vahista, which is the name of the second Amesha-Spenta too. The commentary has: 'That is, my own being is all holiness.'

² Literally: 'My sixth name is that I am Understanding.' The same construction is used with regard to the eighth, the tenth, and the nineteenth names.

³ 'It follows from this passage that a man is not fit to be a king, unless he possesses twelve virtues' (Phl. tr.).

⁴ 'Some say: I keep harm from man' (Phl. tr.).

⁵ 'That is, I make the account of good works and sins' (Phl. tr.); *prakaṣam gaṇanâkaras kila puṇyapâpayos saṅkhyâm aham karomi* (Sansk. tr.). Cf. Yasna XXXII, 6, b.

night, with offerings of libations well accepted¹. I will come unto thee for help and joy, I, Ahura Mazda; the good, holy Sraosha will come unto thee for help and joy; the waters, the plants, and the Fravashis of the holy ones will come unto thee for help and joy.

10. 'If thou wantest, O Zarathustra, to destroy the malice of Daêvas and Men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, of the blind and of the deaf², of the two-legged ruffians³, of the two-legged Ashemaoghas⁴, of the four-legged wolves;

11. 'And of the hordes with the wide front, with the many spears⁵, with the straight spears, with the spears uplifted, bearing the spear of havock; then, recite thou these my names every day and every night.

¹ Yasô-bereta: prâptena dâna; یافتہ ذہشن زور.

² The Kavis and the Karapans, the blind and the deaf, are those 'who cannot see nor hear anything of God.' Those terms were current in the theological language of the Sassanian times to designate the unbelievers. An edict, promulgated by king Yazd-gard III (fifth century A. C.) to make Zoroastrism the state religion in Armenia, had the following words: 'You must know that any man who does not follow the religion of Mazda is deaf, blind, and deceived by Ahriman's devs' (Elisaeus, The War of Vartan).

³ Or murderers (mairya); according to the Parsis highway-men (اے زین).

⁴ The heretics. Casuists distinguish three kinds of Ashemaogha: the deceiver (frîftâr), the self-willed (khôt dôshak), and the deceived (frîftak). The first and worst is one who knowingly leads people astray, making forbidden what is lawful, and lawful what is forbidden; the second is one who follows his own will and reason, instead of applying to a Dastûr (a spiritual guide) for direction; the third is one who has been led astray by another.

⁵ Drafsa means also banner: the Persian درفش, derived from drafsa, has preserved the two meanings. The Sanskrit translation has sastra, the Persian has سلاح.

12. 'I am the Keeper¹; I am the Creator and the Maintainer²; I am the Discerner³; I am the most beneficent Spirit.

'My name is the bestower of health; my name is the best bestower of health.

'My name is the Âthravan⁴; my name is the most Âthravan-like of all Âthravans.

'My name is Ahura (the Lord).

'My name is Mazdau (the all-knowing).

'My name is the Holy; my name is the most Holy.

'My name is the Glorious; my name is the most Glorious.

'My name is the Full-seeing; my name is the Fullest-seeing.

'My name is the Far-seeing; my name is the Farthest-seeing.

13. 'My name is the Protector; my name is the Well-wisher; my name is the Creator; my name is the Keeper; my name is the Maintainer.

'My name is the Discerner; my name is the Best Discerner.

'My name is the Prosperity-producer⁵; my name is the Word of Prosperity⁶.

'My name is the King who rules at his will;

¹ 'I keep the creation' (Phl. tr.).

² 'I created the world and I maintain it' (ibid.).

³ 'I can know what is useful and what is hurtful' (ibid.).

⁴ 'The priest.'

⁵ 'I impart increase to the righteous' (Phl. tr.).

⁶ Doubtful. *Fšûsô-māthrô* is used in several passages as the name of a part of the Avesta, Yasna LVIII [LVII], which appears to be called so from the presence in it of the words *fšûsa*, *fšûmant*, 'thriving, causing to thrive,' which aptly express its contents.

my name is the King who rules most at his will.

‘My name is the liberal King¹; my name is the most liberal King.

14. ‘My name is He who does not deceive; my name is He who is not deceived.

‘My name is the good Keeper; my name is He who destroys malice; my name is He who conquers at once; my name is He who conquers everything; my name is He who has shaped everything².

‘My name is All weal; my name is Full weal; my name is the Master of weal.

15. ‘My name is He who can benefit at his wish; my name is He who can best benefit at his wish.

‘My name is the Beneficent One; my name is the Energetic One; my name is the most Beneficent.

‘My name is Holiness; my name is the Great One; my name is the good Sovereign; my name is the Best of Sovereigns.

‘My name is the Wise One; my name is the Wisest of the Wise; my name is He who does good for a long time.

16. ‘These are my names.

‘And he who in this material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall recite and pronounce those names of mine³ either by day or by night ;

¹ Nâma, translated âpât, and interpreted Khutâi râ. The Sanskrit translator has misread âzât for âpât, and translated svatantra, independent.

² The commentator observes orthodoxly, ‘everything good.’

³ That is to say, who will recite this Yast.

17. 'He who shall pronounce them, when he rises up or when he lays him down; when he lays him down or when he rises up; when he binds on the sacred girdle¹ or when he unbinds the sacred girdle; when he goes out of his dwelling-place, or when he goes out of his town, or when he goes out of his country and comes into another country;

18. 'That man, neither in that day nor in that night, shall be wounded by the weapons of the foe who rushes Aêshma-like² and is Drug-minded; not the knife, not the cross-bow, not the arrow, not the sword, not the club, not the sling-stone³ shall reach and wound him.

19. 'But those names shall come in to keep him from behind and to keep him in front⁴, from the Drug unseen, from the female Varenya fiend⁵, from the evil-doer⁶ bent on mischief⁷, and from that fiend who is all death, Angra Mainyu. It will be as if there were a thousand men watching over one man⁸.

20. "Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy

¹ The *aiwyâonghanem* or *kôsti* (see *Vendîdâd* XVIII, p. 191, note 4).

² Or 'with anger.'

³ *Akavô*, *kakavô*, *ishavô*, *kareta*, *vazra*, translated *kartari*, *kakra*, *sara*, *sastrikâ*, *vagra*.

⁴ *Min akhar u lûin* (Phl. tr.); *prîshtha*[ta]s *purataska* (Sansk. tr.).

⁵ Interpreted as the demon of lust and envy. Cf. *Vendîdâd*, *Introd.* IV, 23.

⁶ *Kayadha*, translated *kâstâr* (Phl.), 'the impairer;' *kadartaka* (Sansk.), 'he who holds for nothing, who makes slight of.'

⁷ Doubtful. The Phl. tr. has 'who impairs living creatures,' etc.

⁸ Cf. *Yt.* XIII, 71.

rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-Manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest¹."

21. 'Hail to the Glory of the Kavis²! Hail to the Airyanem Vaêgah³! Hail to the Saoka⁴, made by Mazda! Hail to the waters of the Dâitya⁵! Hail to Ardvi⁶, the undefiled well! Hail to the whole world of the holy Spirit!

'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord⁷

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good⁸

22. 'We worship the Ahuna Vairya⁹. We worship Asha-Vahista, most fair, undying, and beneficent¹⁰. We worship Strength and Prosperity and Might and Victory and Glory and Vigour¹¹. We worship Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious.

'Yênghê hâtâm¹²: All those beings¹³ of whom Ahura Mazda knows the goodness¹⁴ for a sacrifice

¹ From Yasna XLIV, 16; cf. Vendidad VIII, 20.

² See Sîrôzah I, 9, p. 7, note 2.

³ Irân Vêg; see Vendidad, p. 3.

⁴ Saoka; see Sîrôzah I, 3.

⁵ See Vendidad, p. 5, note 2.

⁶ Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the great goddess of the waters; see Yt. V.

⁷ See above, p. 23.

⁸ See above, p. 22.

⁹ The prayer yathâ ahû vairyô, known as Ahuna vairya (Honover), from the first words in it: ahû vairyô. See above, p. 23.

¹⁰ Or 'the fairest Amesha-Spenta;' cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 7.

¹¹ Impersonated as gods, to obtain from them the benefits of which they are the impersonations.

¹² A formula found at the end of most chapters of the Yasna and imitated from Yasna LI [L], 22.

¹³ The Amesha-Spentas (Pahl. Comm. ad Yasna XXVII, fin.).

¹⁴ The benefits of which they dispose, and which they impart as rewards to the righteous.

[performed] in holiness, all those beings, males¹ and females², do we worship.

23. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

'I bless the sacrifice and the prayer unto Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and his strength and vigour³.'

(Bahman Yast⁴.)

24. 'O Zarathustra! keep thou for ever that man who is friendly [to me] from the foe unfriendly [to me]! Do not give up that friend unto the stroke (of the foe), unto vexations to be borne; wish no harm unto that man who would offer me a sacrifice, be it ever so great or ever so small, if it has reached unto us, the Amesha-Spentas.

25. 'Here is Vohu-Manô, my creature, O Zarathustra! here is Asha-Vahista, my creature, O Zarathustra! here is Khsathra-Vairya, my creature, O Zarathustra! here is Spenta-Ârmaiti, my creature, O Zarathustra! here are Haurvatât and Ameretât, who are the reward of the holy ones⁵, when freed from their bodies, my creatures, O Zarathustra!

26. 'Thou knowest this, and how it is, O holy Zarathustra! from my understanding and from my knowledge; namely, how the world first began⁶, and how it will end⁷.

¹ The first three.

² The last three, whose names are feminine.

³ Which he will impart in return to his worshippers.

⁴ See above, p. 21.

⁵ As the Genii who preside over plants and waters, they are very likely entrusted with the care of feeding the righteous in Paradise. Cf. Yt. XXII, 18.

⁶ From Yasna XXVIII, 12.

⁷ Cf. Yasna XXX, 4.

‘A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies ¹!

‘A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies!

‘A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies!

27. ‘[We worship] the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength; Verethraghna, made by Ahura; the crushing Ascendant ², and Spenta-Ârmaiti.

28. ‘And with the help of Spenta-Ârmaiti, break ye ³ asunder their ⁴ malice, turn their minds astray, bind their hands, make their knees quake against one another, bind their tongues ⁵.

‘When, O Mazda! shall the faithful smite the wicked ⁶? When shall the faithful smite the Drug? When shall the faithful smite the wicked?’

29. Then Zarathustra said: ‘I threw you back into the earth ⁷, and by the eyes of Spenta-Ârmaiti ⁸ the ruffian was made powerless ⁹.

30. ‘We worship the powerful Gaokerena ¹⁰, made by Mazda; the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

31. ‘We worship the memory of Ahura Mazda, to keep the Holy Word.

‘We worship the understanding of Ahura Mazda, to study the Holy Word.

‘We worship the tongue of Ahura Mazda, to speak forth the Holy Word.

¹ Yasna LXVIII, 15 (LXVII, 50).

² See Sîrôzah I, 20.

³ Refers probably to the Izeds mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

⁴ Of the foes alluded to § 24.

⁵ Derezvan; see Yt. XI, 2.

⁶ Cf. Yasna XLVIII [XLVII], 2.

⁷ I follow the reading *zamerena*, which is followed by the Pahlavi translation too. In the Yasna IX, 15 (46) Zarathustra is said to have obliged the Daêvas to hide themselves in the earth.

⁸ Cf. Yt. XIX, 94.

⁹ Cf. Vend. IX, 12-13.

¹⁰ See Sîrôzah I, 7.

'We worship the mountain that gives understanding, that preserves understanding¹; [we worship it] by day and by night, with offerings of libations well-accepted².

32. 'We worship that creation [of Ahura's], Spenta-Ârmaiti; and the holy creations of that creature and of Asha [Vahista], that are foremost in holiness³.

'Here I take as lord and master⁴ the greatest of all, Ahura Mazda; to smite the fiend Angra Mainyu; to smite Aêśma of the wounding spear⁵; to smite the Mâzainya fiends⁶; to smite all the Daêvas and the Varenya fiends⁶; to increase Ahura Mazda,

¹ That mount is called in later literature Mount Ôsdâstâr (the Pahlavi translation of ushi-darena, the keeper of understanding). According to the Bundahis (XII, 15), it stands in Seistan. High mountains, being nearer heaven, are apt to become in the spirit of mythology the seat of heavenly beings or treasures. It was on the top of a mountain that Ahura revealed the law (see Vd. XXII, 19 [53]); the first man and king, Gayomarth, ruled on a mountain and was called Gar-shâh, the king of the mountain. When the Kayanian family failed, the Iranians went to Mount Alborz and found there Kai Kobâd waiting for his fate.

² The order of the text differs in one series of manuscripts, in which it begins with § 31; then comes § 29 with the following additional words:

'A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies! (three times; cf. above, § 26.)

We worship the Fravashi of the man whose name is Asmô-hvanant; then I will worship the Fravashis of the other holy ones who were strong of faith' (Yt. XXII, 37).

Asmô-hvanant was one of the first followers of Zarathustra, and with his name begins the enumeration of the Fravashis (Yt. XIII, 96).

Then follows § 30, and then again § 31 with the Ashem Vohû; and then the additional passage, 'We worship . . .,' is repeated twice.

³ Vispêrad XIX, 2.

⁴ As ahu and ratu, that is, as temporal chief and spiritual guide.

⁵ See Vend. Introd. IV, 22.

⁶ Ibid. 23.

bright and glorious; to increase the Amesha-Spentas; to increase the star Tistrya¹, the bright and glorious; to increase the faithful men; to increase all the holy creatures of the Beneficent Spirit.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good’²

33. ‘[Give] unto that man³ brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him sturdiness of body, give him victorious strength of body, give him full welfare of wealth, give him a virtuous⁴ offspring, give him long, long life, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones⁵.

‘May it come according to my blessing⁶!

‘A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies⁷! (three times.)

‘Come to me for help, O Mazda!

‘We worship the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength, and Verethraghna, made by Mazda, and the crushing Ascendant⁸.

‘We worship Râma Hvâstra, and Vayu who works highly and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures. That part of thee do we worship, O Vayu, that belongs to Spenta Mainyu. We worship the sovereign Sky, the boundless Time, and the sovereign Time of the long Period⁹.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good’

¹ See Yast VIII.

² As above, p. 22.

³ Who shall offer thee a sacrifice. This paragraph is taken from Yasna LXVIII, 11 (LXVII, 32), where it is addressed to the Waters: ‘Ye, good waters, give unto that man who will offer you a sacrifice’

⁴ Susîla (Sansk. tr. ad Yasna LXI, 13).

⁵ This clause serves as a conclusion to all Yasts.

⁶ From Yasna LXVIII, 20 (LXVII, 52).

⁷ Cf. above, § 26.

⁸ Cf. Sîrôzah I, 20.

⁹ Ibid. 21.

II. HAPTÂN YAST.

The Yast of the seven Amshaspands is recited on the first seven days of the week, that is to say, on the days consecrated to the Amesha-Spentas. In fact it is nothing more than an extract from the Sîrôzahs, being composed of the first seven formulas in their two forms: §§ 1-5 = Sîrôzah I, 1-7; §§ 6-10 = Sîrôzah II, 1-7. Then come four sections which are the original part of the Yast (§§ 11-15).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced¹!

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good¹

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura ;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness¹

I.

1². To Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and to the Amesha-Spentas ;

To Vohu-Manô ; to Peace, whose breath is friendly, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures ; to the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda, and to the Wisdom acquired through the ear, made by Mazda ;

2³. To Asha-Vahista, the fairest ; to the much-desired Airyaman ; to the instrument made by Mazda ; and to the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy ;

¹ The rest as above, Yt. I, o.

² Sîrôzah I, 1-2.

³ Sîrôzah I, 3-4.

To Khshathra-Vairya ; to the metals ; to Mercy and Charity.

3¹. To the good Spenta-Ârmaiti, and to the good Râta, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy ;

To Haurvatât, the master ; to the prosperity of the seasons and to the years, the masters of holiness ;

And to Ameretât, the master ; to fatness and flocks ; to the plenty of corn ; and to the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

4². (At the Gâh Hâvan) : To Mithra, the lord of wide pastures and to Râma Hvâstra.

(At the Gâh Rapithwin) : To Asha-Vahista and to Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda.

(At the Gâh Uzîren) : To Apâm Napât, the tall lord, and to water, made by Mazda.

5³. (At the Gâh Aiwisrûthrem) : To the Fravashis of the faithful and to the females that bring forth flocks of males ; to the prosperity of the seasons ; to the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength ; to Vere-thraghna, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant.

(At the Gâh Usahin) : To the holy, devout, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow ; to Rashnu-Razista and to Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase³ ;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification !

Yathâ ahû vairyô : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

¹ Sîrôzah I, 5-7.

² Sîrôzah I, 7.

³ Sîrôzah I, 7.

II.

6¹. We sacrifice unto Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious ; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent.

We sacrifice unto Vohu-Manô, the Amesha-Spenta ; we sacrifice unto Peace, whose breath is friendly, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures ; we sacrifice unto the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the wisdom acquired through the ear, made by Mazda.

7². We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista, the fairest, the Amesha-Spenta ; we sacrifice unto the much-desired Airyaman ; we sacrifice unto the instrument made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

We sacrifice unto Khshathra-Vairya ; we sacrifice unto the metals ; we sacrifice unto Mercy and Charity.

8³. We sacrifice unto the good Spenta-Ârmaiti ; we sacrifice unto the good Râta, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

We sacrifice unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta ; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons ; we sacrifice unto the years, the holy and masters of holiness.

We sacrifice unto Ameretât, the Amesha-Spenta ; we sacrifice unto fatness and flocks ; we sacrifice unto the plenty of corn ; we sacrifice unto the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

9⁴. (At the Gâh Hâvan) : We sacrifice unto

¹ Sirôzah II, 1-2.

³ Sirôzah II, 5-7.

² Sirôzah II, 3-4.

⁴ Sirôzah II, 7.

Mithra, the lord of wide pastures ; we sacrifice unto Râma *Hvâstra*.

(At the Gâh Rapithwin): We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda.

(At the Gâh Uzîren): We sacrifice unto Apâm Napât, the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord, the lord of the females ; we sacrifice unto the holy waters, made by Mazda.

10¹. (At the Gâh Aiwisrûthrem): We sacrifice unto the good, powerful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful ; we sacrifice unto the females who bring forth flocks of males ; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons ; we sacrifice unto the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength ; we sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant.

(At the Gâh Usahin): We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow, the holy and master of holiness ; we sacrifice unto Rashnu-Razista ; we sacrifice unto Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase

III.

11. Let the Yâtus be crushed, O Zarathustra ² ! both Daêvas and men ³.

Who is he in whose house, O Spitama Zarathustra ! every Drug is destroyed, every Drug perishes, when he pronounces these words ⁴ :

12⁵. ?

13. It is he who takes the seven Amesha-Spentas,

¹ Sîrôzah II, 7.

² Or : Let Zarathustra crush the Yâtus.

³ The Yâtus are either demons or men : the man-Yâtu is the sorcerer, the wizard. Cf. Yt. VIII, 44.

⁴ Doubtful.

⁵ I am unable to make anything of this section.

the all-ruling, the all-beneficent, as a shield¹ against his enemies.

We worship the Law of the worshippers of Mazda; we worship the waters coming in the shape of a horse², made by Mazda.

14-15. He has renounced trespasses and faults, O Zarathustra! he has renounced all trespasses and faults³, O Zarathustra! when he throws down⁴ the destroyer of Vohu-Manô and his words⁵, with a hundred times hundredfold, with a many times manifold preaching and smiting, and he takes away the Law of Mazda, that was carried away as a prisoner⁶, from the hands of the [ungodly], who are destroyed by his strength.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

16. Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and the prayer, the strength and vigour

Of Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and of the Amesha-Spentas;

Of Vohu-Manô; of Peace, whose breath is friendly⁷

¹ Doubtful.

² See Yt. VIII, 5, 42; cf. § 20.

³ Âtare-vîtaremaibyâ . . . vîmrao; cf. âtarâish . . . vî sareman mruyê (Yasna XII, 4 [XIII, 16]): âtareman seems to be a sin by commission, vîtareman a sin by omission.

⁴ Doubtful (fraspâvares: fraspâ is generally translated ramî-tûntan).

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Cf. Yt. XIII, 100; XIX, 86; fravašnām is the reverse of uzvazha/ (l. l.).

⁷ The rest as above, § 1.

Of Asha-Vahista, the fairest ; of the much-desired Airyaman ¹

Of Khshathra-Vairya, of the metals ¹

Of the good Spenta-Ârmaiti and of the good Râta ²

Of Haurvatât, the master ²

Of Ameretât, the master ²

(At the Gâh Hâvan) : Of Mithra ³

(At the Gâh Rapithwin) : Of Asha-Vahista ³

(At the Gâh Uzîren) : Of the high lord Apãm Napât ³

(At the Gâh Aiwiusrûthrem) : Of the Fravashis of the faithful ⁴

(At the Gâh Usahin) : Of the holy, devout, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow ; of Rashnu-Razista and of Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

Give unto that man ⁵ brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him sturdiness of body, give him victorious strength of body, give him full welfare of wealth, give him a virtuous offspring, give him long, long life, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ The rest as above, § 2.

² The rest as above, § 3.

³ The rest as above, § 4.

⁴ The rest as above, § 5.

⁵ Who shall offer a sacrifice to the Amshaspands.

III. ARDIBEHIST¹ YAST.

This Yast is for a great part devoted to the praise of the Airyaman prayer, which is described as driving away all the diseases and plagues that have been brought upon the world by Angra Mainyu; and when the writer passes from the glorification of Airyaman to that of Asha-Vahista, which is put into the mouth of Angra Mainyu himself (§§ 13 seq.), he makes him speak of Asha-Vahista just in the same way, and ascribe him just the same powers, as he himself has done with regard to Airyaman. This is owing to the fact of Airyaman being invoked in company with Asha-Vahista in the second formula of the *Sîrôzah*².

The powers ascribed to Asha-Vahista have their origin in the twofold nature of that *Amesha-Spenta*, who being, in his abstract character, the impersonation of the highest element in Mazdeism, Divine Order and Holiness³, and in his concrete character, the genius who presides over the mightiest of physical elements, Fire⁴, is one of the most powerful and dreaded opponents of Angra Mainyu⁵. On the other hand, Airyaman is the genius to whom Ahura Mazda applied to heal the nine, and ninety, and nine hundred and nine thousand diseases created by Angra Mainyu⁶.

This Yast is recited every day at the *Gâhs Hâvan*, *Rapithwin*, and *Aiwisrûthrem* (*Anquetil*).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the *Daêvas* and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [*Hâvani*], the holy and master of holiness⁷. . . .

¹ *Ard-î-behist* is the Parsi form for *Asha vahista*, and being derived from *arta*, the Persian form corresponding to the Zend *asha*.

² See *Sîrôzah* I, 3, and below the introductory formula.

³ See *Vend. Introd.* IV, 30.

⁴ *Ibid.* 33.

⁵ See *Yt.* XVII, 18.

⁶ *Fargard* XXII and *Introd.*

⁷ As above, *Yt.* I, o.

Unto Asha-Vahista, the fairest; unto the much-desired Airyaman, made by Mazda, and unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy¹;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairiô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness²

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'That thou mayest increase Asha-Vahista, O Spitama Zarathustra! with hymns of praise, with performance of the office, with invocations, holy words, sacrifice, blessings, and adoration—once to abide in the shining luminous space, in the beautiful abodes³—for the sacrifice and invocation of us, the Amesha-Spentas⁴'

2. Zarathustra said: 'Say unto me the right words, such as they are, O Ahura Mazda! that I may increase Asha-Vahista, with hymns of praise,

¹ Sîrôzah I, 3.

² Several manuscripts add here the full invocation of the greater Sîrôzah:

'We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista, the fairest, the Amesha-Spenta;

We sacrifice unto the much-desired Airyaman;

We sacrifice unto the instrument, made by Mazda;

We sacrifice unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.'

³ The Garô-nmânem or Paradise; see Yasna XVI, 7 [XVII, 42], Phl. tr.

⁴ The principal clause appears to be wanting, unless Zarathustra is supposed to interrupt Ahura. One might also understand the sentence in an optative sense: 'Mayest thou increase . . .'

with performance of the office, with invocations, holy words, sacrifice, blessings, and adoration,—once to abide in the shining luminous space, in the beautiful abodes,—for the sacrifice and invocation of you, the Amesha-Spentas.

3¹. ‘. . . . I proclaim Asha-Vahista: if I proclaim Asha-Vahista, then easy is the way to the abode of the other Amesha-Spentas², which Ahura Mazda keeps with Good Thoughts, which Ahura Mazda keeps with Good Words, which Ahura Mazda keeps with Good Deeds³;

4. ‘(Easy is the way to the Garô-nmâna of Ahura Mazda): the Garô-nmâna is for the holy souls, and no one of the wicked can enter the Garô-nmâna and its bright, wide, holy ways; (no one of them can go) to Ahura Mazda.

II.

5. ‘The Airyaman prayer⁴ smites down the strength of all the creatures of Angra Mainyu, of the Yâtus and Pairikas⁵. It is the greatest of spells, the best of spells, the very best of all spells; the

¹ Here again it seems as if a paragraph had been lost: ‘Ahura Mazda answered: Proclaim thou Asha-Vahista; if thou proclaimest Asha-Vahista—Then Zarathustra replied: I proclaim Asha-Vahista’

² The Garôthmân.

³ An allusion to the three Paradises of Humat, Hûkht, Hvarst through which the souls of the blessed pass to Garôthmân (Yt. XXII, 15).

⁴ The prayer known as Airyama-ishyô; see Vendîdâd XXI, 11-12.

⁵ See Vend. Introd. IV, 20-21.

fairest of spells, the very fairest of all spells; the fearful one amongst spells, the most fearful of all spells; the firm one amongst spells, the firmest of all spells; the victorious one amongst spells, the most victorious of all spells; the healing one amongst spells, the best-healing of all spells.

6. 'One may heal with Holiness, one may heal with the Law, one may heal with the knife, one may heal with herbs, one may heal with the Holy Word: amongst all remedies this one is the healing one that heals with the Holy Word; this one it is that will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful: for this one is the best-healing of all remedies¹.

7. 'Sickness fled away [before it], Death fled away; the Daêva fled away, the Daêva's counter-work² fled away; the unholy Ashemaogha³ fled away, the oppressor of men fled away.

8. 'The brood of the Snake fled away; the brood of the Wolf fled away; the brood of the Two-legged⁴ fled away. Pride fled away; Scorn fled away; Hot Fever fled away; Slander fled away; Discord fled away; the Evil Eye fled away.

9. 'The most lying words of falsehood fled away; the Gahi⁵, addicted to the Yâtu, fled away; the

¹ Cf. Vendîdâd VII, 44 (118). That Airyaman made use of the Holy Word (of spells) to cure diseases appears from Vend. XXII, 6 seq.

² Paityâra: every work of Ahura was opposed and spoiled by a counter-work of Angra Mainyu. Cf. Bundahis I, 23 seq.; III, 13 seq.; Vend. I; see Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 195 seq.

³ See Yt. I, 10 and note 4.

⁴ The Ahrimanian creatures belonging to mankind, the Mair-yas and Ashemaoghas (Yt. I, 10).

⁵ The courtesan; cf. Vend. XXI, 17 (35), and Introd. IV, 25.

Gahi, who makes one pine¹, fled away; the wind that blows from the North² fled away; the wind that blows from the North vanished away.

10. 'He it is who smites me that brood of the Snake, and who might smite those Daêvas by thousands of thousands, by ten thousands of ten thousands; he smites sickness, he smites death, he smites the Daêvas, he smites the Daêva's counter-work, he smites the unholy Ashemaogha, he smites the oppressor of men.

11. 'He smites the brood of the Snake; he smites the brood of the Wolf; he smites the brood of the Two-legged. He smites Pride; he smites Scorn; he smites Hot Fever; he smites Slander; he smites Discord; he smites the Evil Eye.

12. 'He smites the most lying words of falsehood; he smites the Gahi, addicted to the Yâtu; he smites the Gahi, who makes one pine. He smites the wind that blows from the North; the wind that blows from the North vanished away.

13. 'He it is who smites me that brood of the Two-legged, and who might smite those Daêvas, by thousands of thousands, by ten thousands of ten thousands. Angra Mainyu, who is all death, the worst-lying of all Daêvas, rushed from before him:

14. 'He exclaimed, did Angra Mainyu: "Woe is me! Here is the god Asha-Vahista, who will smite the sickliest of all sicknesses, who will afflict the sickliest of all sicknesses;

¹ The Zend is Kahvaredhaini, a synonym of which, Kahvaredha, Yasna LXI, 2 [LX, 7], is translated impairer of Glory, which means very likely: he who makes one 'dwindle, peak, and pine' (cf. Vend. XVIII, 62-64).

² From the country of hell; cf. Vend. VII, 2; XIX, 1; Yt. XXII, 25.

“ He will smite the deadliest of all deaths, he will afflict the deadliest of all deaths ;

“ He will smite the most fiendish of all fiends, he will afflict the most fiendish of all fiends ;

“ He will smite the most counter-working of all counter-works, he will afflict the most counter-working of all counter-works ;

“ He will smite the unholy Ashemaogha, he will afflict the unholy Ashemaogha ;

“ He will smite the most oppressive of the oppressors of men, he will afflict the most oppressive of the oppressors of men.

15. “ He will smite the snakiest of the Snake’s brood, he will afflict the snakiest of the Snake’s brood ;

“ He will smite the most wolfish of the Wolf’s brood, he will afflict the most wolfish of the Wolf’s brood ;

“ He will smite the worst of the two-legged brood, he will afflict the worst of the two-legged brood ;

“ He will smite Pride, he will afflict Pride ;

“ He will smite Scorn, he will afflict Scorn ;

“ He will smite the hottest of hot fevers, he will afflict the hottest of hot fevers ;

“ He will smite the most slanderous of slanders, he will afflict the most slanderous of slanders ;

“ He will smite the most discordant of discords, he will afflict the most discordant of discords ;

“ He will smite the worst of the Evil Eye, he will afflict the worst of the Evil Eye.

16. “ He will smite the most lying words of falsehood, he will afflict the most lying words of falsehood ;

“ He will smite the *Gahi*, addicted to the *Yâtu*, he will afflict the *Gahi*, addicted to the *Yâtu* ;

“ He will smite the *Gahi*, who makes one pine, he will afflict the *Gahi*, who makes one pine ;

“ He will smite the wind that blows from the North, he will afflict the wind that blows from the North.”

17¹. ‘The Drug will perish away, the Drug will perish ; the Drug will rush, the Drug will vanish. Thou perishest away to the regions of the North, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit ².

18. ‘For his brightness and glory I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard³, namely, unto *Asha-Vahista*, the fairest, the *Amesha-Spenta*. Unto *Asha-Vahista*, the fairest, the *Amesha-Spenta*, we offer up the libations, the *Haoma* and meat⁴, the *baresma*⁵, the wisdom of the tongue⁶, the holy spells⁷, the speech, the deeds⁸, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

‘*Yênhê hâtâm* : All those beings of whom *Ahura Mazda* knows the goodness⁹

19. ‘*Yathâ ahû vairyô* : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

¹ One set of manuscripts insert : ‘He will smite the wind that blows against the North, he will afflict the wind that blows against the North ; the wind that blows against the North [will perish].’ This is most likely an interpolation, as the wind that blows against the North (if this is the right meaning of *aparô apâkhtara*, as opposed to *pourvô apâkhtara*) blows against *Angra Mainyu*.

² Cf. *Vendîdâd* VIII, 21.

³ That is to say, worth being accepted : cf. *Yt. X*, 32 ; the Parsis translate, ‘a sacrifice heard [from the lips of the *Dastûrs*]’ (به شنیده) *یزشن از زبان دستوران* ; East India Office, XXV, 42).

⁴ The *Haoma* and *Myazda*.

⁵ See *Vend. III*, 1, note 2.

⁶ *Hizvô danghah* : *huzvân dânâkih* (Phl. tr.) means ‘the right formulas.’

⁷ ‘The *Avestâ*’ (Phl. tr.).

⁸ The several operations of the sacrifice.

⁹ As above, *Yt. I*, 22.

'I bless the sacrifice and prayer and the strength and vigour of Asha-Vahista, the fairest; of the much-desired Airyaman, made by Mazda; and of the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy¹.

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good²

'[Give] unto that man³ brightness and glory, give him health of body; give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

IV. KHORDÂD YAST.

Only the first two sections of this Yast refer to its nominal object, Haurvatât, the Genius of Health and Waters (Vend. Introd. IV, 7, 33). The rest of the Yast refers to the performance of the Bareshnûm ceremony as being the test of the true Zoroastrian. As the Bareshnûm purification was performed by Airyaman to drive away the myriads of diseases created by Angra Mainyu⁴, its laudation is not quite unaptly inserted in a Yast devoted to the Genius of Health.

The Khordâd Yast can be recited at any time. It is better to recite it during the Gâh Usahin, on the day Khordâd (Anquetil).

The text is corrupt.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness⁵

Unto Haurvatât, the master; unto the prosperity

¹ Cf. Sîrôzah I, 2.

² As above, p. 22.

³ Who shall offer a sacrifice to Asha-Vahista; cf. Yt. I, 33 and notes.

⁴ Vend. XXII, 20 [54].

⁵ As above, p. 22 and notes.

of the seasons and unto the years, the masters of holiness¹,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

We sacrifice unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons; we sacrifice unto the years, the holy and masters of holiness².

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'I created for the faithful the help, the enjoyments, the comforts, and the pleasures of Haurvatât. We unite them with him who would come up to thee as one of the Amesha-Spentas, as he would come to any of the Amesha-Spentas, Vohu-Manô, Asha-Vahista, Khshathra-Vairya, Spenta-Ârmaiti, Haurvatât, and Ameretât.

2. 'He who against the thousands of thousands of those Daêvas, against their ten thousands of ten thousands, against their numberless myriads would invoke the name of Haurvatât, as one of the Amesha-Spentas, he would smite the Nasu, he would smite Hasi³, he would smite Basi³, he would smite Saêni³, he would smite Bûgi³.

3⁴. 'I proclaim the faithful man as the first [of men]; if I proclaim the faithful man as the first

¹ Sîrôzah I, 6.

² Sîrôzah II, 6.

³ Names of Daêvas. According to the Parsi translator of the Dînkart (vol. ii, p. 65), Hasi is 'he who makes sceptical;' Basi is 'he who gives rise to the barking disease;' Saêni is 'he who causes harm;' Bûgi is 'he who preys upon.'

⁴ The translation of this paragraph is quite conjectural.

[of men]¹, then Rashnu Razista², then every heavenly Yazata of male nature in company with the Amesha-Spentas will free the faithful man³

4. 'From the Nasu, from Hasi, from Gasi⁴, from Saêni, from Bûgi; from the hordes with the wide front, from the hordes with the many spears uplifted, from the evil man who oppresses, from the wilful sinner⁵, from the oppressor of men, from the Yâtu, from the Pairika, from the straying way.

5. 'How does the way of the faithful turn and part from the way of the wicked⁶?'

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is when a man pronouncing my spell, either reading⁷ or reciting it by heart, draws the furrows⁸ and hides⁹ there himself, [saying]:

6. "I will smite thee, O Drug! whomsoever thou art, whomsoever thou art amongst the Druges that come in an open way, whomsoever thou art amongst the Druges that come by hidden ways, whomsoever thou art amongst the Druges that defile by contact; whatsoever Drug thou art, I smite thee away from the Aryan countries; whatsoever Drug thou art, I bind thee; I smite thee down, O Drug! I throw thee down below, O Drug!"

¹ If I am one of the faithful.

² The Genius of Truth, Yt. XII.

³ Will free me as one of the faithful.

⁴ Sic; cf. § 2.

⁵ Starâi; cf. *Études Iraniennes*, II, 135.

⁶ How is the wicked known from the faithful one?

⁷ Marâo: Phl. ôsmôrît, Sansk. adhyeti; safarûnît, posha-yati (pustakayati? Yasna XIX, 6 [9]).

⁸ The furrows for the Bareshnûm purification (Vend. IX).

⁹ Doubtful: gaozaiti; read yaozdâiti (? he cleanses).

7. 'He draws [then] three furrows¹: I proclaim him one of the faithful; he draws six furrows¹: I proclaim him one of the faithful; he draws nine furrows¹: I proclaim him one of the faithful.

8. 'The names of those (Amesha-Spentas) smite the men turned to Nasus² by the Druges; the seed and kin of the deaf³ are smitten, the scornful⁴ are dead, as the Zaothar Zarathustra blows them away to woe⁵, however fierce, at his will and wish, as many as he wishes.

9. 'From the time when the sun is down he smites them with bruising blows; from the time when the sun is no longer up, he deals deadly blows on the Nasu with his club struck down, for the propitiation and glorification of the heavenly gods.

10. 'O Zarathustra! let not that spell be shown to any one, except by the father to his son, or by the brother to his brother from the same womb, or by the Âthravan to his pupil⁶ in black hair, devoted to the good law, who, devoted to the good law, holy⁷ and brave, stills all the Druges⁸.

11. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta. Unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta, we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the

¹ To perform the Bareshnûm; cf. Vend. XXII, 20 [54].

² Reading nasûm kereta; cf. nasu-kereta (Vend. VII, 26 [67]).

³ See above, p. 26, note 2.

⁴ Saoša; cf. Yt. XXII, 13.

⁵ Duzavât: both the reading and the meaning are doubtful. Mr. West suggests, 'sends to hell' (reading duzanghvât or duzangha?).

⁶ Doubtful.

⁷ Reading ashava instead of asô ava.

⁸ Cf. Yt. XIV, 46.

holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

12. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Haurvatât, the master; of the prosperity of the seasons and of the years, the masters of holiness.

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

'[Give] unto that man¹ brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

V. ÂBÂN YAST.

The Âbân Yast (or Yast of the Waters) is devoted to the great goddess of the waters, the celebrated Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the 'Anaitis' of the Greeks. Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ('the high, powerful, undefiled') is the heavenly spring from which all waters on the earth flow down; her fountains are on the top of the mythical mountain, the Hukairya, in the star region. Her descent from the heavens is described in §§ 85 seq.; it reminds one of the Indian legend of the celestial Gaṅgâ.

This Yast contains much valuable information about the historical legends of Iran, as it enumerates the several heroes who worshipped Ardvi Sûra and asked for her help. First of all is Ahura himself (§ 16); then came Haoshyangha (§ 21), Yima (§ 25), Azi Dahâka (§ 29), Thraêtaona (§ 33), Keresâspa (§ 37), Franghrasyan (§ 41), Kava Usa (§ 45), Husravah (§ 49), Tusa (§ 53), Vaêsaka's sons (§ 57), Vafra Navâza (§ 61), Gâmâspa (§ 68), Ashavazdah, the son of Pourudhâkhsti, and Ashavazdah and Thrîta, the sons of Sâyuzdri (§ 72), Vistauru (§ 76), Yôista (§ 81); the Hvôvas and the Naotaras (§ 98), Zarathustra (§ 103), Kava Vîstâspa (§ 107), Zairivairi (§ 112), Aregat-aspa and Vandaremaini (§ 116).

This enumeration is interrupted by a description of the descent of Ardvi Sûra from the heavens (§§ 85-89), and of certain rules for her sacrifice given by herself to Zarathustra (§§ 90-97). This interruption may have been intentional, as it takes place just when

¹ Who shall have sacrificed to Haurvatât.

the course of the enumeration brings us to the times of Zarathustra and of the institution of the new religion.

The Yast is opened with a laudation of the benefits bestowed by Ardvi Sûra (§§ 1-16), and it closes with a description of her garments and apparel.

The first record of the worship of Ardvi Sûra is in a cuneiform inscription by Artaxerxes Mnemon (404-361), in which her name is corrupted into Anahata. Artaxerxes Mnemon appears to have been an eager promoter of her worship, as he is said 'to have first erected the statues of Venus-Anâhita (*Ἀφροδίτης*, *Ἀναΐτιδος*) in Babylon, Suza, and Ecbatana, and to have taught her worship to the Persians, the Bactrians, and the people of Damas and Sardes' (Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrept.* 5, on the authority of Berossus; about 260 B. C.). My friend M. Halévy suggests to me that the detailed and circumstantial description of Anâhita's appearance and costume (in §§ 126-131) shows that the writer must have described her from a consecrated type of statuary.

The principal data of the Greek writers on Anâhita will be found in Windischmann's Essay (*Die persische Anahita oder Anaïtis*, 1856). One must be cautious in the use of the Greek sources, as the Greeks, with the eclectic turn of their mind, were inclined to confound under the name of Anâhita all the great female deities of Asia Minor, and her name became a common appellation for the Aphrodites as well as for the Artemides of the East.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura ;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto the good Waters, made by Mazda ; unto the holy water-spring ARDVI ANÂHITA ; unto all waters, made by Mazda ; unto all plants, made by Mazda¹,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

¹ Sîrôzah I, 10.

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying : ' Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the wide-expanding¹ and health-giving, who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura, who is worthy of sacrifice in the material world, worthy of prayer in the material world; the life-increasing² and holy, the herd-increasing and holy, the fold-increasing and holy, the wealth-increasing and holy, the country-increasing and holy ;

2. ' Who makes the seed of all males pure³, who makes the womb of all females pure for bringing forth⁴, who makes all females bring forth in safety, who puts milk into the breasts of all females in the right measure and the right quality ;

3. ' The large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole of the waters that run along the earth ; that runs powerfully from the height Hukairya⁵ down to the sea Vouru-Kasha⁶.

4. ' All the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are

¹ ' As she comes down to all places ' (Phl. tr. ad Yasna LXV, 1 [LXVI, 2]).

² Âdhu, translated *gân* ; ' she makes life longer ' (Aspendiârji). Perhaps âdhu will be better translated springs, rivers (reading *gûy* instead of *gân* ; cf. Yt. VIII, 29).

³ ' Pure and sound, without blood and filth ' (Phl. tr.).

⁴ ' So that it may conceive again ' (Phl. tr.).

⁵ Hûgar the lofty is that from which the water of Arêdvîvsûr leaps down the height of a thousand men ' (Bundahis XII, 5, tr. West) ; cf. infra, §§ 96, 121, 126 ; Yt. XIII, 24. The Hukairya is mentioned again § 25 and Yt. IX, 8 ; Yt. X, 88 ; Yt. XV, 15 ; Yt. XVII, 28. It appears to be situated in the west (Bundahis XXIV, 17 ; II, 7 ; Minokhired XLIV, 12).

⁶ The earth-surrounding Ocean ; cf. Vendîdâd V, 15 (49) seq., text and notes.

boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over, when she runs down there, when she streams down there, she, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels¹: the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse.

5. 'From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven Karshvares; this river of mine alone goes on bringing waters, both in summer and in winter. This river of mine purifies the seed in males, the womb in females, the milk in females' breasts.

6. 'I, Ahura Mazda, brought it down with mighty vigour, for the increase of the house, of the borough, of the town, of the country, to keep them, to maintain them, to look over them, to keep and maintain them close.

7. 'Then Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, O Spitama Zarathustra! proceeded forth from the Maker Mazda. Beautiful were her white arms, thick as a horse's shoulder or still thicker; beautiful was her², and thus came she, strong, with thick arms, thinking thus in her heart:

8. "Who will praise me? Who will offer me a sacrifice, with libations cleanly prepared and well-strained, together with the Haoma and meat? To whom shall I cleave, who cleaves unto me, and thinks with me, and bestows gifts upon me, and is of good will unto me?"³

9. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her

¹ See the description § 101 seq.

² *Zaosa* or *zusa*, an *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*, seems to designate a part of the body; cf. § 126.

³ Cf. §§ 11, 124.

a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer up unto the holy Ardvi Sûra Anâhita a good sacrifice with an offering of libations;—thus mayest thou advise us when thou art appealed to! Mayest thou be most fully worshipped, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

‘Yênê hâtâm¹: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

II.

10. ‘Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the wide-expanding and health-giving, who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura, who is worthy of sacrifice in the material world, worthy of prayer in the material world; the life-increasing and holy, the herd-increasing and holy, the fold-increasing and holy, the wealth-increasing and holy, the country-increasing and holy²;

11. ‘Who drives forwards on her chariot, holding the reins of the chariot. She goes, driving, on this chariot, longing for men³ and thinking thus in her heart: “Who will praise me? Who will offer me a sacrifice, with libations cleanly prepared and well-strained, together with the Haoma and meat? To whom shall I cleave, who cleaves unto me, and thinks with me, and bestows gifts upon me, and is of good will unto me?”

‘For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice, worth being heard⁴. . . .

¹ As above, p. 30; § 9 is repeated at the end of every chapter.

² § 10=§ 2.

³ Viz. for their worshipping; cf. Yasna XXIII, 2 [5], paitisma-reñti=Phl. hûmîtnîft, they hope, they expect. Cf. § 123.

⁴ As above, § 9.

III.

12. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita¹. . . .

13. 'Whom four horses carry, all white, of one and the same colour, of the same blood, tall, crushing down the hates of all haters, of the Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, of the blind and of the deaf².

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

IV.

14. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

15. 'Strong and bright, tall and beautiful of form, who sends down by day and by night a flow of motherly³ waters as large as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and who runs powerfully⁴.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

V.

16. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zârathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

17. 'To her did the Maker Ahura Mazda offer up a sacrifice⁵ in the Airyana Vaêgah, by the good river Dâitya⁶; with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words⁷.

¹ As above, § 10.

² Doubtful; cf. Yt. VIII, 47.

³ Cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 9, 40. This is the heavenly prototype of the Mazdean sacrifice as it was later shown to men by Zarathustra; cf. § 101.

⁴ Cf. Yt. I, 4 and notes.

⁵ Cf. p. 26, note 2.

⁶ Cf. above, § 3.

⁷ Cf. Yt. III, 18.

18. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may bring the son of Pourushaspa, the holy Zarathustra, to think after my law, to speak after my law, to do after my law!"

19. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and begging that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

VI.

20. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

21. 'To her did Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta¹, offer up a sacrifice on the enclosure² of the Hara³, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs.

22. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of the Daêvas and men, of the

¹ Haoshyangha was the first king of the Paradhâta (Pêsh-dâdyan) dynasty (cf. above, p. 7, note 2, and Bundahis XXXI, 1). It is related in Firdausi's Shâh Nâmah that he was the grandson of Gayomarth, the first man and king, and the son of Syâmak; that his father having been killed by the black Dîv, he encountered him at the head of an army of lions, tigers, birds, and Paris, and destroyed him; he then succeeded his grandfather, and reigned supreme over the seven Keshvars of the earth.

² Doubtful: upabda=upabanda, as thribda (Yt. VIII, 55)=thribanda; it appears from Yt. XV, 7 that the place meant here is the Taêra which is said in the Bundahis (V, 7) to be surrounded by the Albôrz (the Hara).

³ The Hara berezaiti or Albôrz, in Mâzandarân, south of the Caspian Sea, was supposed to surround the earth; cf. Yt. X, 56.

Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf; and that I may smite down two thirds¹ of the Daêvas of Mâzana² and of the fiends of Varena³."

23. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

VII.

24. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

25. 'To her did Yima Khshaêta⁴, the good shepherd, offer up a sacrifice from the height Hukairya⁵, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

26. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of the Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf; and that I may take from the Daêvas both

¹ A formula frequently used, not only in the Avesta, but also in the Shâh Nâmah.

² The Daêvas in Mâzandarân. Mâzandarân was held a place of resort for demons and sorcerers, and was in the Iranian legend nearly the same as Ceylon is in the Râmâyana. The Damâvand mountain, to which Azi Dahâka was bound, is the southern boundary of Mâzandarân.

³ See Vend. Introd. IV, 23; cf. this Yast, § 33.

⁴ Yima Khshaêta (Gemshîd), as an earthly king, ruled over the world for a thousand years, while he made immortality reign in it (Yt. IX, 8; XV, 15; cf. Vendîdâd II, Introd.).

⁵ See above, § 3.

riches and welfare, both fatness and flocks, both weal and Glory¹."

27. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

VIII.

28. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

29. 'To her did Azi Dahâka², the three-mouthed, offer up a sacrifice in the land of Bawri³, with a

¹ After his brother Takhma Urupa, who reigned before him, had been killed and devoured by Angra Mainyu (Yt. IV, 11, note).

² When Yima began to sin and lost the *Hvarenô* (Glory), he was overthrown by Azi Dahâka (Zohâk), who seized the power and reigned in his place for a thousand years (cf. Yt. XIX, 33 seq.).

Azi Dahâka, literally 'the fiendish snake,' was first a mythical personage; he was the 'snake' of the storm-cloud, and a counterpart of the Vedic Ahi or *Vṛitra*. He appears still in that character in Yast XIX seq., where he is described struggling for the *Hvarenô* against Âtar (Fire), in the sea Vourukasha (*Vendidâd*, Introd. IV, 38; cf. this Yast, § 90). His struggle with Yima Khshaêta bore at first the same mythological character, 'the shining Yima' being originally, like the Vedic Yama, a solar hero: when Yima was turned into an earthly king, Azi underwent the same fate. In the *Shâh Nâmah* he is described as a man with two snakes springing from his shoulders: they grew there through a kiss of Ahriman's. For the myths referring to Azi, see Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 91-95.

³ Babylon (cf. Yt. XV, 19). The usurper Azi, being a non-Aryan, was identified with the hereditary foe, the Chaldæans: the name of Babylon united in it, at the same time, a dim historical record of the old Assyrian oppression, then shaken off and forgotten, and an actual expression of the national antipathy of the Iranians for their Semitic neighbours in Chaldæa. After the conquest of Persia by the Musulmans, Azi was turned at last into an Arab. The original seat of the Azi myths was on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea (*Études Iraniennes*, II, 210).

hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs.

30. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may make all the seven Karshvares of the earth empty of men."

31. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant him that boon, although he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating her that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

IX.

32. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

33. 'To her did Thraêtaona¹, the heir² of the valiant Âthwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena³, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

34. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses⁴, that most powerful, fiendish Drug,

¹ Thraêtaona (Ferîdûn), son of Âthwya, conquered Azi and bound him to Mount Damâvand, where he is to stay till the end of the world, when he shall be let loose and then killed by Keresâspa (Vendidâd, Introd. IV, 12, 18; Bahman Yast III, 55 seq.; Bund. XXIX, 8 seq.).

² Vîsô-puthra=Pahlavi barbîtâ (see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 139).

³ Cf. Vend. I, 18 and Introd. IV, 12. Modern tradition supposes Varena to have been the region of Ghilan (very likely on account of its proximity to Mâzandarân and Mount Damâvand).

⁴ See Yt. X, 82, note.

that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle¹; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavâk and Erenavâk², who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world³."

35. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon,

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

X.

36. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

37. 'To her did Keresâspa⁴, the manly-hearted, offer up a sacrifice behind the Vairi Pisanah⁵, with a

¹ Cf. Yt. XIX, 37.

² The two daughters of Yima, who had been ravished by Azi: they are called in the Shâh Nâmah Shahrinâz and Arnavâz (see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 213, Savanghavâk et Erenavâk). Thraêtaona delivered them, and then married them; he had a son, Airyu, from Arnavâz, and two sons from Shahrinâz, Tura and Sairima; Airyu, Tura, and Sairima became the kings of Irân, Tûrân, and Rûm.

³ Cf. Yt. IX, 14; XV, 24; XVII, 34.

⁴ Keresâspa (Garshâsp), one of the greatest heroes in the Avestean romance, although Firdausi has all but passed him over in silence. See his feats, Yt. XIX, 38 seq.; cf. Yt. V, 27 seq.; Yasna IX, 10 (29); Vend. I, 10 (36).

⁵ The Pisîn valley, south of Cabool. It was in the land of Cabool that the Keresâspa legend had its rise, or at least it was localised there. It is in the plain near the Pisîn valley that Keresâspa lies asleep, till the end of the world comes (see Yt. XIII, 61, note).

hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

38. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome the golden-heeled *Gandarewa*¹, though all the shores of the sea *Vouru-Kasha* are boiling over; and that I may run up to the stronghold of the fiend on the wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar."

39. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

¹ A Parsi poem, of a very late date, gives further details about *Gandarewa*. It was a monster who lived 'in the sea, on the mountain, and in the valley;' he was called *Pâshnah zarah*, because the sea did not go above his heel (a misinterpretation of his Avestean epithet *zairi pâshna*, golden-heeled, the Zend *zairi* being mistaken for the Persian *zarah* ۛ, sea); his head would rise to the sun and rub the sky; he could swallow up twelve men at once. *Keresâspa* fought him for nine days and nine nights together; he drew him at last from the bottom of the sea and smashed his head with his club: when he fell on the ground, many countries were spoiled by his fall (*Spiegel, Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, p. 339, and *West, Pahlavi Texts*, II, pp. 369 seq.).

In the Vedic mythology the *Gandharva* is the keeper of *Soma*, and is described now as a god, now as a fiend, according as he is a heavenly *Soma*-priest or a jealous possessor who grudges it to man. What was the original form of the myth in Mazdeism is not clear. In the *Shâh Nâmah* he appears as the minister of *Azi Dahâka*. Cf. *Yt. XV*, 27 seq., and *Ormazd et Ahriman*, pp. 99, note 5; 215, note 1.

XI.

40. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

41. 'To her did the Turanian murderer, Frangrasyan¹, offer up a sacrifice in his cave under the earth², with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

42. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may seize hold of that Glory³, that is waving in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha³ and

¹ Frangrasyan (Afrâsyâb) was king of Tûrân for two hundred years. The perpetual struggle between Irân and Tûrân, which lasts to this day, was represented in the legend by the deadly and endless wars between Afrâsyâb and the Iranian kings from Minokîhr down to Kai Khosrav (Kavi Husravah). The chief cause of the feud was the murder of Syâvakhsh (Syâvarshâna) by Afrâsyâb; Syâvakhsh, son of Kai Kaus (Kava Usa), having been exiled by his father, at the instigation of his mother-in-law, took refuge with Afrâsyâb, who received him with honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage: but the fortune of Syâvakhsh raised the jealousy of Afrâsyâb's brother, Karsîvaz (Keresavazda), who by means of calumnious accusations extorted from Afrâsyâb an order for putting him to death (see Yt. XIX, 77). Syâvakhsh was revenged by his son, Kai Khosrav, the grandson of Afrâsyâb (Yt. IX, 22).

² Hankanê: Firdausi speaks of a cave on the top of a mountain, near Barda (on the frontier of Adarbaigân), where Afrâsyâb, when defeated, took refuge, and was discovered by Kai Khosrav; that cave was called 'the cave of Afrâsyâb' (hang i Afrâsiâb; Shâh Nâmah, IV, 196). In an older form of the legend, that cave was a palace built under-ground, with walls of iron and a hundred columns: its height was a thousand times a man's size (Aogemaidê, § 61; cf. Bund. XII, 20: see Études Iraniennes, II, 225, Le Hang d'Afrâsyâb).

³ Yt. XIX, 56 seq.

that belongs to the Aryan people, to those born and to those not yet born, and to the holy Zarathustra."

43. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XII.

44. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

45. 'To her did the great, most wise Kavi Usa¹ offer up a sacrifice from Mount Erezifya², with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

46. 'He begged of her a boon, saying : "Grant me, this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of the Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf."

47. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XIII.

48. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

49. 'To her did the gallant Husravah³, he who

¹ Kavi Usa (Kai Kaus), the son of Kavi Kavâta (Kai Kobâd) and the father of Syâvakhsh (see p. 64, note 1), was the second king of the Kayanian dynasty.

² Mount Erezifya has been supposed to be the same as the Sariphi Montes in Ptolemaeus, which stretch between Margiana and Ariana (Burnouf, *Commentaire sur le Yasna*, p. 436).

³ Kai Khosrav ; cf. p. 64, notes 1 and 2.

united the Aryan nations into one kingdom ¹, offer up a sacrifice behind the *Kaêkasta* lake ², the deep lake, of salt waters ³, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

50. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf; and that I may have the lead in front of all the teams ⁴ and that he may not pass through ⁵ the forest ⁶, he, the murderer ⁷, who now is fiercely ⁸ striving against me ⁹ on horseback ¹⁰."

51. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XIV.

52. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

53. 'To her did the valiant warrior Tusa ¹¹ offer

¹ Doubtful.

² A lake in Adarbaigân, with salt water: fish cannot live in it (Bundahis XXII, 2). It is the same as Lake Urumiah. Its name is miswritten in Firdausi (Khangast for *Kêgast*, *خنجست* for *خنجست*).

³ Doubtful; see *Études Iraniennes*, II, uruyâpa, p. 179.

⁴ In pursuing his adversary.

⁵ Doubtful (cf. Yt. XV, 32).

⁶ The White Forest (ibid.).

⁷ Aurvasâra (ibid.).

⁸ Doubtful.

⁹ Trying to flee and escape.

¹⁰ Possibly, 'vieing in horses' (for the swiftness of the race): cf. Yt. XIX, 77.

¹¹ Tusa, in the *Shâh Nâmah* Tus; one of the most celebrated Pahlavans of Kai Khosrav; he was the son of king Naotara (Nôdar).

worship on the back of his horse¹, begging swift-ness for his teams, health for his own body, and that he might watch with full success² those who hated him, smite down his foes, and destroy at one stroke his adversaries, his enemies, and those who hated him³.

54. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome the gallant sons of Vaêsaka⁴, by the castle Khshathrô-saoka, that stands high up on the lofty, holy Kangha⁵; that I may smite of the Turanian people their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads."

55. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon⁶, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

¹ He offers not a full sacrifice, being on horseback.

² Not to be taken by surprise.

³ Cf. Yt. X, 11, 94, 114.

⁴ Vaêsaka was the head of the Vîsah family, whose foremost member was Pîrân Vîsah, the clever and upright minister of Afrâsyâb, the Turanian Nestor; but his counsels were despised for the common ruin, and himself perished with all his sons in the war against Irân.

⁵ Kangha was a town founded by Syâvarshâna, during his exile, in a part of the land of Khvârizm, which is described as an earthly paradise. This city was built on the top of a high mountain (Antare-Kangha, Yt. XIX, 4). The Khshathrô-saoka castle is called in the Shâh Nâmah Kang dez, 'the fortress of Kangha;' and, possibly, Khshathrô-saoka is a mere epithet of dvarem, 'the castle of kingly welfare.'

⁶ According to the Shâh Nâmah, Kang dez was stormed by Kai Khosrav himself.

XV.

56. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

57. 'To her did the gallant sons of Vaêsaka offer up a sacrifice in the castle Khshathrô-saoka, that stands high up on the lofty, holy Kangha, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

58. 'They begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant us this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ! that we may overcome the valiant warrior Tusa, and that we may smite of the Aryan people their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads¹."

59. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant them that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XVI.

60. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

61. 'The old² Vafra Navâza worshipped her, when the strong fiend-smiter, Thraêtaona, flung him up in the air in the shape of a bird, of a vulture³.

¹ Cf. §§ 53-54.

² Doubtful (pourvô) ; perhaps 'the man of the primitive faith' (the paoiryô-/kaêsha ; cf. Yt. XIII, 0, note) : the sacrifice he offers is quite a Zoroastrian one (cf. §§ 17, 104, and note 2 to the latter).

³ An allusion is made here to a myth, belonging to the Thraêtaona cyclus, of which no other trace is found in the Avesta (except in Yt. XXIII, 4). It referred most likely to the time when

62. 'He went on flying, for three days and three nights, towards his own house; but he could not, he could not turn down. At the end of the third night, when the beneficent dawn came dawning up, then he prayed unto Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, saying :

63. "'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! do thou quickly hasten helpfully and bring me assistance at once. I will offer thee a thousand libations, cleanly prepared and well strained, along with Haomas and meat, by the brink of the river Rangha, if I reach alive the earth made by Ahura and my own house."

64. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita hastened unto him in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle, wearing a golden¹, and radiant ².

65. 'She seized him by the arm : quickly was it done, nor was it long till, speeding, he arrived at the earth made by Mazda and at his own house, safe, unhurt, unwounded, just as he was before.

[66. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, entreating that she would grant him that boon³.]

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

Thraêtaona, on his march to Bawri, the capital of Azi (cf. § 29), arrived at the Tigris (the Rangha); an angel then came and taught him magic to enable him to baffle the sortileges of Azi (Shâh Nâmah). We have in this passage an instance of his talents as a wizard, and one which helps us to understand why Thraêtaona is considered as the inventor of magic, and his name is invoked in spells and incantations (Hamzah Ispahanensis, p. 101; Anquetil, II, pp. 135 seq.). Cf. Yt. XIV, 40 and note.

¹ Urvikhsna, a word of doubtful meaning.

² Cf. Yt. V, 78, 126.

³ This clause is no doubt spurious here.

XVII.

67. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

68. 'To her did *Gâmâspa*¹ offer up a sacrifice, with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, when he saw the army of the wicked, of the worshippers of the Daêvas, coming from afar in battle array.

69. 'He asked of her a boon, saying : "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ! that I may be as constantly victorious as any one of all the Aryans²."

70. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XVIII.

71. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

72. 'To her did Ashavazdah, the son of Pouru-

¹ *Gâmâspa*, the prime minister of *Vîstâspa* (*Kai Gûstâsp*), appears here in the character of a warrior, though generally he is described as a sage and a prophet (*Yasna* XLIX [XLVIII], 9 ; LI [L], 8 ; *Zardûst Nâmah* ; yet cf. *Yt.* XXIII, 2). The *Shâh Nâmah* has an episode which recalls this one, although very different in its spirit, and more in accordance with the general character of *Gâmâspa*. At the moment when the two armies meet together, *Gûstâsp* asks *Gâmâsp* to reveal to him the issue of the encounter : *Gâmâsp* obeys reluctantly, as the issue is to be fatal to the Iranians. *Gâmâsp* belonged to the *Hvôva* family.

² Or, 'as all the rest of the Aryans together.'

dhâkhsti¹, and Ashavazdah and Thrîta, the sons of Sâyuzdri², offer up a sacrifice, with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, by Apâm Napât, the tall lord, the lord of the females, the bright and swift-horsed³.

73. 'They begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant us this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that we may overcome the assemblers of the Turanian Dânus⁴, Kara Asabana⁵, and Vara Asabana, and the most mighty Dûraêkaêta, in the battles of this world⁶."

74. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted them that boon, as they were offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant them that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XIX.

75. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

76. 'Vistauru, the son of Naotara⁷, worshipped

¹ Cf. Yt. XIII, 112. Ashavazdah, the son of Pourudhâkhsti, is one of the immortals who will come forth to help Saoshyant in the final struggle (Bundahis XXIX, 6; Yt. XIX, 95).

² Cf. Yt. XIII, 113.

³ Cf. above, p. 6, note 1.

⁴ A Turanian tribe, Yt. XIII, 37-38.

⁵ Asabana is very likely an epithet; possibly, 'who kills with a stone' (asan-ban); the sling was, as it seems, the favourite weapon of the Dânus (Yt. XIII, 38).

⁶ This section is the only fragment left of the legend of Ashavazdah, which must have been an important one, since Ashavazdah is one of the immortals (Yt. XIX, 95).

⁷ Cf. Yt. XIII, 102. Vistauru, being the son of Naotara, is the brother of Tusa, which identifies him with the Gustahm (گستهم) in the Shâh Nâmah: Nôdar had two sons, Tus and Gustahm.

her by the brink of the river Vîtanghuhaiti¹, with well-spoken words, speaking thus :

77. "This is true, this is truly spoken, that I have smitten as many of the worshippers of the Daêvas as the hairs I bear on my head. Do thou then, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ! leave me a dry passage, to pass over the good Vîtanghuhaiti."

78. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita hastened unto him in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle, with all sorts of ornaments and radiant². A part of the waters she made stand still, a part of the waters she made flow forward, and she left him a dry passage to pass over the good Vîtanghuhaiti³.

[79. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon⁴.]

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XX.

80. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

81. 'To her did Yôista, one of the Fryanas⁵,

¹ A river not mentioned elsewhere.

² Cf. §§ 64, 126.

³ Firdausi has no mention of this episode.

⁴ Spurious.

⁵ This legend is fully told in the Pahlavi tale of Gôsti Fryân (edited and translated by West) : a sorcerer, named Akht, comes with an immense army to the city of the enigma-expounders, threatening to make it a beaten track for elephants, if his enigmas are not solved. A Mazdayasnian, named Gôsti Fryân, guesses the

offer up a sacrifice with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs on the Pədvāēpa¹ of the Rangha.

82. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome the evil-doing Akhtya, the offspring of darkness, and that I may answer the ninety-nine hard riddles that he asks me maliciously, the evil-doing Akhtya, the offspring of darkness."

'83. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

XXI.

84. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

85. 'Whom Ahura Mazda the merciful ordered thus, saying: "Come, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, come from those stars² down to the earth made by Ahura,

thirty-three riddles proposed by Akht; then, in his turn, he proposes him three riddles which the sorcerer is unable to guess, and, in the end, he destroys him by the strength of a Nîrang. Cf. Yt. XIII, 120. This tale, which belongs to the same widespread cycle as the myth of Oedipus and the Germanic legend of the Wartburg battle, is found in the Zarathustra legend too (Vendîdâd XIX, 4).

¹ Perhaps an affluent of the Rangha (cf. Yt. XIII, 19, 19; XV, 27).

² Between the earth and the region of infinite light there are three intermediate regions, the star region, the moon region, and the sun region. The star region is the nearest to the earth, and the sun region is the remotest from it. Ardvi Sûra has her seat in the star region (Yasna LXV [LXIV], 1; Phl. tr.); cf. Yt. V, 132.

that the great lords may worship thee, the masters of the countries, and their sons.

86. "The men of strength¹ will beg of thee swift horses and supremacy of Glory.

"The Âthravans who read² and the pupils of the Âthravans will beg of thee knowledge and prosperity, the Victory made by Ahura, and the crushing Ascendant.

87. "The maids of barren womb³, longing for a lord³, will beg of thee a strong husband ;

"Women, on the point of bringing forth, will beg of thee a good delivery.

"All this wilt thou grant unto them, as it lies in thy power, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita !"

88. 'Then Ardvi Sûra Anâhita came forth, O Zarathustra! down from those stars to the earth made by Mazda; and Ardvi Sûra Anâhita spake thus:

89. "O pure, holy Zarathustra! Ahura Mazda has established thee as the master of the material world: Ahura Mazda has established me to keep the whole of the holy creation.

"Through my brightness and glory flocks and herds and two-legged men go on, upon the earth: I, forsooth, keep all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle, just as a shepherd keeps his flock."

90. 'Zarathustra asked Ardvi Sûra Anâhita: "O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship thee? With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship and forward thee? So that Mazda may make thee run down (to the earth), that

¹ The warriors.

² To teach.

³ Doubtful.

he may not make thee run up into the heavens, above the sun¹; and that the Serpent² may not injure thee with³, with⁴, with⁵, and poisons⁶."

91. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita answered: "O pure, holy Spitama! this is the sacrifice wherewith thou shalt worship me, this is the sacrifice wherewith thou shalt worship and forward me, from the time when the sun is rising to the time when the sun is setting.

"Of this libation of mine thou shalt drink, thou who art an Âthrvan, who hast asked and learnt the revealed law, who art wise, clever, and the Word incarnate.

92. "Of this libation of mine let no foe drink, no man fever-sick, no liar, no coward, no jealous one, no woman, no faithful one who does not sing the Gâthas, no leper to be confined⁷.

93. "I do not accept those libations that are drunk in my honour by the blind, by the deaf, by the wicked, by the destroyers, by the niggards, by the⁸, nor any of those stamped with those characters which have no strength for the holy Word⁹.

¹ When the beds of the rivers are dry, the cause is that Ardvi Sûra sends up her waters to the higher heavens (to the sun region) instead of sending them down to the earth (cf. p. 73, note 2).

² The serpent, Azi, is here Azi in his original naturalistic character, the storm-fiend (cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 38 and this Yast, § 29, note). The uncleanness and unhealthiness of the rivers are ascribed to his poison.

³ Arethna, an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

⁴ Vawzaka, idem.

⁵ Varenva, idem.

⁶ Varenva poisons.

⁷ Cf. Vend. II, 29.

⁸ ? Ranghau.

⁹ Which incapacitate one for religious works.

“Let no one drink of these my libations who is hump-backed or bulged forward; no fiend with decayed teeth¹.”

94. ‘Then Zarathustra asked Ardvi Sûra Anâhita: “O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! What becomes of those libations which the wicked worshippers of the Daêvas bring unto thee after the sun has set²?”’

95. ‘Ardvi Sûra Anâhita answered: “O pure, holy Spitama Zarathustra! howling, clapping, hopping, and shouting³, six hundred and a thousand Daêvas, who ought not to receive that sacrifice⁴, receive those libations⁵ that men bring unto me after [the sun has set]⁶.”’

96. ‘I will worship the height Hukairya, of the deep precipices⁷, made of gold, wherefrom this mine Ardvi Sûra Anâhita leaps, from a hundred times the height of a man⁸, while she is possessed of as much Glory as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and she runs powerfully⁹.’

‘For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

XXII.

97. ‘Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

98. ‘Before whom the worshippers of Mazda

¹ Cf. Vend. II, 29.

² Cf. Vend. VII, 79 and note 2; cf. above, § 91.

³ For joy. The translations of those several words are not certain.

⁴ Doubtful.

⁵ Perhaps, those cups (*yamau*).

⁶ Filled up from § 94.

⁷ The text here has *vîspô-vahmem*, ‘worthy of all prayer,’ the reading *vîspô-vaêmem* from Yt. XII, 24 seems to be better.

⁸ Cf. §§ 102, 121.

⁹ Cf. §§ 4, 102, 121.

stand with baresma in their hands : the Hvôvas did worship her, the Naotaras did worship her¹; the Hvôvas asked for riches, the Naotaras asked for swift horses. Quickly was Hvôva blessed with riches and full prosperity ; quickly became Vîstâspa, the Naotaride, the lord of the swiftest horses in these countries².

99. ['Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted them that boon, as they were offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant them that boon³.]

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XXIII.

100. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

101. 'Who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels : the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels, is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse⁴. In each channel there stands a palace, well-founded, shining with a hundred windows, with a thousand columns, well-built, with ten thousand balconies, and mighty.

102. 'In each of those palaces there lies a well-laid, well-scented bed, covered with pillows, and

¹ The Hvôva or Hvôgva family plays as great a part in the religious legend, as the Naotara family in the heroic one. Two of the Hvôvas, Frashaostra and Gâmâspa, were among the first disciples of Zarathustra and the prophet married Frashaostra's daughter, Hvôgvi (cf. Yt. XIII, 139). For the Naotaras, see above, §§ 53, 76. According to the Bundahis, Vîstâspa did not belong to the Naotara family (XXXI, 28): perhaps he was considered a Naotaride on account of his wife Hutaosa, who was one (Yt. XV, 35).

² His very name means 'He who has many horses.'

³ Spurious.

⁴ Cf. § 4.

Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, O Zarathustra! runs down there from a thousand times the height of a man, and she is possessed of as much Glory as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and she runs powerfully¹.

XXIV.

103. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

104. 'Unto her did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah, by the good river Dâitya; with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words².

105. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may bring the son of Aurvat-aspa³, the valiant Kavi Vîstâspa, to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to do according to the law⁴."

106. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

¹ Cf. § 96.

² Cf. § 17. It is to be noticed that only Ahura and Zarathustra (and perhaps Vafra Navâza; see p. 68, note 2) offer the pure Zoroastrian sacrifice.

³ Called Lôhrâsp in Parsi tradition.

⁴ Cf. § 18. The conversion of Vîstâspa by Zarathustra is the turning-point in the earthly history of Mazdeism, as the conversion of Zarathustra by Ahura himself is in its heavenly history. Cf. Yt. XXIV and IX, 26.

XXV.

107. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

108. 'Unto her did the tall¹ Kavi Vîstâspa² offer up a sacrifice behind Lake Frazdâna³, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

109. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome Tâthravant, of the bad law, and Peshana, the worshipper of the Daêvas, and the wicked Aregaŧ-aspa⁴, in the battles of this world!"

110. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

¹ Berezaidhi, translated buland (Yasna LVII, 11 [LVI, 5, 2]).

² See Yt. XIII, 99; V, 98, 105.

³ A lake in Seistan (Bundahis XXII, 5); from that lake will rise Hôshêdar Bâmî (Ukhshyaŧ-ereta), the first of the three sons of Zarathustra, not yet born (Bahman Yast III, 13; cf. Yt. XIII, 98).

⁴ Of these three, Aregaŧ-aspa alone is known to Firdausi; he is the celebrated Argâsp, who waged a deadly war against Gûstâsp to suppress the new religion: he stormed Balkh, slaughtered Lôhrâsp and Zartûst (Zarathustra), and was at last defeated and killed by Gûstâsp's son, Isfendyâr. He is the Afrâsyâb of the Zoroastrian period. In the Avesta he is not called a Turanian (Tura), but a Hvyâona; see Yt. IX, 30.

XXVI.

111. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

112. 'Unto her did Zairi-vairi¹, who fought on horseback, offer up a sacrifice behind the river Dâitya², with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

113. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome Peshô-Kangha the corpse-burier³, Humâyaka⁴ the worshipper of the Daêvas, and the wicked Aregaŧ-aspa⁵, in the battles of this world.

114. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon⁶, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XXVII.

115. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

116. 'Unto her did Aregaŧ-aspa and Vandaremaini⁷

¹ Zarîr in Firdausi, the brother of Vistâspa; cf. Yt. V, 117; XIII, 101.

² The Araxes (Vendidad I, 3).

³ Doubtful (cf. Vend. III, 36 seq.).

⁴ This is perhaps an epithet to Peshô-Kangha, 'the most malicious.'

⁵ See p. 79, note 4.

⁶ If we may trust the Shâh Nâmah, she did not grant her favour to the last, as Zarîr was killed by one of the generals of Argâsp, Bîdirafsh.

⁷ A brother of Argâsp's: his name is slightly altered in Firdausi (Andarîmân miswritten for Vandarîmân, وندریمان for اندریمان; see Études Iraniennes, p. 228).

offer up a sacrifice by the sea Vouru-Kasha, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

117. 'They¹ begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant us this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that we may conquer the valiant Kavi Vîstâspa and Zairivairi who fights on horseback, and that we may smite of the Aryan people their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads."

118. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant them² that favour, though they were offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she should grant them that favour.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XXVIII.

119. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

120. 'For whom Ahura Mazda has made four horses—the wind, the rain, the cloud, and the sleet—and thus ever³ upon the earth it is raining, snowing, hailing, and sleeting; and whose armies are so many and numbered by nine-hundreds and thousands.

121. 'I will worship the height Hukairya, of the

¹ The text has the singular here and in the rest of the sentence: the names of the two brothers form a sort of singular dvandva; cf. Franghrasyanem Keresavazdem (Yt. XIX, 77); Ashavazdanghō Thrithâhē (Yt. XIII, 113; and same Yast, 115), and in the present passage Vîstâspô Zairivairis (see *Études Iraniques*, II, 229).

² Both were killed by Isfendyâr (Shâh Nâmah).

³ Mîsti translated hamêsak, sadâ (Yt. VII, 4).

deep precipices, made of gold, wherefrom this mine Ardvi Sûra Anâhita leaps, from a hundred times the height of a man, while she is possessed of as much Glory as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and she runs powerfully¹.

‘For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XXIX.

122. ‘Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

123. ‘She stands, the good Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, wearing a golden mantle², waiting for a man who shall offer her libations and prayers, and thinking thus in her heart :

124. “Who will praise me? Who will offer me a sacrifice, with libations cleanly prepared and well-strained, together with the Haoma and meat? To whom shall I cleave, who cleaves unto me, and thinks with me, and bestows gifts upon me, and is of good will unto me³?”

‘For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XXX.

125. ‘Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

126. ‘Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, who stands carried forth in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of

¹ § 121=§§ 96, 102.

² Paitidâna, a mantle, a tunic (Vend. XIV, 9 [28]).

³ See §§ 8, 11.

a glorious race¹, wearing along her² a mantle fully embroidered with gold ;

127. 'Ever holding the baresma in her hand, according to the rules, she wears square golden earrings on her ears bored³, and a golden necklace around her beautiful neck, she, the nobly born Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ; and she girded her waist tightly, so that her breasts may be well-shaped, that they may be tightly pressed⁴.

128. 'Upon her head Ardvi Sûra Anâhita bound a golden crown, with a hundred stars⁵, with eight rays, a fine⁶, a well-made crown, in the shape of a⁷, with fillets streaming down.

129. 'She is clothed with garments of beaver⁸, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ; with the skin of thirty beavers of those that bear four young ones, that are the finest kind of beavers ; for the skin of the beaver that lives in water is the finest-coloured of all skins, and when worked at the right time it shines to the eye with full sheen of silver and gold.

130. 'Here, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ! I beg of thee this favour : that I, fully blessed, may conquer large kingdoms, rich in horses⁹, with high tributes, with snorting horses, sounding chariots, flashing swords, rich in aliments, with stores of food, with well-scented beds¹⁰ ; that I may have

¹ Cf. §§ 64, 78.

² Zaosa ; cf. § 7, note 2.

³ Doubtful (sispemna, from sif, سفتن).

⁴ Doubtful.

⁵ Gems.

⁶ ? Anupôithwaitîm.

⁷ ? Ratha ; the usual meaning of ratha is 'a chariot ;' perhaps the round shape of the chest of a chariot is meant.

⁸ Possibly otter, Vend. XIV.

⁹ Doubtful.

¹⁰ Cf. Yt. XVII, 7.

at my wish the fulness of the good things of life and whatever makes a kingdom thrive¹.

131. 'Here, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! I beg of thee two gallant companions, one two-legged and one four-legged²: one two-legged, who is swift, quickly rushing, and clever in turning a chariot round in battle; and one four-legged, who can quickly turn towards either wing of the host with a wide front, towards the right wing or the left, towards the left wing or the right.

132. 'Through the strength of this sacrifice, of this invocation, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! come down from those stars³, towards the earth made by Ahura, towards the sacrificing priest, towards the full boiling [milk⁴]; come to help him who is offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that thou wouldst grant him thy favours; that all those gallant warriors may be strong, like king Vîstâspa.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

133. 'Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the holy water-spring Anâhita.

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

'[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones!'

¹ The translation of the last clause is doubtful.

² A good horse and a good driver.

³ Cf. §§ 85, 88. ⁴ Aspendiârji ad Vend. XIX, 40 [133].

VI. KHÔRSHÊD YAST.

(YAST TO THE SUN.)

This Yast is recited at any time, but particularly on the days consecrated to the sun and to Khshathra-Vairya (Shahrîvar), Mithra (Mihir), Asman (Âsmân), and Anaghra *raokau* (Anîrân¹): the last three, Mithra, Asman (the Heaven), Anaghra (the infinite Light), have a natural connection with the sun, but its connection with Khshathra-Vairya is not so clear.

Of this Yast we have a Pahlavi (East India Office, XII), a Persian (ibid. XXIV), and a Sanskrit translation (Fonds Burnouf V; all three edited in *Études Iraniques*, II).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced !

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura ;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness²

Unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun³ ;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness²

1. We sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

When the light of the sun waxes warmer⁴, when the brightness of the sun waxes warmer, then up

¹ Or the 11th, 16th, 27th, and 30th days of the month (Anquetil, II, 184).

² As above, Yt. I, o.

³ Sirôzah I, 11.

⁴ 'That is to say, rises up' (Phl. tr.).

stand the heavenly Yazatas, by hundreds and thousands: they gather together its Glory, they make its Glory pass down, they pour its Glory upon the earth made by Ahura, for the increase of the world of holiness, for the increase of the creatures of holiness¹, for the increase of the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

2. And when the sun rises up, then the earth, made by Ahura, becomes clean²; the running waters become clean, the waters of the wells become clean, the waters of the sea become clean, the standing waters become clean; all the holy creatures, the creatures of the Good Spirit, become clean.

3. Should not the sun rise up, then the Daêvas would destroy all the things that are in the seven Karshvares, nor would the heavenly Yazatas find any way of withstanding or repelling them in the material world.

4. He who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun—to withstand darkness, to withstand the Daêvas born of darkness, to withstand the robbers and bandits, to withstand the Yâtus and Pairikas, to withstand death that creeps in unseen—offers it up to Ahura Mazda, offers it up to the Amesha-Spentas, offers it up to his own soul³. He rejoices all the heavenly and worldly Yazatas, who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

5. I will sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide

¹ Literally 'of the body of holiness,' that is to say, of the bodily creatures that incorporate holiness.

² 'From the uncleanness that the Daêvas mix with the earth during the night' (Phl. tr.).

³ As he benefits them and himself thereby.

pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes.

I will sacrifice unto the club of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, well struck down¹ upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

I will sacrifice unto that friendship, the best of all friendships, that reigns between the moon and the sun².

6. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun. Unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words³.

Yêzhê hâtām: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

7. Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and the invocation, and the strength and vigour of the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

Give unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ Hunivikhtem: suniyuktam (Sansk. tr.); خوب نهاده (Pers. tr.).

² As they succeed one another in regular order.

³ Cf. Yt. III, 18.

VII. MÂH YAST.

This Yast to the Moon is recited on the day of the Moon, and on those of Bahman, Gôsr, and Râm¹ (Anquetil, II, 185). Bahman and Gôsr are so far connected with the Moon that all three are *gaoñithra*: 'Bahman², the Moon, and Gôsr³, all three, are having in them the seed of the bull; Bahman can neither be seen nor seized with the hand; the Moon proceeded from Bahman⁴ and can be seen, but cannot be seized with the hand; Gôsr proceeded from the Moon⁵ and can both be seen and seized with the hand⁶.' Râm is referred to here as being *hvastra*, 'lord of good pastures⁷.'

Of this Yast we have translations in Pahlavi, Persian, and Sanskrit (edited in *Études Iraniennes*, II).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! . . .

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . .

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness . . .

Unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the

¹ The 12th, 2nd, 14th, and 21st days of the month.

² The Amshaspand Bahman is entrusted with the care of cattle (Vend. XIX, 20, note 8).

³ The Genius of Cattle; see Yt. IX.

⁴ Bahman is 'good thought, good mind,' Vohu-Manô; in the Vedas the moon is said to have been made out of the mind (manas) of Purusa. For an explanation of that old mystical myth, see Ormazd et Ahriman, p. 74, note 3.

⁵ See Vend. XXI, 9 [51], note 4.

⁶ Pahlavi commentary to this Yast, I.

⁷ Vend. Introd. IV, 16, and *Études Iraniennes*, II, 187 seq.

Bull; unto the only-created Bull and unto the Bull¹ of many species;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

1. Hail to Ahura Mazda! Hail to the Amesha-Spentas! Hail to the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull²! Hail to thee when we look at thee! Hail to thee when thou lookest at us³!

2. How does the moon wax? How does the moon wane?

For fifteen days does the moon wax⁴; for fifteen days does the moon wane. As long as her waxing, so long is the waning⁵; as long as her waning, so long is the waxing.

'Who is there but thee⁶ who makes the moon wax and wane⁷?'

¹ Sirôzah I, 12.

² See Vend. XXI, 1, text and note.

³ When the moon allows itself to be perceived.

⁴ The Pahlavi translation has the following interesting details: 'For fifteen days they take good deeds from the earthly creatures and the rewards for virtue from the heavens; for fifteen days they make the rewards pass to the earth and the good deeds pass to the heavens.' The moon is thus a sort of moral clearing-house between earth and heaven.

⁵ According to the Parsis this waning does not refer to the moon, but to the constellations that help it in the struggle against the planets, which are supposed to belong to the Ahrimanic world (see Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 223-226): 'while it waxes—namely, the moon—they wane,—namely, those that are opposed to the planets, to the bad stars; for instance, Haftôiring, Vanand, Tistar, Satvês; . . . while it wanes—namely, the moon—they wax, that is to say, they are strong for doing good.' Thus the moon and the stars relieve each other in the battle against Ahriman.

⁶ Ahura.

⁷ Quoted from Yasna XLIV [XLIII], 3.

3. We sacrifice unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, the holy and master of holiness.

Here I look at the moon, here I perceive the moon; here I look at the light of the moon, here I perceive the light of the moon. The Amesha-Spentas stand up¹, holding its glory; the Amesha-Spentas stand up, pouring its glory upon the earth, made by Mazda².

4. And when the light of the moon waxes warmer, golden-hued plants grow on³ from the earth during the spring⁴.

We sacrifice unto the new moons, the full moons, and the Vîshaptathas⁵.

We sacrifice unto the new moon, the holy and master of holiness;

We sacrifice unto the full moon, the holy and master of holiness;

We sacrifice unto the Vîshaptatha, the holy and master of holiness.

¹ As soon as the moon appears.

² Cf. Yt. VI, 2.

³ Misti, meaning sadâ, همیشه; cf. mi-sâki.

⁴ Zaremaêm, meaning vasantamâse, بهار; it has the same meaning in Vend. XVIII, 9 [23]; cf. Yt. XXII, 18.

⁵ New moon and full moon are not used here in the English meaning: the month was divided into six parts, of five days each (the Norse fimt or five days' week; see Vigfusson, Icelandic Dictionary, s. v.): the first five days (pankâk fartûm) formed the new moon or antare-maungha, literally 'the moon within;' the next five days (pankâk datîgar) formed the perenô-maungha, literally 'the moon full,' which in fact partly answered to our first quarter; the next five days (pankâk sitîgar), belonging to the full moon, were called the Vîshaptatha; no mention is made of the last three pankâk, forming the second half of the month. It may be they were not mentioned, as belonging to the waning period, when the powers of the moon are suffering an eclipse. Cf. Neriosengh to Yasna I, (23.)

5. I will sacrifice unto the Moon, that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, the liberal, bright, glorious, water-giving¹, warmth-giving, wisdom-giving², wealth-giving³, riches-giving, thoughtfulness-giving⁴, weal-giving, freshness-giving⁵, prosperity-giving⁶, the liberal, the healing.

6. For its brightness and glory, I will offer unto it a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull.

Unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

Yēnhê hâtām : All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

7. Yathâ ahû vairyô : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the Moon, that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, and of the only-created Bull, and of the Bull of many species.

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good.

Give unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ Or possessing: giving may be replaced by possessing in this word as in the following.

² Varekhanghantem : dânák (Phl.); gñânitaram (Sansk.).

³ Khstâvantem : lakshmîvantam (Sansk.).

⁴ Yaokhstivantem, 'pondering on what good is to be done' (viçâryavantam kâryanyâyânâm; اندیشه نیک دارنده کار و عدل).

⁵ Zairimyâvantem : haritavarnavantam, kila prithivî(m) sâdratarâm karoti (Sansk.).

⁶ Vohvâvantem : uttamasamriddhimantam (Sansk.).

VIII. TÎR YAST.

Tistrya is the leader of the stars against the planets, as stars and planets belong, respectively, to the worlds of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu (Vend. Introd. IV, 36; Bund. II, 5 seq.).

This Yast is a description of the production of the rain through the agency of the star Tistrya. It has to struggle against the Daêva of Drought, Apaosha, is first overcome and conquers at last. This seems to be a refacimento of the old storm myths, which have been in so far renewed as the role of the hero in the original myth has been transferred to a star. It is to be noticed, however, that Apaosha is not described as a planet.

Tistrya is Sirius¹. It presides over the first month of summer (21 June—21 July). This Yast appears thus to have been written in a part of Iran where the dog-days must have fallen in July, and the rainy season began in the last days of July, unless the place of Tistrya in the calendar has been changed at some later period.

This Yast is recited on the days of Tistrya, Haurvatât (as the Genius of Waters), Farvardîn (as the Fravashis are his allies in the struggle; § 34), and Bâd (the wind; § 32).

The struggle between Tistrya and Apaosha is described in the Bundahis (VII), but it has there a cosmological character: it has not for its object the annual and regular return of the rains after the dog-days, but the production of the seas and lakes in the first ages of the world.

o. Mây Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, and unto the powerful Satavaêsa, made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward²,

¹ "Ενα δ' ἀστέρα πρὸ πάντων, οἷον φύλακα καὶ προόπτην ἐγκατέστησε, τὸν Σείριον (Plutarchus, de Iside et Osiride, § 47; cf. infra, § 48).

² Sîrôzah I, 13.

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'We worship the lordship and mastership [of Tistrya], whereby he protects¹ the Moon, the dwelling, the food, when my glorious stars come along and impart their gifts² to men. I will sacrifice unto the star Tistrya, that gives the fields their share [of waters].

2. 'We offer up libations unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, that gives happy dwelling and good dwelling; the white, shining, seen afar, and piercing; the health-bringing, loud-snorting³, and high, piercing from afar with its shining, undefiled rays; and unto the waters of the wide sea, the Vanguhi of wide renown⁴, and the species⁵ of the Bull, made by Mazda, the awful kingly Glory, and the Fravashi of the holy Spitama Zarathustra.

3. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the star Tistrya.

'Unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words⁶.

¹ Doubtful.

² The rain.

³ In his disguise as a horse; § 18.

⁴ See Vend., pp. 3, 5, note 2.

⁵ Nâma; see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 124.

⁶ Cf. p. 47.

‘Yênhê hâtãm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

II.

4. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who is the seed of the waters, powerful, tall, and strong, whose light goes afar; powerful and highly¹ working, through whom the brightness and the seed of the waters come from the high Apãm Napât²,

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

III.

5. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star; for whom long³ flocks and herds and men, looking forward for him and deceived in their hope⁴: “When shall we see him rise up, the bright and glorious star Tistrya? When will the springs run with waves as thick as a horse’s size and still thicker? Or will they never come?”

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

IV.

6. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star; who flies, towards the sea Vouru-Kasha⁵, as swiftly as the arrow darted through the heavenly

¹ Powerfully.

² Or, ‘through whom the beauty of the waters comes from Bereza, and their seed from Apãm Napât.’ Bereza, the high, the tall, an epithet of Apãm Napât, became one of his names (Ized Bôrg; cf. § 34); for Apãm Napât, see above, p. 6, note 1.

³ Paitismarenti; cf. Yt. V, 123.

⁴ Or better, ‘in their looking.’

⁵ See above, p. 54, note 6.

space¹, which Erekhsha², the swift archer, the Arya amongst the Aryas whose arrow was the swiftest, shot from Mount Khshaotha to Mount *Hvanvant*³.

7. 'For Ahura Mazda gave him assistance; so did the waters and the plants; and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, opened a wide way unto him.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

V.

8. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, that afflicts the Pairikas, that vexes the Pairikas, who, in the shape of worm-stars⁴, fly

¹ Mainivasau=mainyu-asau (meaning pun mînôî gîvâkîh, svargasthânam, Yasna LVII, 27 [LVI, 11, 3]).

² Erekhsha khshviwi-ishus, in Pahlavi Aris Shvâtîr (see *Études Iranienes*, II, 220), or 'Aris of the swift arrow,' was the best archer in the Iranian army. When Minozihr and Afrâsyab determined to make peace and to fix the boundary between Irân and Tûrân, 'it was stipulated that Aris should ascend Mount Damâvand, and from thence discharge an arrow towards the east; and that the place in which the arrow fell should form the boundary between the two kingdoms. Aris thereupon ascended the mountain, and discharged towards the east an arrow, the flight of which continued from the dawn of day until noon, when it fell on the banks of the Gihûn (the Oxus),' (Mirkhond, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, trans. by David Shea, p. 175; cf. Noeldeke, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1881, p. 445.)

³ Mount Khshaotha seems to be the same as Mount Damâvand (see preceding note); Mount *Hvanvant* may be the same as Mount Bâmîân, from which the Balkh river springs, as according to Tabari (trans. by Noeldeke, l. 1.), Aris' arrow stopped at the Balkh river (an affluent of the Oxus). But it may be that the limits given refer to the course of Tistrya; cf. § 38, text and note.

⁴ Doubtful. Shooting stars are alluded to. Mr. Geiger remarks that there is a swarm of shooting stars falling every year just at the time when Tistrya, in the European climate, is supposed to be most active, on the 10th of August.

between the earth and the heavens, in the sea Vouru-Kasha, the powerful sea, the large-sized, deep sea of salt¹ waters. He goes to its lake in the shape of a horse, in a holy shape; and down there he makes the waters boil over, and the winds flow above powerfully all around.

9. 'Then Satavaêsa² makes those waters flow down to the seven Karshvares of the earth³, and when he has arrived down there, he stands, beautiful, spreading ease and joy on the fertile countries (thinking in himself): "How shall the countries of the Aryas grow fertile?"

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . .

VI.

10. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who spake unto Ahura Mazda, saying: "Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

11. "'If men would worship me with a sacrifice in which I were invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, then I should have come to the faithful at the appointed time⁴; I should have come in the appointed time of my

¹ See above, p. 66, note 3.

² Satavaêsa is said to be the leader of the western stars (to be read southern stars, Bund. II, 7), and has in its protection the seas of the southern quarter (ibid. XIII, 12); the Satavaêsa sea is the Persian gulf.

³ This seems to be an allusion to the tide in the Arabian sea (the sea Vouru-Kasha) and in the gulf of Oman, which, being a southern sea, is under the control of Satavaêsa (cf. preceding note and Vend. V, 18, note 1).

⁴ At the right time of the year when rain is expected.

beautiful, immortal life¹, should it be one night, or two nights, or fifty, or a hundred nights."

12. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya ;

'We sacrifice unto the rains of Tistrya².

'We sacrifice unto the first star³; we sacrifice unto the rains of the first star.

'I will sacrifice unto the stars Haptôiringa⁴, to oppose the Yâtus and Pairikas.

'We sacrifice unto Vanant⁵, the star made by Mazda; for⁶ the well-shapen strength, for the Victory, made by Ahura, for the crushing Ascendant, for the destruction of what distresses us, for the destruction of what persecutes us.

'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, whose eye-sight is sound⁷.

13. 'For ten nights, O Spitama Zarathustra! Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, mingles his shape

¹ Cf. §§ 23-24 and Yt. X, 54-55, 74.

² As Tistrya is the producer of the rain: Tistryênnyaska = Tistara-tâarakasya vrîshâm (Khorshêd Nyâyis 8, Sansk. tr.).

³ Tistrya; cf. p. 105, note 3.

⁴ Haptôiringa (Ursa Major) is the leader of the stars in the north (Bund. II, 7). It is 'entrusted with the gate and passage of hell, to keep back those of the nine, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand and nine myriad demons, and demonesses, and fairies (Pairikas) and sorcerers (Yâtus) who are in opposition to the celestial sphere and constellations' (Minokhired XLIX, 15; tr. by West).

⁵ Vanant is the leader of the stars in the south (read west; Bund. II, 7). Cf. Yt. XX.

⁶ To obtain . . . This invocation is brought about by the very name of Vanant, which means 'who smites, who overcomes.' The peculiar office of Vanant is to keep the passes and gates of Mount Albôrz, around which the sun, the moon, and the stars revolve, and to prevent the Paris and Daêvas from cutting off and breaking the road of the sun (Minokhired XLIX, 12).

⁷ 'I sacrifice to Tistar for (=to obtain) the soundness of the sight' (Khorshêd Nyâyis 8, Pahl. tr.).

with light, moving in the shape of a man of fifteen years of age¹, bright, with clear eyes, tall, full of strength, strong, and clever.

14. 'He is active as the first man² was; he goes on with the strength of the first man; he has the virility³ of the first man.

15⁴. 'Here he calls for people to assemble, here he asks, saying: "Who now will offer me the libations with the Haoma and the holy meat? To whom shall I give wealth of male children, a troop of male children, and the purification of his own soul? Now I ought to receive sacrifice and prayer in the material world, by the law of excellent holiness."

16. 'The next ten nights, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a golden-horned bull⁵.

17. 'Here he calls for people to assemble, here he asks, saying: "Who now will offer me the libations with the Haoma and the holy meat? To whom shall I give wealth of oxen, a herd of oxen, and the purification of his own soul? Now I ought to receive sacrifice and prayer in the material world, by the law of excellent holiness."

18. 'The next ten nights, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

¹ The age of fifteen is the paradisiacal age in the Avesta (Yasna IX, 5 [18]).

² Gayô maratan. But the translation is doubtful; possibly 'as a first-rate man is.'

³ Doubtful; cf. erezi, Yt. XIV, 29.

⁴ Cf. Yt. V, 8.

⁵ Cf. Vend. XIX, 37 (123).

19. 'Here he calls for people to assemble, here he asks, saying: "Who now will offer me the libations with the Haoma and the holy meat? To whom shall I give wealth of horses, a troop of horses, and the purification of his own soul? Now I ought to receive sacrifice and prayer in the material world, by the law of excellent holiness."

20. 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya goes down to the sea Vouru-Kasha in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison¹.

21. 'But there rushes down to meet him the Daêva Apaosha, in the shape of a dark horse, black with black ears, black with a black back, black with a black tail, stamped with brands of terror.

22. 'They meet together, hoof against hoof, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya and the Daêva Apaosha. They fight together, O Spitama Zarathustra! for three days and three nights. And then the Daêva Apaosha proves stronger than the bright and glorious Tistrya, he overcomes him.

23. 'And Tistrya flees from the sea Vouru-Kasha, as far as a Hâthra's² length. He cries out in woe and distress, the bright and glorious Tistrya: "Woe is me, O Ahura Mazda! I am in distress, O Waters and Plants! O Fate and thou, Law of the worshippers of Mazda! Men do not worship me with a

¹ 'Tistar was converted into three forms, the form of a man and the form of a horse and the form of a bull . . . as the astrologers say that every constellation has three forms' (Bund. VII, 4; tr. West). Tistrya promises his worshippers children (§ 15), oxen (§ 17), or horses (§ 19), according as he appears in the form of a man (§ 13), of a bull (§ 16), or of a horse (§ 18).

² A mile (Bundahis XXVI, 1; tr. West, note 1).

sacrifice in which I am invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names¹.

24. "If men had worshipped me with a sacrifice in which I had been invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, I should have taken to me the strength of ten horses, the strength of ten camels, the strength of ten bulls, the strength of ten mountains, the strength of ten rivers²."

25. 'Then I, Ahura Mazda, offer up to the bright and glorious Tistrya a sacrifice in which he is invoked by his own name, and I bring him the strength of ten horses, the strength of ten camels, the strength of ten bulls, the strength of ten mountains, the strength of ten rivers.

26³. 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya goes down to the sea Vouru-Kasha in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and golden caparison.

27. 'But there rushes down to meet him the Daêva Apaosha in the shape of a dark horse, black with black ears, black with a black back, black with a black tail, stamped with brands of terror.

28. 'They meet together, hoof against hoof, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya, and the Daêva Apaosha; they fight together, O Zarathustra! till the time of noon. Then the bright and glorious Tistrya proves stronger than the Daêva Apaosha, he overcomes him.

29. 'Then he goes from the sea Vouru-Kasha as far as a Hâthra's length: "Hail!" cries the

¹ Cf. § 10 and Yt. X, 54 seq., 74.

² Cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 27.

³ §§ 26-27 = §§ 20-21.

bright and glorious Tistrya. "Hail unto me, O Ahura Mazda ! Hail unto you, O waters and plants ! Hail, O Law of the worshippers of Mazda ! Hail will it be unto you, O lands ! The life¹ of the waters will flow down unrestrained to the big-seeded² corn-fields, to the small-seeded³ pasture-fields, and to the whole of the material world !"

30. 'Then the bright and glorious Tistrya goes back down to the sea Vouru-Kasha, in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison⁴.

31. 'He makes the sea boil up and down ; he makes the sea stream this and that way ; he makes the sea flow this and that way : all the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over.

32. 'And the bright and glorious Tistrya rises up from the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra ! the bright and glorious Satavaêsa rises up from the sea Vouru-Kasha ; and vapours rise up above Mount Us-hindu, that stands in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha⁵.

¹ Adhavô ; possibly 'the streams ;' cf. Yt. V, 1, note 2. A month in the ancient Persian calendar, supposed to correspond to September-October, was called âdukani, which might, on that hypothesis, mean '(the month) that makes streams spring up.'

² Of which the representative is wheat (Bundahis XXIV, 19).

³ Of which the representative is the summer vetch (ibid. 21).

⁴ Cf. § 18.

⁵ 'The Âûsindôm mountain is that which, being of ruby, of the substance of the sky, is in the midst of the wide-formed ocean (the sea Vouru-Kasha),' (Bund. XII, 6; tr. West). Mount Âûsindôm receives its waters through a golden channel from the height Hukairya (cf. Yt. V, 3); 'from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, and one portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of this earth, and all the creations of

33. 'Then the vapours push forward, in the regular shape of clouds¹; they go following the wind, along the ways which Haoma traverses, the increaser of the world². Behind him travels the mighty wind, made by Mazda, and the rain, and the cloud, and the sleet, down to the several places, down to the fields, down to the seven Karshvares of the earth.

34. 'Apām Napât³, O Spitama Zarathustra! divides the waters amongst the countries in the material world, in company with the mighty wind, the Glory, made by the waters⁴, and the Fravashis of the faithful⁵.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

VII.

35. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who from the shining east, moves along his long winding course, along the path made by the gods, along the way appointed for him the

Aûharmazd acquire health from it, and it dispels the dryness of the atmosphere' (ibid. XIII, 5).

¹ Doubtful.

² Haoma opens the way for the waters from heaven, as being the foremost element in sacrifice (cf. § 24). For the same reason the Bundahis numbers Vohu-Manô, 'Good Mind,' amongst the co-operators of Tistrya.

³ See p. 6, note 1.

⁴ Or better, 'seated in the waters;' see Yt. XIX, 56 seq. and Yt. XIII, 65.

⁵ The Fravashis are active in the world struggle; cf. Yt. XIII, 43. 'Co-operators with Tîstar were Vohûman and the angel Hôh, with the assistance of the angel Bûrg (the same as Apām Napât; see p. 94, note 2) and the righteous guardian spirits in orderly arrangement' (Bundahis VII, 3, tr. West).

watery way, at the will of Ahura Mazda, at the will of the Amesha-Spentas.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

VIII.

36. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, whose rising is watched by men who live on the fruits of the year, by the chiefs of deep¹ understanding²; by the wild beasts in the mountains, by the tame beasts that run in the plains; they watch him, as he comes up to the country for a bad year, or for a good year³, (thinking in themselves): “How shall the Aryan countries be fertile?”

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

IX.

37⁴. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, swift-flying and swift-moving, who flies towards the sea Vouru-Kasha, as swiftly as the arrow darted through the heavenly space, which Erekhsha, the swift archer, the Arya amongst the Aryas whose arrow was the swiftest, shot from Mount Khshaotha to Mount *Hvanvant*.

38. ‘Ahura Mazda gave him assistance, and the Amesha-Spentas and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, pointed him the way: behind him went the

¹ Doubtful.

² For good or bad harvest.

³ The chiefs of the state.

⁴ § 37=§ 6.

tall Ashis Vanguhi¹ and Pârendi² on her light chariot : always till, in his course, he reached Mount *Hvanvant* on the shining waters³.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

X.

39. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who afflicts the Pairikas, who destroys the Pairikas, that Angra Mainyus flung to stop all the stars that have in them the seed of the waters⁴.

40. ‘Tistrya afflicts them, he blows them away from the sea Vouru-Kasha ; then the wind blows the clouds forward, bearing the waters of fertility, so that the friendly showers spread wide over, they spread helpfully and friendly over the seven Karshvares.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XI.

41. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, for whom long the standing waters, and the running spring-waters, the stream-waters, and the rain-waters :

42. “When will the bright and glorious Tistrya rise up for us ? When will the springs with a flow and overflow of waters, thick as a horse’s shoulder, run to the beautiful places and fields, and to the

¹ See Yt. XVII.

² See above, p. 11, note 5.

³ Doubtful. Mount *Hvanvant*, being situated in the sea Vouru-Kasha (as appears from Tistrya travelling towards that sea, § 38), seems to be the same with Mount Aûsindôm (§ 32).

⁴ Cf. above, § 8.

pastures, even to the roots of the plants, that they may grow with a powerful growth?"

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XII.

43. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who washes away all things of fear¹, who stunts the growth of all², and brings health to all these creations, being most beneficent, when he has been worshipped with a sacrifice and propitiated, rejoiced, and satisfied.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XIII.

44. 'I will sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, whom Ahura Mazda has established as a lord and overseer above all stars³, in the same way as he has established Zarathustra above men; whom neither Angra Mainyu, nor the Yâtus and the Pairikas, nor the men Yâtus⁴ can deliver unto death, nor can all the Daêvas together prevail for his death.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ *Simau*, meaning *sahmgûn*, *bhayamkara* (Yasna IX, 38 [93]).

² ? *Vazdris*.

³ In the *Bundahis* it is especially the leader of the eastern stars; but the *Minokhired* calls it the first star (XLIX, 5; cf. above, § 12).

⁴ See above, p. 38, note 3.

XIV.

45. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, to whom Ahura Mazda has given a thousand senses¹, and who is the most beneficent amongst the stars that have in them the seed of the waters :

46. 'Who moves in light with the stars that have in them the seed of the waters : he, from the sea Vouru-Kasha, the powerful sea, the large-sized, deep, and salt of waters, goes to all the lakes, and to all the beautiful caves, and to all the beautiful channels², in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

47. 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra ! the waters flow down from the sea Vouru-Kasha, mother-like³, friendly, and healing : he divides them amongst these countries, being most beneficent, when he has been worshipped with a sacrifice and propitiated, rejoiced, and satisfied⁴.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XV.

48. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, for whom long all the creatures of Spenta-Mainyu, those that live under the ground, and those that live above the ground ; those that live in the waters, and those that live on dry land ; those that fly, and those that run in the plains⁵ ; and all those

¹ See Yt. X, 82, note.

² Those of Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ; cf. Yt. V, 4, 101.

³ Cf. Yt. V, 15.

⁴ Cf. § 43.

⁵ See Yt. XIII, 10, note ; cf. Vispêrad I, 1, and Bundahis XXIV, tr. West, note 1.

that live within this boundless and endless world of the holy Spirit.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XVI.

49. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, the healthful, wise, happy, and powerful, who is the lord of a thousand boons, and grants many boons to that man who has pleased him, whether begging or not begging for them.

50. ‘I, O Spitama Zarathustra! have created that star Tistrya as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer, as worthy of propitiation, as worthy of glorification as myself, Ahura Mazda¹;

51. ‘In order to withstand, to break asunder, to afflict, to drive back the malice of that Pairika Duz-yâirya², whom evil-speaking³ people call Huyâirya⁴.

52. ‘Had I not created that star Tistrya as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer, as worthy of propitiation, as worthy of glorification as myself, Ahura Mazda;

53. ‘In order to withstand, to break asunder, to afflict, to drive back the malice of that Pairika Duz-yâirya, whom evil-speaking people call Huyâirya;

¹ Cf. Yt. X, 1.

² Bad year, that is to say, sterility, drought. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, also deprecates Duzyâirya in one of his inscriptions: ‘May Ahura Mazda keep this country from the hostile host, from sterility (dusiyâra), from lying (disloyalty): may never the foreigner enter this country, nor the hostile host, nor sterility, nor lying’ (Persepolis, H, 15).

³ People who object to rain and are fond of fine weather (?).

⁴ Good year.

54. 'Then all day long, all night long, that Pairika Duzyâirya would wage war against this material world of mine, wanting to extinguish its life¹, and she goes on, rushing upon and around it.

55. 'But the bright and glorious Tistrya keeps that Pairika in bonds, with twofold bonds, with threefold bonds, that cannot be overcome, with bonds all over the body: it is as if there were a thousand men keeping one man in bonds, a thousand men of those who are the strongest in strength.

56. 'If the Aryan countries, O Spitama Zarathustra! would perform in honour of the bright and glorious Tistrya the due sacrifice and invocation, just as that sacrifice and invocation ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness; never should a hostile horde enter these Aryan countries, nor any plague, nor leprosy, nor venomous plants², nor the chariot of a foe, nor the uplifted spear of a foe.'

57³. Zarathustra asked: 'What is then, O Ahura Mazda! the sacrifice and invocation in honour of the bright and glorious Tistrya, as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness?'

58. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Let the Aryan nations bring libations unto him; let the Aryan nations tie bundles of baresma for him; let the Aryan nations cook for him a head of cattle, either white, or black, or of any other colour, but all of one and the same colour.

¹ Reading *ava[-derenām]*; cf. Vend. XVIII, 18 [45].

² *Kapasti* is properly the *colocynthis* or bitter-apple:

'Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
Occidet.' (Ecl. IV, 24, 25.)

³ §§ 57-61 = Yt. XIV, 49-53; cf. Yt. V, 89 seq.

59. 'Let not a murderer take of these offerings, nor a whore, nor a¹ who does not sing the Gâthâs, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathustra.

60. 'If a murderer take of these offerings, or a whore, or a who does not sing the Gâthâs, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathustra, then the bright and glorious Tistrya takes back his healing virtues.

61. 'Plagues will ever pour upon the Aryan nations; hostile hordes will ever fall upon the Aryan nations; the Aryans will be smitten, by their fifties and their hundreds, by their hundreds and their thousands, by their thousands and their tens of thousands, by their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

62. 'Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, and of the powerful Satavaêsa, made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward.

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

'[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones².'

¹ ? Ashaovô.

² Cf. Yt. I, 33.

IX. GÔS YAST.

Gôš, 'the cow,' *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, is a personation of the animal kingdom which she maintains and protects. She is also called Drvâspa and Gosûrûn: Drvâspa means 'she who keeps horses in health,' and is nothing more than an epithet of Gôš: Gôšûrûn (from the Zend *Geus urvan*) means 'the Soul of the Bull' (the primeval Bull). Although *urvan* is a masculine noun in Zend, yet Gôšûrûn is considered a female angel, as this name is only a substitute for Gôš.

Gôš is the angel of the 14th day (Sîrôzah I, 14), and her Yast is recited during the Gâh Usahin, on the days of Gôš, Bahman, Mâh, and Râm (the same days as those on which the Mâh Yast is recited; see above, p. 88).

Gôš is hardly described in this Yast (§§ 1-2); the greater part of it being filled with the several prayers addressed to her by the Iranian heroes, Haoshyangha (§ 3), Yima (§ 8), Thraëtaona (§ 13), Haoma (§ 17), Husravah (§ 21), Zarathustra, and Vîstâspa. Her worshippers and their prayers to her are the same as in the case of Ashi Vanguhi (see Yt. XVII).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! May Angra Mainyu be afflicted!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, satisfaction, and glorification unto Hâvani, the holy and master of holiness.

Unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy¹,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

¹ Sîrôzah I, 14.

I.

1. We sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health, the herds in health, the grown-up¹ (cattle) in health, the young ones in health; who watches well from afar, with a wide-spread and long-continued welfare-giving friendship;

2. Who yokes teams of horses, who makes her chariot turn and its wheels sound, fat and glistening², strong, tall-formed, weal-possessing, health-giving, powerful to stand and powerful to turn for assistance to the faithful.

3. To her did Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta³, offer up a sacrifice on the enclosure of the Hara, the beautiful height, made by Mazda, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations:

4. 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may overcome all the Daêvas of Mâzana⁴; that I may never fear and bow through terror before the Daêvas, but that all the Daêvas may fear and bow in spite of themselves before me, that they may fear and flee down to darkness⁵.'

5. The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

6. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer her a sacrifice well performed, namely, unto the powerful

¹ Doubtful; possibly 'the friend in health, the child in health.'

² Doubtful.

⁴ Cf. p. 59, note 2.

³ Cf. p. 58, note 1.

⁵ To hell.

Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy. We offer up libations to the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy; we offer her the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda¹

II.

7. We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health

Who yokes teams of horses for assistance to the faithful².

8. To her did Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd, offer up a sacrifice from the height Hukairya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations:

9. 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may bring fatness and flocks down to the world created by Mazda; that I may bring immortality down to the world created by Mazda;

10. 'That I may take away both hunger and thirst, from the world created by Mazda; that I may take away both old age and death, from the world created by Mazda; that I may take away both hot wind and cold wind, from the world created by Mazda, for a thousand years³.'

11. The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon,

¹ As above, p. 30.

² § 7=§§ 1-2.

³ §§ 8-10=Yt. XVII, 28-30; cf. Yasna IX, 4-5 [11-20]; Yt. V, 25-27.

as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

III.

12. We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health

Who yokes teams of horses for assistance to the faithful.

13¹. To her did Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations :

14. 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may overcome Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavâê and Erenavâê, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world¹.'

15. The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ Yt. V, 34; XV, 24; XVII, 34.

IV.

16. We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps flocks in health

Who yokes teams of horses for assistance to the faithful.

17¹. To her did Haoma² offer up a sacrifice, Haoma, the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes, upon the highest height of the Haraiti Bareza. He begged of her a boon, saying :

18. 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may bind the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan³, that I may drag him bound, that I may bring him bound unto king Husravah, that king Husravah may kill him, behind the *Kaêkasta* lake⁴, the deep lake of salt⁵ waters, to avenge the murder of his father Syâvarshâna⁶, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man⁷.'

¹ §§ 17-19=Yt. XVII, 37-38.

² Cf. Yasna XI, 7 [20-21]. The destruction of the fiends, being one of the principal effects of sacrifice, is ascribed to Haoma as the most powerful element in the sacrifice. In the *Shâh Nâmah*, the god Haoma has been turned into a hermit who, living near the cave in which Afrâsyâb had taken refuge (see above, Yt. V, 41), overhears his lamentations, takes him by surprise, binds him, and delivers him into the hands of Khosrav (*Études Iraniennes*, II, 227).

³ See p. 64, note 1.

⁴ See above, p. 66, note 2.

⁵ See p. 66, note 3.

⁶ See p. 64, note 1.

⁷ Doubtful (narava, as opposed to nara). Aghraêratha (Aghrêrath) was a brother of Afrâsyâb's; he was a righteous man, and Afrâsyâb killed him for his having saved the Iranian king Mino-kîhr with his army, when captive in the Padashkhvâr mountains (*Bundahis* XXXI, 21). Yet he is still living as an immortal in the land of Saukavastân, under the name of Gôpatshâh (the king of the bulls); 'from foot to mid-body he is a bull, and from mid-body to

19. The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would give him that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

V.

20. We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health

Who yokes teams of horses for assistance to the faithful.

21¹. To her did the gallant Husravah, he who united the Arya nations into one kingdom, offer up a sacrifice, behind the *Kaêkasta* lake, the deep lake of salt waters, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and an offering of libations :

22. 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may kill the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan, behind the *Kaêkasta* lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of my father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man².'

23. The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacri-

the top he is a man; at all times he stays on the sea-shore, and always performs the worship of God, and always pours holy-water into the sea' (Minokhired LXII, 31 seq., tr. West; Bund. XXIX, 5); according to Bund. XXXI, 20, Aghrêrath was not Gôpatshâh, he was his father. Cf. Yt. XIX, 93.

¹ §§ 21-22 = Yt. XVII, 41-42.

² See p. 114, note 7.

ficing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

VI.

24. We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health

Who yokes teams of horses for assistance to the faithful.

25¹. To her did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah, by the good river Dâitya, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words. He begged of her a boon, saying :

26. 'O good, most beneficent Drvâspa ! grant me this boon, that I may bring the good and noble Hutaosa² to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to do according to the law, that she may spread my Mazdean law and make it known, and that she may bestow beautiful praises upon my deeds.'

27. The strong Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ §§ 25-26=XVII, 44-45; cf. Yt. V, 104.

² Hutaosa was the wife of king Vistâspa; cf. Yt. XV, 37.

VII.

28. We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health

Who yokes teams of horses for assistance to the faithful.

29¹. To her did the tall Kavi Vîstâspa offer up a sacrifice behind the waters of the river Dâitya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations :

30. ' Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa ! that I may put to flight Asta-aurvant², the son of Vîspa-thaurvô-asti, the all-afflicting, of the brazen helmet, of the brazen armour, of the thick neck, behind whom seven hundred camels² ; that I may put to flight the *Hvyaona* murderer, Aregat-aspa³ ; that I may put to flight Darsinika⁴, the worshipper of the Daêvas ;

31. And that I may smite Tâthravant⁵ of the bad law ; that I may smite Spingauruska⁴, the worshipper of the Daêvas ; and that I may bring unto the good law the nations of the Varedhakas and of the *Hvyaonas*⁶ ; and that I may smite of the *Hvyaona* nations their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their

¹ §§ 29-31 = Yt. XVII, 49-51.

² ? *Gainyâvara*t.

³ See above, p. 79, note 4.

⁴ " *Ἀπαξ λεγόμενος*.

⁵ Mentioned Yt. V, 109 and XIX, 87.

⁶ The *Hvyaonas* seem to have been the Chionitae, a bellicose tribe, near the land of Gilan, often at war with the first Sassanides (Amm. Marcellinus XVII, 5). The name of the Varedhakas reminds one of the Vertae who are mentioned once in company with the Chionitae (ibid. XIX, 1) ; but their geographical situation is not ascertained. In any case the proximity of the Dâitya (§ 29) shows that both people must have inhabited the western coast of the Caspian sea.

tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

32. The strong Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer her a sacrifice well performed, namely, unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy. We offer up libations to the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy; we offer her the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

Yathâ ahû vairiyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

X. MIHIR YAST.

This Yast, one of the longest of the Avesta and one of the most interesting in a literary point of view, is not very instructive for mythology. It consists of long descriptive pieces, sometimes rather spirited, and of fervent prayers and invocations for mercy or protection. Originally Mithra was the god of the heavenly light (§§ 12, 50, 67, 104, 124 seq., 136 seq., &c.); and in that character he knows the truth, as he sees everything; he is therefore taken as a witness of truth, he is the preserver of oaths and good faith (§§ 2, 44 seq., 79 seq., 81 seq., &c.); he chastises those who break their promises and lie to Mithra, destroys their houses and smites them in battle (§§ 17 seq., 28 seq., 35 seq., 47 seq., 99 seq., 105 seq., 112 seq., 128 seq., &c.).

Particularly interesting are §§ 115-118, as giving a sketch of moral hierarchy in Iran, and §§ 121-122, as being perhaps the source of the trials in the later Roman Mithriacism. Cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 8 and Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 59-61.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas, and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, a Yazata invoked by his own name, and unto Râma Hvâstra¹,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'Verily, when I created Mithra, the lord of

¹ Sîrôzah I, 16.

wide pastures, O Spitama ! I created him as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer as myself, Ahura Mazda¹.

2. 'The ruffian who lies unto Mithra² brings death unto the whole country, injuring as much the faithful world as a hundred evil-doers³ could do. Break not the contract, O Spitama ! neither the one that thou hadst entered into with one of the unfaithful, nor the one that thou hadst entered into with one of the faithful who is one of thy own faith⁴. For Mithra stands for both the faithful and the unfaithful.

3. 'Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, gives swiftness to the horses of those who lie not unto Mithra.

'Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, gives the straightest way to those who lie not unto Mithra.

'The good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful give a virtuous offspring to those who lie not unto Mithra.

4. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures.

'We offer up libations unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who gives a happy dwelling and a good dwelling to the Aryan nations.

5. 'May he come to us for help ! May he come to us for ease ! May he come to us for joy ! May he come to us for mercy ! May he come to us for health ! May he come to us for victory ! May he

¹ Cf. Yt. VIII, 50.

² The Mithradrug : one might also translate 'who breaks the contract,' as mithra, as a common noun, means 'a contract.'

³ Kayadhas ; cf. Yt. I, 19.

⁴ Cf. Ardâ Viraf, chap. lii.

come to us for good conscience¹! May he come to us for bliss²! he, the awful and overpowering, worthy of sacrifice and prayer, not to be deceived anywhere in the whole of the material world, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures.

6. 'I will offer up libations unto him, the strong Yazata, the powerful Mithra, most beneficent to the creatures: I will apply unto him with charity³ and prayers: I will offer up a sacrifice worth being heard unto him, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

'Yênê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda⁴

II.

7. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge⁵, strong, sleepless, and ever awake⁶;

¹ Cheerfulness at the head of the *Kinva* bridge (Yasna LXII, 6 [LXI, 17]; cf. Vend. XVIII, 6).

² The condition of the blessed in the next world.

³ *Vanta*, 'assistance, that is, making *gâdangôî*' (Yasna LXII [LXI], 1; *gâdangôî* is making a collection for the poor (Études Iraniennes, II, 155).

⁴ As p. 30.

⁵ *Perethu-vaêdhayana: sampûrnavittâram kâryanyâyânam* (Khorshêd Nyâyis 6).

⁶ *Gaghâurvaung hem*: this word, strangely enough, is generally translated 'who has most strong arms' (balish/abbugam); *gaghâuru* is translated in the same way.

8. 'To whom the chiefs of nations offer up sacrifices, as they go to the field, against havocking hosts, against enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of conflicting nations.

9. 'On whichever side he has been worshipped first in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart, to that side turns Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, with the fiend-smiting wind, with the cursing thought of the wise¹.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

III.

10. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake.

11. 'Whom the horsemen worship on the back of their horses, begging swiftness for their teams, health for their own bodies, and that they may watch with full success those who hate them, smite down their foes, and destroy at one stroke their adversaries, their enemies, and those who hate them².

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

IV.

12. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

13. 'Who first of the heavenly gods reaches over the Hara³, before the undying, swift-horsed sun⁴;

¹ See p. 12, note 13.

² Cf. Yt. V, 53 ; X, 94.

³ Mount Albôrz, whence the sun rises ; see § 50.

⁴ Mithra is closely connected with the sun, but not yet identical with it, as he became in later times (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀, the sun ; Deo invicto Soli Mithrae).

who, foremost in a golden array, takes hold of the beautiful summits, and from thence looks over the abode of the Aryans with a beneficent eye.

14. 'Where the valiant chiefs draw up their many troops in array¹; where the high mountains, rich in pastures and waters, yield plenty to the cattle²; where the deep lakes, with salt waters, stand³; where wide-flowing rivers swell and hurry towards Iskata and Pouruta, Mouru and Harôyu, the Gava-Sughdha and *Hvâirizem*⁴;

15. 'On Arezahi and Savahi, on Fradadhafshu and Vîdadhafshu, on Vourubaresti and Vourugaresti, on this bright Karshvare of *Hvaniratha*⁵, the abode of cattle, the dwelling of cattle, the powerful Mithra looks with a health-bringing eye;

16. 'He who moves along all the Karshvares, a Yazata unseen, and brings glory; he who moves along all the Karshvares, a Yazata unseen, and brings sovereignty; and increases⁶ strength for

¹ In the flat countries.

² In the mountainous parts of Iran.

³ In the lake regions (Seistan, Farsistan, Âdarbaigân).

⁴ In the country of the large rivers in the East. Mouru is Marv (Margiana), with the Murghâb river (the Margus); Harôyu is the Herat country, with the Harêrûd; Gava-Sughdha and *Hvâirizem* are Sogdiana and Khvârizm, with the Oxus. The situation of Iskata and Pouruta is not clear: one might think of Alexander eschata on the Iaxartes and the Paretacene country between the Oxus and the Iaxartes.

⁵ The earth is divided into seven Karshvares, separated from one another by seas and mountains impassable to men. Arezahi and Savahi are the western and the eastern Karshvare; Fradadhafshu and Vîdadhafshu are in the south; Vourubaresti and Vourugaresti are in the north; *Hvaniratha* is the central Karshvare. *Hvaniratha* is the only Karshvare inhabited by man (Bundahis XI, 3).

⁶ Doubtful.

victory to those who, with a pious intent, holily offer him libations.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

V.

17. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

‘Unto whom nobody must lie, neither the master of a house, nor the lord of a borough, nor the lord of a town, nor the lord of a province.

18. ‘If the master of a house lies unto him, or the lord of a borough, or the lord of a town, or the lord of a province, then comes Mithra, angry and offended, and he breaks asunder the house, the borough, the town, the province ; and the masters of the houses, the lords of the boroughs, the lords of the towns, the lords of the provinces, and the foremost men of the provinces.

19. ‘On whatever side there is one who has lied unto Mithra, on that side Mithra stands forth, angry and offended, and his wrath¹ is slow to relent².

20. ‘Those who lie unto Mithra, however swift they may be running, cannot overtake³ ; riding, cannot³ ; driving, cannot³. The spear that the foe of Mithra flings, darts backwards, for the

¹ Mainyu, in the meaning of the Sanskrit manyu (?).

² Doubtful; *aspakat*: cf. *سپوختن*, to be late.

³ *Apayêinti*, *frastanvainti*, *framanyêintê*: these are three technical words for the movements of the three classes of soldiers, footmen, horsemen, and chariot-men; the last two words are probably synonymous with the first, but the exact shades of meaning are not known. Mr. West suggests, cannot outrun, outride, outdrive him.

number of the evil spells that the foe of Mithra works out¹.

21. 'And even though the spear be flung well, even though it reach the body, it makes no wound, for the number of the evil spells that the foe of Mithra works out¹. The wind drives away the spear that the foe of Mithra flings, for the number of the evil spells that the foe of Mithra works out.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

VI.

22. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

'Who takes out of distress the man who has not lied unto him, who takes him out of death.

23. 'Take us out of distress, take us out of distresses, O Mithra! as we have not lied unto thee. Thou bringest down terror upon the bodies of the men who lie unto Mithra; thou takest away the strength from their arms, being angry and all-powerful; thou takest the swiftness from their feet, the eye-sight from their eyes, the hearing from their ears.

24. 'Not the wound² of the well-sharpened spear or of the flying arrow reaches that man to whom Mithra comes for help with all the strength of his soul, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-seeing, undeceivable Mithra.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ The sacramental words of the contract, by their not being kept, turn to evil spells against the contract-breaker.

² Doubtful: sanamayô, or sanamaoyô; read shanmaoyô (?), from shan, Sansk. kshan.

VII.

25. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures,
sleepless, and ever awake ;

'Who is lordly, deep, strong, and weal-giving ;
a chief in assemblies, pleased with prayers¹, high,
holily clever, the incarnate Word, a warrior with
strong arms ;

26. 'Who breaks the skulls of the Daêvas, and is
most cruel in exacting pains ; the punisher of the
men who lie unto Mithra, the withstander of the
Pairikas ; who, when not deceived, establisheth
nations in supreme strength ; who, when not de-
ceived, establisheth nations in supreme victory ;

27. 'Who confounds the ways of the nation that
delights in havoc, who turns away their Glory², takes
away their strength for victory, blows them away
helpless³, and delivers them unto ten thousand
strokes ; he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful,
all-seeing, undeceivable Mithra.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth
being heard

VIII.

28. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures,
sleepless, and ever awake ;

'Who upholds the columns of the lofty house and
makes its pillars⁴ solid ; who gives herds of oxen and
male children to that house in which he has been
satisfied ; he breaks to pieces those in which he has
been offended.

29. 'Thou, O Mithra ! art both bad and good to

¹ Vahmô-sendah ; cf. Vispêrad VIII (IX, 1), Phl. tr.

² Their *Hvarenô*.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ Âithya ; cf. Lat. antae (Brugmann).

nations; thou, O Mithra! art both bad and good to men; thou, O Mithra! keepest in thy hands both peace and trouble for nations.

30. 'Thou makest houses large, beautiful with women, beautiful with chariots, with well-laid foundations¹, and high above their groundwork²; thou makest that house lofty, beautiful with women, beautiful with chariots, with well-laid foundations, and high above its groundwork, of which the master, pious and holding libations in his hand, offers thee a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name and with the proper words.

31. 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O powerful Mithra!

'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O most beneficent Mithra!

'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O thou undeceivable Mithra!

32. 'Listen unto our sacrifice³, O Mithra! Be thou pleased with our sacrifice, O Mithra! Come and sit at our sacrifice! Accept our libations! Accept them as they have been consecrated⁴! Gather them together with love and lay them in the Garô-nmâna!

33. 'Grant us these boons which we beg of thee, O powerful god! in accordance⁵ with the words of revelation, namely, riches, strength, and victory, good conscience and bliss⁶, good fame and a good

¹ Doubtful.

² Doubtful.

³ Cf. Yt. III, 18.

⁴ By the proper prayers (*yastau*).

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Cf. § 5.

soul; wisdom and the knowledge that gives happiness¹, the victorious strength given by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant of Asha Vahista, and conversation (with God) on the Holy Word².

34. 'Grant that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our foes; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our enemies; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all the malice of Daêvas and Men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf³.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

IX.

35. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Victory-making⁴, army-governing, endowed with a thousand senses⁵; power-wielding, power-possessing, and all-knowing;

36. 'Who sets the battle a going, who stands against (armies) in battle, who, standing against (armies) in battle, breaks asunder the lines arrayed. The wings of the columns gone to battle shake, and he throws terror upon the centre of the havocking host.

37. 'He can bring and does bring down upon them distress and fear; he throws down the heads of those who lie unto Mithra, he takes off the heads of those who lie unto Mithra.

¹ Spiritual happiness, bliss.

² Vend. XVIII, 51 [111].

³ See above, p. 26, note 2. §§ 30-34 = §§ 56-59.

⁴ Doubtful (reading *arena/-gaêsha*?).

⁵ See § 82, note.

38. 'Sad is the abode, unpeopled with children, where abide men who lie unto Mithra, and, verily, the fiendish killer of faithful men. The grazing cow goes a sad straying way, driven along the vales¹ of the Mithradrugēs: they² stand on the road, letting tears run over their chins³.

39. 'Their falcon-feathered arrows, shot from the string of the well-bent bow, fly towards the mark, and hit it not, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

'Their spears, well whetted and sharp, their long spears fly from their hands towards the mark, and hit it not, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

40. 'Their swords, well thrust and striking at the heads of men, hit not the mark, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

'Their clubs, well falling and striking at the heads of men, hit not the mark, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

41. 'Mithra strikes fear into them; Rashnu⁴ strikes a counter-fear into them⁵; the holy Sraosha blows them away from every side towards the two Yazatas, the maintainers of the world⁶. They make the ranks of the army melt away, as Mithra, the lord

¹ Doubtful.

² The cattle.

³ The meaning is, that the cattle of the Mithradrugēs do not thrive, and that their pasture-fields are waste.

⁴ See Yt. XII.

⁵ As they flee from Mithra, they fall into the hands of Rashnu.

⁶ Thrâtâra; one might feel inclined to read thrâstâra, 'the fear-striking;' cf. § 36.

of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them¹.

42. 'They cry unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, saying: "O Mithra, thou lord of wide pastures! here are our fiery horses taking us away, as they flee from Mithra; here are our sturdy arms cut to pieces by the sword, O Mithra!"'

43. 'And then Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, throws them to the ground, killing their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads; as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, is angry and offended.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

X.

44. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Whose dwelling, wide as the earth, extends over the material world, large², unconfined², and bright, a far-and-wide-extending abode.

45. 'Whose eight friends³ sit as spies for Mithra, on all the heights, at all the watching-places, observing the man who lies unto Mithra, looking at those, remembering those who have lied unto Mithra, but guarding the ways of those whose life is sought by

¹ Cf. §§ 99-101.

² Doubtful. The text is corrupt.

³ Doubtful. The number eight has probably an astronomical signification, each of the eight râtis of Mithra occupying one of the eight points of the compass.

men who lie unto Mithra, and, verily, by the fiendish killers of faithful men.

46. 'Helping and guarding, guarding behind and guarding in front, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, proves an undeceivable spy and watcher for the man to whom he comes to help with all the strength of his soul, he of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XI.

47. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

'A god of high renown and old age¹, whom wide-hoofed horses carry against havocking hosts, against enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of conflicting nations².

48. 'And when Mithra drives along towards the havocking hosts, towards the enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of the conflicting nations, then he binds the hands of those who have lied unto Mithra, he confounds their eye-sight, he takes the hearing from their ears ; they can no longer move their feet ; they can no longer withstand those people, those foes, when Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, bears them ill-will.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XII.

49. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

50. 'For whom the Maker, Ahura Mazda, has

¹ Doubtful.

² Cf. § 8.

built up a dwelling on the Hara Berezaiti, the bright mountain around which the many (stars) revolve¹, where come neither night nor darkness, no cold wind and no hot wind, no deathful sickness, no uncleanness made by the Daêvas, and the clouds cannot reach up unto the Haraiti Bareza²;

51. 'A dwelling that all the Amesha-Spentas, in one accord with the sun, made for him in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart, and he surveys the whole of the material world from the Haraiti Bareza.

52. 'And when there rushes a wicked worker of evil, swiftly, with a swift step, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, goes and yokes his horses to his chariot, along with the holy, powerful Sraosha and Nairyô-sangha³, who strikes a blow that smites the army, that smites the strength of the malicious⁴.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XIII.

53. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

54. 'Who, with hands lifted up, ever cries unto Ahura Mazda, saying: "I am the kind keeper of all creatures, I am the kind maintainer of all creatures; yet men worship me not with a sacrifice in which I am invoked by my own name, as they worship the other gods with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names.

55⁵. "'If men would worship me with a sacrifice

¹ Bundahis V, 3 seq.; cf. Yt. XII, 13, and Yt. X, 13.

² The Haraiti Bareza is the same as Hara Berezaiti.

³ Sîrôzah I, 9, notes 4 and 5.

⁴ Doubtful (mâyaos).

⁵ Cf. Yt. VIII, 11, 24, and Yt. X, 74.

in which I were invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, then I would come to the faithful at the appointed time ; I would come in the appointed time of my beautiful, immortal life."

56¹. 'But the pious man, holding libations in his hands, does worship thee with a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, and with the proper words.

'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O powerful Mithra !

'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O most beneficent Mithra !

'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O thou undeceivable Mithra !

57. 'Listen unto our sacrifice, O Mithra! Be thou pleased with our sacrifice, O Mithra! Come and sit at our sacrifice! Accept our libations! Accept them as they have been consecrated! Gather them together with love and lay them in the Garô-nmâna!

58. 'Grant us these boons which we beg of thee, O powerful god! in accordance with the words of revelation, namely, riches, strength, and victory, good conscience and bliss, good fame and a good soul; wisdom and the knowledge that gives happiness, the victorious strength given by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant of Asha-Vahista, and conversation (with God) on the Holy Word.

¹ §§ 56-59=§§ 30-34.

59. 'Grant that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our foes; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our enemies; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all the malice of Daêvas and Men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XIV.

60. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Whose renown is good, whose shape is good, whose glory is good; who has boons to give at his will, who has pasture-fields to give at his will; harmless to the tiller of the ground,¹, beneficent; he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XV.

61. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Firm-legged², a watcher fully awake; valiant, a chief in assemblies; making the waters flow forward; listening to appeals; making the waters run and the plants grow up; ruling over the Karsh-

¹ The text is corrupt (*vasô-yaonâi inatâm?*).

² *Eredhwô-zangem: sudridhagaŋghatâ, kila kâr̥ye yad pâdâ-bhyâm yugyate kartum vyavasâyî saktas̥ka* (*Yasna LXII, 5 [LXI, 13]*).

vares¹; delivering²; happy³; undeceivable; endowed with many senses⁴; a creature of wisdom;

62. 'Who gives neither strength nor vigour to him who has lied unto Mithra; who gives neither glory nor any boon to him who has lied unto Mithra.

63. 'Thou takest away the strength from their arms, being angry and all-powerful; thou takest the swiftness from their feet, the eye-sight from their eyes, the hearing from their ears.

'Not the wound of the well-sharpened spear or of the flying arrow reaches that man to whom Mithra comes for help with all the strength of his soul, he, of the ten-thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god⁵.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XVI.

64. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Who takes possession⁶ of the beautiful, wide-expanding law, greatly and powerfully, and whose face looks over all the seven Karshvares of the earth;

65. 'Who is swift amongst the swift, liberal amongst the liberal, strong amongst the strong, a chief of assembly amongst the chiefs of assemblies; increase-giving, fatness-giving, cattle-giving, sovereignty-giving, son-giving, cheerfulness⁷-giving, and bliss⁷-giving.

¹ Karsô-râzanghem: kêsvar vîrâi (Pahl. tr. *ibid.*).

² From Ahriman; cf. Yasna XXIX, 6 (vyâna = viârisn, visuddhatâ.)

³ Yaokhstivanî: kâmakômand (possessing whatever he wishes for, Vend. XX, 1 [3]).

⁴ See Yt. X, 82, note.

⁵ From Yt. X, 23-24.

⁶ Cf. Yasna XLIII, 7: vyânayâ: amat vandînî, yat grîhâtî.

⁷ Cf. Yt. X, 5, p. 121, notes 1 and 2.

66. 'With whom proceed Ashi Vanguhi, and Pârendi on her light chariot¹, the awful Manly Courage, the awful kingly Glory, the awful sovereign Sky, the awful cursing thought² of the wise, the awful Fravashis of the faithful, and he who keeps united together the many faithful worshippers of Mazda³.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XVII.

67. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

'Who drives along on his high-wheeled chariot, made of a heavenly⁴ substance, from the Karshvare of Arezahi⁵ to the Karshvare of *Hvaniratha*, the bright one ; accompanied by⁶ the wheel of sovereignty⁷, the Glory made by Mazda, and the Victory made by Ahura ;

68. 'Whose chariot is embraced⁸ by the great Ashi Vanguhi ; to whom the Law of Mazda opens a way, that he may go easily ; whom four heavenly steeds, white, shining, seen afar, beneficent, endowed with knowledge, swiftly⁹ carry along the heavenly space¹⁰, while the cursing thought of the wise pushes it forward ;

69. 'From whom all the Daêvas unseen and the Varenya fiends¹¹ flee away in fear. Oh ! may we

¹ Cf. Yt. VIII, 38.

² See above, p. 12, note 13.

³ Mithra himself (?).

⁴ Or 'invisible.'

⁵ The western Karshvare (see above, p. 123, note 5) ; this seems to refer to the career of Mithra during the night ; cf. § 95.

⁶ And rolling upon it.

⁷ Cf. Yt. XIII, 89, note.

⁸ And uplifted.

⁹ Doubtful.

¹⁰ See above, p. 95, note 1.

¹¹ See Vend. Introd. IV, 23.

never fall across the rush of the angry lord¹, who goes and rushes from a thousand sides against his foe, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XVIII.

70. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

‘Before whom Verethraghna, made by Ahura, runs opposing the foes in the shape of a boar², a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp-jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing³, wrathful, with a dripping face; strong, with iron feet, iron fore-paws⁴, iron weapons, an iron tail, and iron jaws ;

71. ‘Who, eagerly clinging to the fleeing foe, along with Manly Courage, smites the foe in battle, and does not think he has smitten him, nor does he consider it a blow till he has smitten away the marrow⁵ and the column of life⁶, the marrow⁵ and the spring of existence.

72. ‘He cuts all the limbs to pieces, and mingles, together with the earth, the bones, hair, brains, and blood of the men who have lied unto Mithra⁷.

‘For his brightness and glory, we offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ Cf. § 98.

² See Yt. XIV, 15; cf. Yt. X, 127.

³ Anupôithwa; cf. pôithwa (Vend. XIV [114])=rânînisn.

⁴ Literally, hands.

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ The spine.

⁷ Cf. § 80.

XIX.

73. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures,
sleepless, and ever awake ;

'Who, with hands lifted up, rejoicing, cries out,
speaking thus :

74. "'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit !
Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

' "If men would worship me¹ with a sacrifice in
which I were invoked by my own name, as they
worship the other gods with sacrifices in which they
are invoked by their own names, then I should
come to the faithful at the appointed time ; I should
come in the appointed time of my beautiful, im-
mortal life ²."

75. 'May we keep our field ; may we never be
exiles³ from our field, exiles from our house, exiles
from our borough, exiles from our town, exiles from
our country.

76. 'Thou dashest in pieces the malice of the
malicious, the malice of the men of malice : dash
thou in pieces the killers of faithful men !

'Thou hast good horses, thou hast a good
chariot : thou art bringing help at every appeal, and
art powerful.

77. 'I will pray unto thee for help, with many
consecrations, with good consecrations of libations ;
with many offerings, with good offerings of libations,
that we, abiding in thee, may long inhabit a good
abode, full of all the riches that can be wished for.

¹ They have worshipped him and he has consequently over-
come the Mithradrugēs ; this accounts for the word rejoicing.

² Cf. Yt. X, 55.

³ Iric ; cf. linquo.

78. 'Thou keepest those nations that tender a good worship to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; thou dashest in pieces those that delight in havoc. Unto thee will I pray for help: may he come to us for help, the awful, most powerful Mithra, the worshipful and praiseworthy, the glorious lord of nations.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XX.

79. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Who made a dwelling for Rashnu¹, and to whom Rashnu gave all his soul for long friendship;

80. 'Thou art a keeper and protector of the dwelling of those who lie not: thou art the maintainer of those who lie not. With thee hath Verethraghna, made by Ahura, contracted the best of all friendships², and thus it is how so many men who have lied unto Mithra, even privily³, lie smitten down on the ground.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXI.

81. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Who made a dwelling for Rashnu, and to whom Rashnu gave all his soul for long friendship;

82. 'To whom Ahura Mazda gave a thousand

¹ The Genius of Truth (Yt. XII); Mithra gives a dwelling to the truthful man in the same way as he destroys the dwelling of the liar (§ 80).

² Cf. § 70.

³ Aipi vithisi; Vedic api vyathisi (VIII, 45, 19).

senses¹ and ten thousand eyes to see. With those eyes and those senses, he watches the man who injures Mithra, the man who lies unto Mithra. Through those eyes and those senses, he is undeceivable, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXII.

83. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

‘Whom the lord of the country invokes for help, with hands uplifted;

‘Whom the lord of the town invokes for help, with hands uplifted;

84. ‘Whom the lord of the borough invokes for help, with hands uplifted;

‘Whom the master of the house invokes for help, with hands uplifted;

‘Whom the² in danger of death³ invokes for help, with hands uplifted;

‘Whom the poor man, who follows the good law, when wronged and deprived of his rights, invokes for help, with hands uplifted.

85. ‘The voice of his wailing reaches up to the sky, it goes over the earth all around, it goes over

¹ Yaokhsti, the root of Persian *nyôstîdan*, Pahlavi *niyôkhsîtan*, to hear; one might be inclined to translate ‘a thousand ears,’ or ‘a thousand hearings;’ but the meaning of the word must have been rather more general, as Neriosengh translates it (*pranidhi*, IX, 8 [25]).

² *Dvâkîna*?

³ *Pithê*: *mrîtyu* (*Yasna* LIII [LII], 6).

the seven Karshvares, whether he utters his prayer in a low tone of voice¹ or aloud.

86. 'The cow driven astray invokes him for help², longing for the stables:

' "When will that bull, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, bring us back, and make us reach the stables? when will he turn us back to the right way from the den of the Drug where we were driven³?"

87. 'And to him with whom Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, has been satisfied, he comes with help; and of him with whom Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, has been offended, he crushes down the house, the borough, the town, the province, the country.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXIII.

88. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'To whom the enlivening, healing, fair, lordly, golden-eyed Haoma offered up a sacrifice on the highest of the heights, on the Haraiti Bareza⁴, he

¹ *Vâkem*, the so-called *vâg*.

² Most manuscripts have added here, from the preceding clauses, 'with hands uplifted!'

³ An allusion to a myth in which Mithra was described as an Indra delivering the cows carried away by a *Vrâtra*: Firmicus Maternus called him *abactorem boum* (*De Errore Profan. Relig. V*); Commodianus compares him with *Cacus*:

'*Vrtebatque boves alienos semper in antris*

Sicut et Cacus Vulcani filius ille.'

(*Apud Windischmann, Mithra, p. 64.*)

⁴ See above, p. 132, note 2.

the undefiled to one undefiled, with undefiled baresma, undefiled libations, and undefiled words;

89. 'Whom¹ the holy Ahura Mazda has established as a priest, quick in performing the sacrifice and loud in song. He performed the sacrifice with a loud voice, as a priest quick in sacrifice and loud in song, a priest to Ahura Mazda, a priest to the Amesha-Spentas. His voice reached up to the sky, went over the earth all around, went over the seven Karshvares.

90. 'Who first lifted up Haomas, in a mortar inlaid with stars and made of a heavenly substance. Ahura Mazda longed for him, the Amesha-Spentas longed for him, for the well-shapen body of him whom the swift-horsed sun awakes for prayer from afar².

91. 'Hail to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes! Thou art worthy of sacrifice and prayer: mayest thou have sacrifice and prayer in the houses of men! Hail to the man who shall offer thee a sacrifice, with the holy wood in his hand, the baresma in his hand, the holy meat in his hand, the holy mortar in his hand³, with his hands well-washed, with the mortar well-washed, with the bundles of baresma tied up, the Haoma uplifted, and the Ahuna Vairya sung through.

92. 'The holy Ahura Mazda confessed that religion and so did Vohu-Manô, so did Asha-Vahista, so did Khshathra-Vairya, so did Spenta-Ârmaiti, so

¹ Haoma; cf. Yasna IX, 26 [81].

² For the morning service in the Gâh Usahîn.

³ Cf. Vend. III, 1.

did Haurvatât and Ameretât; and all the Amesha-Spentas longed for and confessed his religion. The kind Mazda conferred upon him the mastership of the world; and [so did they¹] who saw thee amongst all creatures the right lord and master of the world, the best cleanser of these creatures.

93. 'So mayest thou in both worlds, mayest thou keep us in both worlds, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! both in this material world and in the world of the spirit, from the fiend of Death, from the fiend Aêshma², from the fiendish hordes, that lift up the spear of havoc, and from the onsets of Aêshma, wherein the evil-doing Aêshma rushes along with Vîdôtu³, made by the Daêvas.

94. 'So mayest thou, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! give swiftness to our teams, strength to our own bodies, and that we may watch with full success those who hate us, smite down our foes, and destroy at one stroke our adversaries, our enemies and those who hate us⁴.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXIV.

95. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Who goes over the earth, all her breadth over, after the setting of the sun⁵, touches both ends of

¹ The Amesha-Spentas.

² See Vend. Introd. IV, 22.

³ See *ibid*.

⁴ See Yt. V, 53; X, 11, 114; V, 53.

⁵ It should seem as if Mithra was supposed to retrace his steps during the night. The Hindus supposed that the sun had a bright face and a dark one, and that during the night it returned from the west to the east with its dark face turned towards the earth.

this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, and surveys everything that is between the earth and the heavens,

96. 'Swinging in his hands a club with a hundred knots, a hundred edges, that rushes forwards and fells men down; a club cast out of red brass, of strong, golden brass; the strongest of all weapons, the most victorious of all weapons¹;

97. 'From whom Angra Mainyu, who is all death, flees away in fear; from whom Aêshma, the evil-doing Peshôtanu², flees away in fear; from whom the long-handed Bûshyâsta³ flees away in fear; from whom all the Daêvas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear⁴.

98. 'Oh! may we never fall across the rush of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, when in anger⁵! May Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, never smite us in his anger; he who stands up upon this earth as the strongest of all gods, the most valiant of all gods, the most energetic of all gods, the swiftest of all gods, the most fiend-smiting of all gods, he, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures⁶.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXV.

99. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'From whom all the Daêvas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear⁷.

¹ Cf. § 132.

³ See *ibid.* IV, 24.

⁵ Cf. Yt. X, 69.

⁷ Cf. § 97.

² See Vend. Introd. V, 19.

⁴ Cf. § 69.

⁶ §§ 97-98 = §§ 134-135.

‘The lord of nations, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, drives forward at the right-hand side of this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar.

100. ‘At his right hand drives the good, holy Sraosha; at his left hand drives the tall and strong Rashnu; on all sides around him drive the waters, the plants, and the Fravashis of the faithful.

101. ‘In his might, he ever brings to them falcon-feathered arrows, and, when driving, he himself comes there, where are nations, enemy to Mithra, he, first and foremost, strikes blows with his club on the horse and his rider; he throws fear and fright upon the horse and his rider.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXVI.

102. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

‘The warrior of the white horse, of the sharp spear, the long spear, the quick arrows; foreseeing and clever;

103. ‘Whom Ahura Mazda has established to maintain and look over all this moving¹ world, and who maintains and looks over all this moving world; who, never sleeping, wakefully guards the creation of Mazda; who, never sleeping, wakefully maintains the creation of Mazda.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ Fravôis; Parsi tradition translates large: frâz (tr. Phl.), buland (Asp., Yasna LVII, 15 [LVI, 7, 3]).

XXVII.

104. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures,
sleepless, and ever awake ;

'Whose long arms, strong with Mithra-strength,
encompass what he seizes in the easternmost river ¹
and what he beats with the westernmost river ²,
what is by the Sanaka ³ of the Rangha and what is
by the boundary of the earth ⁴.

105. 'And thou, O Mithra! encompassing all this
around, do thou reach it, all over, with thy arms.

'The man without glory ⁵, led astray from the
right way, grieves in his heart ; the man without
glory thinks thus in himself : " That careless Mithra
does not see all the evil that is done, nor all the lies
that are told."

106. 'But I think thus in my heart :

"Should the evil thoughts of the earthly man be
a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high
as the good thoughts of the heavenly Mithra ;

"Should the evil words of the earthly man be a
hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as
the good words of the heavenly Mithra ;

¹ The Sind.

² The Rangha or Tigris. The words âgeurvayêiti and nighnê, 'he seizes, he beats,' are the words used of the priest laying the Haoma in the mortar and pounding it with the pestle (Yasna, X, 2 [4-5]). The Sind and the Rangha are thus compared with the two parts of the Hâvana, the land between is the Haoma, and Mithra's arms are the arms of the priest.

³ Sanakê, an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον ; opposed to the aodhas of the Rangha, Yt. XII, 19.

⁴ The Arabian sea (?). Cf. Yt. XII, 21.

⁵ Who has not a ray of the celestial light : here, the man of little faith.

“Should the evil deeds of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the good deeds of the heavenly Mithra ;

107. “Should the heavenly wisdom¹ in the earthly man be a hundred times greater, it would not rise so high as the heavenly wisdom in the heavenly Mithra ;

“And thus, should the ears of the earthly man hear a hundred times better, he would not hear so well as the heavenly Mithra, whose ear hears well, who has a thousand senses, and sees every man that tells a lie.”

‘Mithra stands up in his strength, he drives in the awfulness of royalty, and sends from his eyes beautiful looks that shine from afar, (saying) :

108. “Who will offer me a sacrifice? Who will lie unto me? Who thinks me a god worthy of a good sacrifice? Who thinks me worthy only of a bad sacrifice? To whom shall I, in my might, impart brightness and glory? To whom bodily health? To whom shall I, in my might, impart riches and full weal? Whom shall I bless by raising him a virtuous² offspring?

109. “To whom shall I give in return, without his thinking of it, the awful sovereignty, beautifully arrayed, with many armies, and most perfect; the sovereignty of an all-powerful tyrant, who fells down heads, valiant, smiting, and unsmitten; who orders chastisement to be done and his order is done at once, which he has ordered in his anger?”

‘O Mithra! when thou art offended and not satisfied, he³ soothes thy mind, and makes Mithra satisfied.

¹ See above, p. 4, n. 5.

² Âsna : Sansk. *susila* (p. 34, n. 4).

³ He who offers thee a good sacrifice; cf. § 108.

110. "To whom shall I, in my might, impart sickness and death? To whom shall I impart poverty and sterility¹? Of whom shall I at one stroke cut off the offspring?"

111. "From whom shall I take away, without his thinking of it, the awful sovereignty, beautifully arrayed, with many armies, and most perfect; the sovereignty of an all-powerful tyrant, who fells down heads, valiant, smiting, and unsmitten; who orders chastisement to be done and his order is done at once, which he has ordered in his anger."

'O Mithra! while thou art satisfied and not angry, he moves thy heart to anger², and makes Mithra unsatisfied.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXVIII.

112. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'A warrior with a silver helm³, a golden cuirass³, who kills with the poniard, strong, valiant, lord of the borough. Bright are the ways of Mithra, by which he goes towards the country, when, wishing well, he turns its plains and vales to pasture grounds,

113. 'And then cattle and males come to graze, as many as he wants.

'May Mithra and Ahura⁴, the high gods, come to us for help, when the poniard lifts up its voice

¹ Doubtful.

² He who offers thee a bad sacrifice.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ See Vend. Introd. IV, 8.

aloud¹, when the nostrils of the horses quiver, when the poniards², when the strings of the bows whistle and shoot sharp arrows; then the brood of those whose libations are hated fall smitten to the ground, with their hair torn off.

114. 'So mayest thou, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! give swiftness to our teams, strength to our own bodies, and that we may watch with full success those who hate us, smite down our foes, and destroy at one stroke our adversaries, our enemies, and those who hate us³.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXIX.

115. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake.

'O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! thou master of the house, of the borough, of the town, of the country, thou Zarathustrôtéma⁴!

116. 'Mithra is twentyfold⁵ between two friends or two relations;

'Mithra is thirtyfold between two men of the same group⁶;

'Mithra is fortyfold between two partners⁷;

¹ When it clashes with another.

² Kahvān.

³ See Yt. V, 53; X, 11, 94.

⁴ The chief of the sacerdotal order, the so-called Maubedân-maused.

⁵ Or 'the contract is twentyfold,' that is, twenty times more strictly binding than between any two strangers. This passage is one of the most important of the Avesta, as a short account of the social constitution and morals of Zoroastrian Iran.

⁶ Of the same gild (svapañkti, ap. Neriosengh).

⁷ Hadha-gaêtha, co-proprietors of a gaêtha (a rural estate).

‘Mithra is fiftyfold between wife and husband¹;

‘Mithra is sixtyfold between two pupils (of the same master);

‘Mithra is seventyfold between the pupil and his master;

‘Mithra is eightyfold between the son-in-law and his father-in-law;

‘Mithra is ninetyfold between two brothers;

117. ‘Mithra is a hundredfold between the father and the son;

‘Mithra is a thousandfold between two nations²;

‘Mithra is ten thousandfold when connected with the Law of Mazda³, and then he will be every day⁴ of victorious strength⁵.

118. ‘May I come unto thee with a prayer that goes lowly or goes highly! As this sun rises up above the Hara Berezaitei and then fulfils its career, so may I, O Spitama! with a prayer that goes lowly or goes highly, rise up above the will of the fiend Angra Mainyu⁶!

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXX.

119. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake.

‘Offer up a sacrifice unto Mithra, O Spitama! and order thy pupils to do the same.

¹ Doubtful.

² A fair recognition of the *jus gentium*.

³ The contract between the faithful and the Law, the covenant (?).

⁴ Reading [h]amahê ayân.

⁵ The last clause is doubtful; the text is corrupt.

⁶ Prayer follows Mithra in his career, rising and setting with him.

'Let the worshipper of Mazda sacrifice unto thee¹ with small cattle, with black cattle, with flying birds, gliding forward on wings.

120. 'To Mithra all the faithful worshippers of Mazda must give strength and energy with offered and proffered Haomas, which the Zaothar proffers unto him and gives in sacrifice². Let the faithful man drink of the libations cleanly prepared, which if he does, if he offers them unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, Mithra will be pleased with him and without anger.'

121. Zarathustra asked him: 'O Ahura Mazda! how shall the faithful man drink the libations cleanly prepared, which if he does and he offers them unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, Mithra will be pleased with him and without anger?'

122. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Let them wash their bodies three days and three nights; let them undergo thirty strokes³ for the sacrifice and prayer unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. Let them wash their bodies two days and two nights; let them undergo twenty strokes for the sacrifice and prayer unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. Let no

¹ Mithra.

² The translation of this sentence is conjectural.

³ Thirty strokes with the Sraoshô-karana (upâzana; see Vend. Introd. V, 19); it is an expiation (âkayayanta) which purges them from their sins and makes them fit for offering a sacrifice to Mithra. One may find in this passage the origin of the painful trials through which the adepts of the Mithriac mysteries had to go before being admitted to initiation (οὐκ ἂν οὖν εἰς αὐτὸν δυνήσαιοι τις τελεσθῆναι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τινων βαθμῶν παρελθὼν τῶν κολάσεων δείξει ἑαυτὸν ὅσιον καὶ ἀπαθῆναι, Suidas s. v., ap. Windischmann, über Mithra, 68 seq.).

man drink of these libations who does not know the staota yêsnya¹: Vîspê ratavô².

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXXI.

123. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

‘To whom Ahura Mazda offered up a sacrifice in the shining Garô-nmâna³.

124. ‘With his arms lifted up towards Immortality⁴, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, drives forward from the shining Garô-nmâna, in a beautiful chariot that drives on, ever-swift, adorned with all sorts of ornaments, and made of gold.

125. ‘Four stallions draw that chariot, all of the same white colour, living on heavenly food⁵ and undying. The hoofs of their fore-feet are shod with gold, the hoofs of their hind-feet are shod with silver; all are yoked to the same pole, and wear the yoke⁶ and the cross-beams of the yoke⁶, fastened with hooks⁶ of Khshathra vairya⁷ to a beautiful⁸

126. ‘At his right hand drives Rashnu-Razista⁹, the most beneficent and most well-shapen.

¹ The sutûd yêst; the last chapters of the Yasna, from LVIII [LVII] to end, according to Anquetil (Zend-Avesta I, 2, 232).

² The first words of the Vîspêrad.

³ Paradise.

⁴ Towards the abode of the Immortals.

⁵ Fed with ambrosia (ἀμβροσίον εἶδαρ) like Poseidon’s steeds (Il. XIII, 35; cf. Ovid, Metam. IV, 214).

⁶ Doubtful (simāmka simôithrāmka).

⁷ Metal. See Vend. Intro. IV, 33.

⁸ Upairispâta.

⁹ See Yt. XII.

‘At his left hand drives the most upright *Kīsta*¹, the holy one, bearing libations in her hands, clothed with white clothes, and white herself; and the cursing thought² of the Law of Mazda.

127. ‘Close by him drives the strong cursing thought² of the wise man, opposing foes in the shape of a boar, a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp-jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing, wrathful, with a dripping face³, strong and swift to run, and rushing all around⁴.

‘Behind him drives *Âtar*⁵, all in a blaze, and the awful kingly Glory.

128. ‘On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand bows well-made, with a string of cowgut; they go through the heavenly space⁶, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the *Daêvas*.

129. ‘On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand vulture-feathered arrows, with a golden mouth⁷, with a horn shaft, with a brass tail, and well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the *Daêvas*.

130. ‘On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand spears well-made and sharp-piercing. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the *Daêvas*.

‘On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of

¹ See Yt. XVI. ² See above, p. 12, note 13. ³ Cf. Yt. X, 70.

⁴ Or better, rushing before (*pâiri-vâza*; cf. the translations of *pairi-daŋvyu*, Yt. X, 144 and *pairi-vâra*, Yt. I, 19). Cf. Yt. XIV, 15.

⁵ The Genius of Fire. ⁶ See p. 95, note 1. ⁷ A golden point.

wide pastures, stand a thousand steel-hammers, two-edged, well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

131. 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand swords, two-edged and well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand maces of iron, well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

132. 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stands a beautiful well-falling club, with a hundred knots, a hundred edges, that rushes forward and fells men down; a club cast out of red brass, of strong, golden brass; the strongest of all weapons, the most victorious of all weapons¹. It goes through the heavenly space², it falls through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

133. 'After he has smitten the Daêvas, after he has smitten down the men who lied unto Mithra, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, drives forward through Arezahê and Savahê, through Fradadhafshu and Vîdadhafshu, through Vourubaresti and Vourugaresti, through this our Karshvare, the bright *Hvaniratha*³.

134. 'Angra Mainyu, who is all death, flees away in fear; Aêshma, the evil-doing Peshotanu, flees

¹ Cf. Yt. X, 96.

² The text has, they go

³ See above, p. 123, note 5.

away in fear; the long-handed Bûshyâsta flees away in fear; all the Daêvas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear.

135. 'Oh! may we never fall across the rush of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, when in anger! May Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, never smite us in his anger; he who stands up upon this earth as the strongest of all gods, the most valiant of all gods, the most energetic of all gods, the swiftest of all gods, the most fiend-smiting of all gods, he, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures¹.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . .

XXXII.

136. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, . . . sleepless, and ever awake;

'For whom white stallions, yoked to his chariot, draw it, on one golden wheel, with a full shining axle.

137. 'If Mithra takes his libations to his own dwelling², "Happy that man, I think,"—said Ahura Mazda,—“O holy Zarathustra! for whom a holy priest, as pious as any in the world³, who is the Word incarnate, offers up a sacrifice unto Mithra with bundles of baresma and with the [proper] words.

“Straight to that man, I think, will Mithra come, to visit his dwelling,

138. “When Mithra's boons will come to him, as he follows God's teaching, and thinks according to God's teaching.

“Woe to that man, I think,”—said Ahura Mazda,—

¹ §§ 134-135=§§ 97-98.

² Cf. Yt. X, 32.

³ Doubtful. Possibly, 'of a pious conscience.'

"O holy Zarathustra! for whom an unholy priest, not pious¹, who is not the Word incarnate, stands behind the baresma, however full may be the bundles of baresma he ties, however long may be the sacrifice he performs."

139. 'He does not delight Ahura Mazda, nor the other Amesha-Spentas, nor Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, he who thus scorns Mazda, and the other Amesha-Spentas, and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, and the Law, and Rashnu, and Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXXIII.

140. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake.

'I will offer up a sacrifice unto the good Mithra, O Spitama! unto the strong, heavenly god, who is foremost, highly merciful, and peerless; whose house is above², a stout and strong warrior;

141. 'Victorious and armed with a well-fashioned weapon, watchful in darkness and undeceivable. He is the stoutest of the stoutest, he is the strongest of the strongest, he is the most intelligent of the gods, he is victorious and endowed with Glory: he, of the ten thousand eyes, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ An unqualified priest; cf. Vend. IX, 47-57; XVIII, 1 seq.

² Or, 'whose house is great.'

XXXIV.

142. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures,
sleepless, and ever awake;

'Who, with his manifold knowledge, powerfully
increases the creation of Spenta Mainyu, and is a
well-created and most great Yazata, self-shining like
the moon, when he makes his own body shine;

143. 'Whose face is flashing with light like the
face of the star Tistrya¹; whose chariot is embraced
by that goddess who is foremost amongst those who
have no deceit in them², O Spitama! who is fairer
than any creature in the world, and full of light to
shine. I will worship that chariot, wrought by the
Maker, Ahura Mazda, inlaid with stars and made of
a heavenly substance; (the chariot) of Mithra, who
has ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing,
undeceivable god.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth
being heard

XXXV.

144. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide
pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies,
with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with a thousand
eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and
ever awake.

'We sacrifice unto the Mithra around countries³;

'We sacrifice unto the Mithra within countries;

¹ See Yt. VIII.

² Ashi Vanguhi (?); cf. § 68.

³ Who watches around countries: *aiwida/zyûm* is translated
مهر پیرامون شهرها (Pers. tr. of Mihir Nyâyis).

- ‘We sacrifice unto the Mithra in this country¹;
 ‘We sacrifice unto the Mithra above countries;
 ‘We sacrifice unto the Mithra under countries;
 ‘We sacrifice unto the Mithra before countries²;
 ‘We sacrifice unto the Mithra behind countries.

145. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra and Ahura, the two great, imperishable, holy gods³; and unto the stars, and the moon, and the sun, with the trees that yield up baresma⁴. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures.

‘Yathâ ahû vairyoð: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

‘I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, a Yazata invoked by his own name; and that of Râma Hvâstra⁵.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

‘[Give] unto that man⁶ brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones!’

¹ Âdahvyâm: مهرکه در این شهر است; cf. Yasna XXVI, 9 [28].

² Pairidahvyâm: که پیش هر شهر است.

³ Cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 8.

⁴ Cf. Vend. p. 22, note 2.

⁵ Cf. Sîrôzah I, 16.

⁶ Who sacrifices to Mithra.

XI. SRÔSH YAST HÂDHÔKHT.

There are two Yasts dedicated to Sraosha, the angel of divine worship¹: one is a part of the Yasna (LVII [LVI]), and this, the other, is called the Srôsh Yast Hâdhôkht. Whether it belonged to the so-called Hâdhôkht Nosk², one of the twenty-one Nosks of which the original Avesta was formed³, or whether it was recited in the Hadhôkht sacrifice⁴, a particular liturgy, is a matter on which we have no sufficient information.

The two Yasts have a few developments in common (see §§ 8-9, 10-13): the Hâdhôkht is more liturgical, the Yasna Yast is more descriptive, and has to a greater degree the poetical imagery of a Yast.

The Srôsh Yast Hâdhôkht is recited every day, during any gâh except the Rapitvîn. A Pahlavi translation of this Yast is extant (East India Office, XII, 102; Paris, Supplément Persan, XXXIII, 259; edited in *Études Iraniennes*, II), and Anquetil mentions a Sanskrit translation.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! . . .

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . .

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness . . .

Unto the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . .

¹ Cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 31.

² Ibid. III, 3.

³ See an account of the Hâdhôkht Nosk in the Dînkart (West, Pahlavi Texts, I, 225, note); cf. Introd. to Yt. XXI.

⁴ Cf. § 18, note.

I.

1. We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness.

Good prayer, excellent prayer to the worlds¹, O Zarathustra!

2. This it is that takes away the friendship of the fiend and fiends, of the he-fiend and of the she-fiend; it turns away in giddiness their eyes, minds, ears², hands, feet, mouths, and tongues³; as good prayer, without deceit and without harm, is Manly Courage⁴, and turns away the Drug⁵.

3. The holy Sraosha, the best protector of the poor, is fiend-smiting; he is the best smiter of the Drug.

The faithful one who pronounces most words of blessing is the most victorious in victory; the Mâthra *Spenta* takes best the unseen Drug away. The Ahuna Vairya⁶ is the best fiend-smiter among all spells; the word of truth is the fighter⁷ that is the best of all fiend-smiters.

The Law of the worshippers of Mazda is the truest giver of all the good things, of all those that are the offspring of the good principle; and so is the Law of Zarathustra.

4. And he who should pronounce that word⁸, O Zarathustra! either a man or a woman, with a mind all intent on holiness, with words all intent on

¹ 'Has been taught to the world, namely, the Law' (Pahl. Comm.).

² Doubtful.

³ Derezvâ: Pahl. hûzvân; cf. Yt. I, 28.

⁴ Is the same with it, is as powerful.

⁵ Doubtful (vârethrem dârestâ zak drôg vartî dâstârtûm).

⁶ See p. 23.

⁷ Or, 'is the best of all fiend-smiters in battle.'

⁸ This chapter (Pahl. Comm.).

holiness, with deeds all intent on holiness, when he is in fear either of high waters or of the darkness of a rainy night;

Or at the fords of a river, or at the branching-off of roads;

Or in the meeting together of the faithful, or the rushing together of the worshippers of the Daêvas¹;

5. Whether on the road² or in the law³ he has to fear, not in that day nor in that night shall the tormenting fiend, who wants to torment him, prevail to throw upon him the look of his evil eye, and the malice of the thief⁴ who carries off cattle shall not reach him.

6. Pronounce then that word, O Zarathustra! that word to be spoken⁵, when thou fall upon the idolaters⁶ and thieves and Daêvas rushing together. Then the malice of the wicked worshippers of the Daêvas, of the Yâtus and their followers, of the Pairikas and their followers, will be affrighted and rush away. Down are the Daêvas! Down are the Daêva-worshippers, and they take back their mouths from biting⁷.

¹ Different words are used, as usual, to express the same conflict, according as it refers to the faithful or to the idolaters.

² Aipi-ayanâm: madam râs.

³ Arethyanâm: dâdistân (from aretha, meaning dînâ, dâdistân).

⁴ Gadha: *nrîsamsa* (Neriosengh); the Pahlavi has 𐬔𐬀, a Saka, a Scythe.

⁵ The praise of Sraosha.

⁶ Keresasza: krasîâk; cf. Neriosengh ad Yasna IX, 24 [75]; that name was in the later periods applied to Christians, as if keresa were the name of Christ; cf. Bahman Yast II, 19; III, 2.

⁷ Doubtful.

7. And therefore we take around us the holy-natured Sraosha, the holy, the fiend-smiter, as one does with shepherds' dogs; therefore we sacrifice unto the holy-natured Sraosha, the holy, the fiend-smiter, with good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.

8¹. For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power, for his offering sacrifices unto the gods², I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard. I will offer up libations unto the holy Sraosha, unto the great Ashi Vanguhi³, and unto Nairyô-sangha⁴, the tall-formed.

So may the holy Sraosha, the fiend-smiter, come to us for help!

9. We worship the holy Sraosha; we worship the great master, Ahura Mazda, who is supreme in holiness, who is the foremost to do deeds of holiness.

We worship all the words⁵ of Zarathustra, and all the good deeds, those done and those to be done.

Yênê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . .

II.

10⁶. We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness;

Who strikes the evil-doing⁷ man, who strikes the evil-doing woman; who smites the fiendish

¹ §§ 8-9 = Yasna LVII, 3-4 [LVI, 1, 6-12].

² See Vend. Introd. IV, 31.

³ See Yt. XVII.

⁴ See Vend. XXII, 7 [22] and Sîrôzah I, 9.

⁵ The words of the law.

⁶ §§ 10-13 = Yasna LVII, 15-18 [LVI, 7].

⁷ Cf. Yt. I, 19.

Drug, and is most strong and world-destroying; who maintains and looks over all this moving¹ world;

11. Who, never sleeping, wakefully guards the creation of Mazda; who, never sleeping, wakefully maintains the creation of Mazda; who protects all the material world with his club uplifted, from the hour when the sun is down;

12. Who never more did enjoy sleep from the time when the two Spirits made the world, namely, the good Spirit and the evil One; who every day, every night, fights with the Mâzainya Daêvas.

13. He bows not for fear and fright before the Daêvas: before him all the Daêvas bow for fear and fright reluctantly, and rush away to darkness².

For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power³

III.

14. Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness;

Who with peace and friendship⁴ watches the Drug and the most beneficent Spirit: so that the Amesha-Spentas may go along the seven Karshvares of the earth⁵; who is the teacher of the

¹ Cf. above, p. 145, note 1.

² To hell.

³ As above, §§ 8-9.

⁴ To the creation of Ormazd.

⁵ Doubtful. The Yasna has: 'Through whose strength, victorious power, wisdom, and knowledge the Amesha-Spentas go (avân; Phl. sâtûnand) along the seven Karshvares of the earth' (LVII, 23 [LVI, 10, 2]).

Law¹: he himself was taught it by Ahura Mazda, the holy One.

For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power

IV.

15. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness ;

Whom the holy Ahura Mazda has created to withstand Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear ; we sacrifice unto Peace, whose breath is friendly, and unto the two withstanders of sin and guilt²,

16. The friends of the holy Sraosha ;

The friends of Rashnu Razista³ ;

The friends of the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda ;

The friends of Arstât⁴, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase, who makes the world prosper ;

The friends of Ashi Vanguhi⁵ ;

The friends of the good Kisti⁶ ;

The friends of the most right Kista⁷ ;

¹ He teaches the law to the three saviours to come, Oshêdar Bâmf, Oshêdar Mâh, and Soshyôs (Yasna LVII, 24 [LVI, 10, 2] ; Phl. tr.).

² *Parestaskâ mravaydoskâ*, to be corrected, according to various readings, into *staretaskâ mavaydoskâ* or something like it ; the two genii here alluded to are Anâstareta and Amuyamna, Sinlessness and Innocence, who are invoked in company with Akhsti hamvaiiti in Vispêrad VIII, 4.

³ See Yt. XII.

⁴ See Yt. XVII.

⁵ See Vend. XIX, 39.

⁶ See *ibid.*

⁷ See Yt. XVI, 1.

17. The friends of all gods ;
 The friends of the Mâthra Spenta ;
 The friends of the fiend-destroying Law ;
 The friends of the long-traditional teaching ;
 The friends of the Amesha-Spentas ;
 The friends of ourselves, the Saoshyants¹, the
 two-footed part of the holy creation ;
 The friends of all the beings of the holy world.

For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power

V.

18. Yathâ ahû vairyô : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness ;

The first [Sraosha], the next, the middle, and the highest ; with the first sacrifice, with the next, with the middle, and with the highest². We sacrifice unto all [the moments]³ of the holy and strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word ;

19. The strong Sraosha, of the manly courage, the warrior of the strong arms, who breaks the skulls of the Daêvas ; who smites with heavy blows⁴ and is strong to smite ; the holy Sraosha, who smites

¹ The faithful, as helping through their good deeds in the work of final restoration, to be performed by Saoshyant (cf. Yt. XIII, 17).

² The first sacrifice is the Yasna sacrifice ; the next (literally, superior) is the Vispêrad ; the middle sacrifice is the Hâdhôkht [and] êvak hômâst ; the highest sacrifice is the Dvâzdah hômâst (Pahl. Comm.). Sraosha is called the first, next, middle, and highest, accordingly as he presides over one or the other of those sacrifices. For a definition of the êvak hômâst and Dvâzdah hômâst, see West, Pahlavi Texts, I, 212, note 5.

³ Vispân, translated harvisp zamân.

⁴ Literally, the smiter who smites with smittings.

with heavy blows; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant of both the holy Sraosha and Arsti¹.

20. We sacrifice for all the houses protected by Sraosha, where the holy Sraosha is dear and friendly treated and satisfied, as well as the faithful man², rich in good thoughts, rich in good words, rich in good deeds.

21. We sacrifice unto the body of the holy Sraosha;

We sacrifice unto the body of Rashnu Razista;

We sacrifice unto the body of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures;

We sacrifice unto the body of the holy wind;

We sacrifice unto the body of the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda;

We sacrifice unto the body of Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase, who makes the world prosper;

We sacrifice unto the body of Ashi Vanguhi;

We sacrifice unto the body of the good Kisti;

We sacrifice unto the body of the most right Kista;

We sacrifice unto the bodies of all the gods;

22. We sacrifice unto the body of the Mâthra Spenta;

We sacrifice unto the body of the fiend-destroying Law;

We sacrifice unto the body of the long-traditional teaching;

We sacrifice unto the bodies of the Amesha-Spentas;

¹ The same as Arstât. Cf. Yasna LVII, 34-35 [LVI, 13, 3-7].

² He receives alms (the ashô-dâd).

We sacrifice unto the bodies of ourselves, the Saoshyants, the two-footed part of the holy creation ;

We sacrifice unto the bodies of all the beings of the holy world ¹.

For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power

23. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, the strength and vigour of the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god.

[Give] unto that man² brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones !

¹ Cf. §§ 16-17.

² Who sacrifices to Sraosha.

XII. RASHN YAST.

Rashnu Razista, 'the truest True,' is the Genius of Truth: he is one of the three judges of the departed, with Mithra and Sraosha: he holds the balance in which the deeds of men are weighed after their death: 'he makes no unjust balance . . . , neither for the pious nor yet the wicked, neither for lords nor yet rulers; as much as a hair's breadth he will not vary, and he shows no favour¹.' He is an offshoot either of Mithra, the God of Truth and the avenger of lies, or of Ahura Mazda himself, the all-knowing lord (§ 2 seq.).

This Yast seems to be an appeal made to Rashnu to come and attend the performance of the *var nîrang* or ordeal (see p. 170, note 3), of which Rashnu, as the Genius of Truth, was the natural witness and arbiter (cf. Vend. IV, 54-55 [154-156]). As a god of Truth must know everything and be present everywhere, he is called from whatever part of the world he may actually be in. This brings about an enumeration of all the parts of the world, from this earth (§§ 9-22) to the highest heaven (§ 37), passing through the Albôrz (§§ 23-26), the star region (§§ 26-32), the moon region (§ 33), and the sun region (§ 34; cf. p. 73, note 2).

This Yast is recited on the days of Rashn, Murdâd, Âshtâd, and Zemyâd (the 18th, 7th, 26th, and 28th of the month).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness.

Unto Rashnu Razista; unto Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase; unto the true-spoken speech, that makes the world grow²;

¹ Minokhirad II, 120-121 (tr. West).

² Sîrôzah I, 18.

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. The holy (Zarathustra) asked him¹: 'O holy Ahura Mazda! I ask thee; answer me with words of truth, thou who knowest the truth. Thou art undeceivable, thou hast an undeceivable understanding; thou art undeceivable, as thou knowest everything.

'What of the Holy Word is created true? what is created progress-making? what is fit to discern? what is healthful? what is wise? what is happy and more powerful to destroy than all other creatures²?'

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'I will declare that unto thee, O pure, holy Spitama!

'The most glorious Holy Word (itself), this is what in the Holy Word is created true, what is created progress making, what is fit to discern, what is healthful, wise, and happy, what is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures.'

3. Ahura Mazda said: 'Bind up a three-twigged baresma against the way of the sun. [Address] unto me, Ahura Mazda, these words: "We invoke, we bless [Ahura]³; I invoke the friendship [of Ahura] towards this var⁴ prepared, towards the fire and the baresma, towards the full boiling [milk⁵], towards the var⁴ of oil and the sap⁶ of the plants."

¹ Ahura Mazda.

² Cf. Yt. I, 1 seq.

³ The text is apparently corrupt and has literally, 'We invoke, we bless me, Ahura Mazda.'

⁴ See following page, note 3.

⁵ Possibly, waters; cf. Yt. V, 132 and Vend. IV, 46 [128], 54 [154] seq.

⁶ Literally, the fat.

4. 'Then I, Ahura Mazda, shall come for help unto thee, towards this var prepared, towards the fire and the baresma, towards the full boiling [milk], towards the var of oil and the sap of the plants;

'Along with the fiend-smiting Wind, along with the cursing thought of the wise¹, along with the kingly Glory, along with Saoka², made by Mazda.

5. 'We invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong; I invoke his friendship towards this var³ prepared, towards the fire and the baresma, towards the full boiling [milk], towards the var of oil and the sap of the plants.

6. 'Then Rashnu the tall, the strong, will come for help unto thee, towards this var prepared, towards the fire and the baresma, towards the full boiling [milk], towards the var of oil and the sap of the plants:

'Along with the fiend-smiting Wind, along with the cursing thought of the wise, along with the kingly Glory, along with Saoka, made by Mazda.

7. 'O thou, holy Rashnu! O most true Rashnu! most beneficent Rashnu! most knowing Rashnu! most discerning Rashnu! most fore-knowing Rashnu! most far-seeing Rashnu! Rashnu, the

¹ See p. 12, note 13.

² See Vend. XXII, 3.

³ Varô; this seems to be the Var nîrang or ordeal which is alluded to in several passages of the Avesta; cf. Afrîgân I, 9; Yasna XXXI, 3 b (see Pahl. Comm.; cf. Comm. ad XXXIV, 4 a); cf. Vend. IV, 46, 55. According to the Dînkart, there were thirty-three kinds of var ordeals (Haug, Ardâ Virâf, p. 145); the most common was to pour melted copper upon the breast of the man whose truth was to be tested: if he went off uninjured, he was considered to have spoken the truth. Cf. Vend. Introd. III, 9.

best doer of justice¹! Rashnu, the best smiter of thieves;

8. 'The uninjured, the best killer, smiter, destroyer of thieves and bandits! in whatever part of the world thou art watching the doings² of men and making the account³.

II.

9. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Arezahi⁴, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared⁵ in whatever part of the world thou art.

III.

10. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Savahi⁴, we invoke, we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

IV.

11. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Fradadhafshu⁴, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

V.

12. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the

¹ Arethama/-bairishta: aretha is dīnâ, dâdistân (law, justice).

² Kesa=kartârî (Pahl. Comm. ad Vend. XXI, 3 [14]).

³ I cannot make anything of the rest of the sentence hadhanâ tanasus; cf. § 38.

⁴ See Yt. X, 15, note 5.

⁵ The rest as in §§ 5-8.

Karshvare Vîdadhafshu¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

VI.

13. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Vouru-baresti¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

VII.

14. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Vouru-garesti¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

VIII.

15. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in this Karshvare, the bright *Hvaniratha*¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

IX.

16. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the sea Vouru-Kasha², we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

¹ See Yt. X, 15, note 5.

² See p. 54, note 6.

X.

17. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the tree of the eagle¹, that stands in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha, that is called the tree of good remedies, the tree of powerful remedies, the tree of all remedies, and on which rest the seeds of all plants; we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XI.

18. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the Aodhas² of the Rangha, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XII.

19. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the Sanaka³ of the Rangha, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

¹ The Saêna, in later mythology the Sinamrû or Sîmûrgh; his 'resting-place is on the tree which is Jaz-bêsh (opposed to harm) of all seeds; and always when he rises aloft, a thousand twigs will shoot forth from that tree; and when he alights, he will break off the thousand twigs, and he sheds their seed therefrom. And the bird Chañmrôsh for ever sits in that vicinity; and his work is this, that he collects that seed which sheds from the tree of all seeds, which is Jaz-bêsh, and conveys it there where Tishtar seizes the water, so that Tishtar may seize the water with that seed of all kinds, and may rain it on the world with the rain' (Minokhirad LXII, 37; tr. West).

² By the floods (? Vend. I, 26); it has probably a geographical meaning; cf. the following paragraph; perhaps the marshy country at the mouth of the Tigris.

³ Cf. Yt. X, 104; aodhas and sanaka may refer to the southern and northern basin of the Tigris.

XIII.

20. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art at one of the angles of this earth, we invoke we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XIV.

21. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art at the boundary of this earth, we invoke, we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XV.

22. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in any place of this earth, we invoke, we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XVI.

23. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the Hara Berezaiti, the bright mountain around which the many (stars) revolve, where come neither night nor darkness, no cold wind and no hot wind, no deathful sickness, no uncleanness made by the Daêvas, and the clouds cannot reach up unto the Haraiti Bareza¹; we invoke, we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XVII.

24. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art upon the highest Hukairya, of the deep precipices², made of gold, wherefrom this river of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, leaps from a thousand times the height of a man, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

¹ Cf. Yt. X, 50.

² Reading vîspô-vaêmem; cf. Yt. V, 96, note 7.

XVIII.

25. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art upon the Taêra of the height Haraiti, around which the stars, the moon, and the sun revolve¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XIX.

26. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the star Vanant², made by Mazda, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XX.

27. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the bright and glorious star Tistrya³, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards the var prepared

XXI.

28. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the group of the Haptôiringa stars³, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXII.

29. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in those stars that have the seed of the waters in them⁴, we

¹ See Bund. V, 3 seq.; cf. Yt. X, 13, 50.

² Cf. Yt. XX and Yt. VIII, 12.

³ Cf. Yt. VIII, 12.

⁴ 'The star of water essence is for the increase of water; and the star of earth essence, for the increase of earth; and the star of tree essence, for the increase of trees; and the star of cattle essence,

invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXIII.

30. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in those stars that have the seed of the earth in them¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXIV.

31. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in those stars that have the seed of the plants in them¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXV.

32. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the stars that belong to the Good Spirit², we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXVI.

33. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the moon which has the seed of the Bull in it³, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

for the increase of cattle; and the essence of water, and earth, and trees, and cattle is created for the increase of man' (Minokhirad XLIX, 7, tr. West).

¹ See preceding note.

² Excluding the planets which belong to Ahriman (Minokhirad VIII, 19; Bund. III, 25; V, 1).

³ See above, p. 8, note 8.

XXVII.

34. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the swift-horsed sun, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXVIII.

35. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the sovereign endless Light, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXIX.

36. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXX.

37. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the shining Garô-demâna¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXXI.

38. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art² we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

39. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ The highest heaven, the abode of Ormazd.

² ? Upa hadhana hadhanâ tanasus; cf. § 8, p. 171, note 3.

‘Yênhê hâtām: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . .

40. ‘Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . .

‘I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Rashnu Razista; of Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase; and of the true-spoken speech that makes the world grow.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

‘[Give] unto that man¹ brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.’

¹ Who shall have worshipped Rashnu.

XIII. FARVARDÎN YAST.

The Fravashi is the inner power in every being that maintains it and makes it grow and subsist. Originally the Fravashis were the same as the *Pitris* of the Hindus or the *Manes* of the Latins, that is to say, the everlasting and deified souls of the dead (see §§ 49-52); but in course of time they gained a wider domain, and not only men, but gods and even physical objects, like the sky and the earth, &c. (§§ 85-86), had each a Fravashi (see Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 111-113).

This Yast is to be divided into two parts. The former part (§§ 1-84) is a glorification of the powers and attributes of the Fravashis in general; the latter part (§§ 85-158) is an enumeration of the Fravashis of the most celebrated heroes of Mazdeism, from the first man, Gaya Maretan, down to the last, Saoshyant.

This latter part is like a Homer's catalogue of Mazdeism. The greatest part of the historical legends of Iran lies here condensed into a register of proper names. This enumeration is divided into seven chapters:

The first (XXIV, §§ 85-95) contains the names of several gods, of the first man, Gaya Maretan, the first law-giver, Zarathustra, and his first disciple, Maidhyô-maungha;

The second part (XXV, §§ 96-110) contains the names of the disciples of Zarathustra, most of them belonging to the epical cyclus of Vîstâspa (Gustâsp);

The third part (XXVI, §§ 111-117) is of uncertain character, and no name contained in it is found in the epical legends;

The fourth part (XXVII, §§ 118-128) seems to be devoted to the heroes of the other Karshvares and to mythical beings, born or unborn (cf. §§ 121, 122, 127, 128);

The fifth part (XXVIII, § 129) is devoted to Saoshyant alone;

The sixth part (XXIX, §§ 130-138) is devoted to the heroes before the time of Zarathustra;

The seventh part (XXX, §§ 139-142) is devoted to the holy women of Mazdeism from Hvôvi, Zarathustra's wife, down to Srûta-fedhri, Vanghu-fedhri, and Ereda-fedhri, the future mothers of his three unborn sons.

The second, third, and fourth enumerations all end with the

name of *Astvat-ereta* (that is to say, *Saoshyant*), which shows that they do not refer to successive generations, but to three independent branches, which are each developed apart down to the time of the Saviour.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced !

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura ;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness.

Unto the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the faithful ; unto the Fravashis of the men of the primitive law¹ ; unto the Fravashis of the next-of-kin,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying : ' Do thou proclaim, O pure Zarathustra ! the vigour and strength, the glory, the help and the joy that are in the Fravashis of the faithful, the awful and overpowering Fravashis ; do thou tell how they come to help me, how they bring assistance unto me, the awful Fravashis of the faithful².

2. ' Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathustra ! I maintain that sky, there above, shining and seen afar, and encompassing this earth all around.

3. ' It looks like a palace, that stands built of a

¹ The so-called *paoiryô-kaêsha* : the primitive law is what ' is considered as the true Mazdayasnian religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst ' (West, *Pahlavi Texts*, I, 242, note 1) ; cf. § 150.

² Cf. § 19.

heavenly substance¹, firmly established, with ends that lie afar, shining in its body of ruby over the three-thirds (of the earth)²; it is like a garment inlaid with stars, made of a heavenly substance, that Mazda puts on, along with Mithra and Rashnu and Spenta-Ârmaiti, and on no side can the eye perceive the end of it.

4. 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathustra! I maintain Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the wide-expanding and health-giving, who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura, who is worthy of sacrifice in the material world, worthy of prayer in the material world; the life-increasing and holy, the flocks-increasing and holy, the fold-increasing and holy, the wealth-increasing and holy, the country-increasing and holy³;

5⁴. 'Who makes the seed of all males pure, who makes the womb of all females pure for bringing forth, who makes all females bring forth in safety, who puts milk in the breasts of all females in the right measure and the right quality;

6. 'The large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole of all the waters that run along the earth; that runs powerfully from the height Hukairya down to the sea Vouru-Kasha.

7. 'All the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over,

¹ Reading mainyu-tâstô; cf. Yt. X, 90, 143, and in this very paragraph vanghanem mainyu-tâstem.

² A division of the earth different from and older than the division into seven Karshvares; cf. Yasna XI, 7 [21]; this division was derived by analogy from the tripartite division of the universe (earth, atmosphere, and heaven).

³ Yt. V, 1.

⁴ §§ 5-8 = Yt. V, 2-5.

when she runs down there, when she streams down there, she, Ardvî Sûra Anâhita, who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels; the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels, is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse.

8. 'From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven Karshvares; this river of mine alone goes on bringing waters, both in summer and in winter. This river of mine purifies the seed in males, the womb in females, the milk in females' breasts¹.

9. 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathustra! I maintain the wide earth made by Ahura, the large and broad earth, that bears so much that is fine, that bears all the bodily world, the live and the dead, and the high mountains, rich in pastures and waters;

10. 'Upon which run the many streams and rivers; upon which the many kinds of plants grow up from the ground, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the five kinds of animals², and to help the faithful.

11. 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathustra! I maintain in the womb the child that has been conceived, so that it does not die from the

¹ §§ 4-8 = Yt. V, 1-5.

² There are five classes of animals: those living in waters (upâpa), those living under the ground (upasma=upa-zema), the flying ones (fraptargat), the running ones (ravas&arant), the grazing ones (&angranghâ&); Vispêrad I, 1 seq.; Yt. XIII, 74. The representatives of those several classes are the kar mâhi fish, the ermine, the karsipt, the hare, and the ass-goat (Pahl. Comm. ad Visp. l. 1.).

assaults of Vidôtu¹, and I develop in it² the bones, the hair, the³, the entrails, the feet, and the sexual organs.

12. 'Had not the awful Fravashis of the faithful given help unto me, those animals and men of mine, of which there are such excellent kinds, would not subsist; strength would belong to the Drug, the dominion would belong to the Drug, the material world would belong to the Drug.

13 'Between the earth and the sky the immaterial creatures would be harassed by the Drug; between the earth and the sky the immaterial creatures would be smitten by the Drug; and never afterwards would Angra-Mainyu give way to the blows of Spenta-Mainyu.

14. 'Through their brightness and glory the waters run and flow forward from the never-failing springs; through their brightness and glory the plants grow up from the earth, by the never-failing springs; through their brightness and glory the winds blow, driving down the clouds towards the never-failing springs.

15. 'Through their brightness and glory the females conceive offspring; through their brightness and glory they bring forth in safety; it is through their brightness and glory when they become blessed with children.

16. 'Through their brightness and glory a man is born who is a chief in assemblies and meetings⁴, who listens well⁵ to the (holy) words, whom Wisdom

¹ See Vend. IV, 40 [137].

² Doubtful.

³ ? Derewda.

⁴ Ἀ ποιμὴν λαῶν.

⁵ Who learns well, who has the gaoshô-srûta khratu.

holds dear¹, and who returns a victor from discussions with Gaotema, the heretic².

‘Through their brightness and glory the sun goes his way; through their brightness and glory the moon goes her way; through their brightness and glory the stars go their way.

17. ‘In fearful battles they are the wisest for help, the Fravashis of the faithful.

‘The most powerful amongst the Fravashis of the faithful, O Spitama! are those of the men of the primitive law³ or those of the Saoshyants⁴ not yet born, who are to restore the world. Of the others, the Fravashis of the living faithful are more powerful, O Zarathustra! than those of the dead, O Spitama!

18. ‘And the man who in life shall treat the Fravashis of the faithful well, will become a ruler of the country with full power, and a chief most strong; so shall any man of you become, who shall treat Mithra well, the lord of wide pastures, and Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

19. ‘Thus do I proclaim unto thee, O pure Spitama! the vigour and strength, the glory, the help, and the joy that are in the Fravashis of the faithful,

¹ Or, ‘who wishes for wisdom’ (lore; khratukâta=khratukînah).

² Yô nâidhyanghô gaotemahê parô ayzu parstôit avâiti. This seems to be an allusion to controversies with the Buddhists or Gotama’s disciples, whose religion had obtained a footing in the western parts of Iran as early as the second century before Christ. Nâidhyanghô means a heretic, an Ashemaogha (see Pahl. Comm. ad Yasna XXXIV, 8).

³ See above, p. 180, note 1.

⁴ See above, p. 165, note 1.

the awful and overpowering Fravashis; and how they come to help me, how they bring assistance unto me, the awful Fravashis of the faithful¹.

II.

20. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'If in this material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! thou happenest to come upon frightful roads, full of dangers and fears, O Zarathustra! and thou fearest for thyself, then do thou recite these words, then proclaim these fiend-smiting words, O Zarathustra!

21. "I praise, I invoke, I meditate upon, and we sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful. We worship the Fravashis of the masters of the houses, those of the lords of the boroughs, those of the lords of the towns, those of the lords of the countries, those of the Zarathustrôtemas²; the Fravashis of those that are, the Fravashis of those that have been, the Fravashis of those that will be; all the Fravashis of all nations³, and most friendly the Fravashis of the friendly nations;

22. "Who maintain the sky, who maintain the waters, who maintain the earth, who maintain the cattle, who maintain in the womb the child that has been conceived, so that it does not die from the assaults of Vîdôtu, and develop in it the bones, the hair, the . . . , the entrails, the feet, and the sexual organs⁴;

23. "Who are much-bringing, who move with

¹ Cf. § 1.

² See Yt. X, 115, note.

³ See § 143, text and note.

⁴ See § 11.

awfulness, well-moving, swiftly moving, quickly moving, who move when invoked; who are to be invoked in the conquest of good, who are to be invoked in fights against foes, who are to be invoked in battles;

24. "Who give victory to their invoker, who give boons to their lover, who give health to the sick man, who give good Glory to the faithful man that brings libations and invokes them with a sacrifice and words of propitiation¹;

25. "Who turn to that side where are faithful men, most devoted to holiness, and where is the greatest piety², where the faithful man is rejoiced³, and where the faithful man is not ill-treated⁴."

III.

26. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who are the mightiest of drivers, the lightest of those driving forwards, the slowest of the retiring⁵, the safest⁶ of all bridges, the least-erring⁶ of all weapons and arms⁶, and who never turn their backs⁷.

27. At once, wherever they come, we worship them, the good ones, the excellent ones, the good, the strong, the beneficent Fravashis of the faithful. They are to be invoked when the bundles of baresma are tied; they are to be invoked in fights against foes, in battles⁸, and there where gallant men strive to conquer foes.

¹ Cf. § 40.

² Fréretau: cf. fréreti=farnâmisn, âdesa (Yasna VIII, 2 [4]).

³ With alms (ashô-dâd).

⁵ Doubtful.

⁷ To flee.

⁴ Cf. § 36.

⁶ Defensive arms.

⁸ Cf. § 23.

28. Mazda invoked them for help, when he fixed the sky and the waters and the earth and the plants; when Spenta-Mainyu fixed the sky, when he fixed the waters, when the earth, when the cattle, when the plants, when the child conceived in the womb, so that it should not die from the assaults of Vidôtu, and developed in it the bones, the hair, the . . . , the entrails, the feet, and the sexual organs¹.

29. Spenta-Mainyu maintained the sky, and they sustained it from below, they, the strong Fravashis, who sit in silence, gazing with sharp looks; whose eyes and ears are powerful, who bring long joy, high and high-girded; well-moving and moving afar, loud-snorting², possessing riches and a high renown.

IV.

30. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; whose friendship is good, and who know how to benefit; whose friendship lasts long; who like to stay in the abode where they are not harmed by its dwellers; who are good, beautiful afar³, health-giving, of high renown, conquering in battle, and who never do harm first.

V.

31. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; whose will is dreadful unto those who vex them; powerfully working and most beneficent; who in battle break the dread arms of their foes and haters.

¹ Cf. §§ 11, 22.

² They are compared to horses; cf. Yt. VIII, 2.

³ Their beauty is seen afar. One manuscript has 'known afar;' another, 'whose eyesight reaches far.'

VI.

32. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; liberal, valiant, and full of strength, not to be seized by thought, welfare-giving, kind, and health-giving, following with Ashi's remedies, as far as the earth extends, as the rivers stretch, as the sun rises ¹.

VII.

33. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who gallantly and bravely fight, causing havoc, wounding², breaking to pieces all the malice of the malicious, Daêvas and men, and smiting powerfully in battle, at their wish and will.

34. You kindly deliver the Victory made by Ahura, and the crushing Ascendant, most beneficently, to those countries where you, the good ones, unharmed and rejoiced, unoppressed and unoffended, have been held worthy of sacrifice and prayer, and proceed the way of your wish.

VIII.

35. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, of high renown, smiting in battle, most strong, shield-bearing and harmless to those who are true, whom both the pursuing and the fleeing invoke for help: the pursuer invokes

¹ All the beneficent powers hidden in the earth, in the waters, and in the sun, and which Ashi Vanguhi (Yt. XVII) imparts to man.

² Doubtful: *urvaênaitîs*.

them for a swift race, and for a swift race does the fleer invoke them;

36. Who turn to that side where are faithful men, most devoted to holiness, and where is the greatest piety, where the faithful man is rejoiced, and where the faithful man is not ill-treated¹.

IX.

37. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who form many battalions, girded with weapons², lifting up spears, and full of sheen; who in fearful battles come rushing along where the gallant heroes³ go and assail the Dânus⁴.

38. There you destroy the victorious strength of the Turanian Dânus; there you destroy the malice of the Turanian Dânus; through you the chiefs⁵ are of high intellect⁶ and most successful; they, the gallant heroes³, the gallant Saoshyants⁷, the gallant conquerors of the offspring of the Dânus chiefs of myriads, who wound with stones⁸.

X.

39. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who rout the two wings of an army standing in battle array, who make the centre swerve, and swiftly pursue onwards, to help the faithful and to distress the doers of evil deeds.

XI.

40. We worship the good, strong, beneficent

¹ Cf. § 25.

² Yâstô-zayau.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ Yt. V, 72.

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Hvîra; see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 183.

⁷ Cf. p. 165, note 1.

⁸ Doubtful (asabana).

Fravashis of the faithful; awful, overpowering, and victorious, smiting in battle, sorely wounding, blowing away (the foes), moving along to and fro, of good renown, fair of body, godly of soul, and holy; who give victory to their invoker, who give boons to their lover, who give health to the sick man¹;

41. Who give good glory to him who worships them with a sacrifice, as that man did worship them, the holy Zarathustra, the chief of the material world, the head of the two-footed race, in whatever struggle he had to enter, in whatever distress he did fear;

42. Who, when well invoked, enjoy bliss in the heavens; who, when well invoked, come forward from the heavens, who are the heads² of that sky above, possessing the well-shapen Strength, the Victory made by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant, and Welfare³, the wealth-bringing, boon-bringing, holy, well fed, worthy of sacrifice and prayer in the perfection of holiness.

43. They shed Satavaêsa⁴ between the earth and the sky, him to whom the waters belong⁵, who listens to appeals and makes the waters flow and the plants grow up, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the five kinds of animals⁶, and to help the faithful⁷.

44. Satavaêsa comes down and flows between the earth and the sky, he to whom the waters belong, who listens to appeals and makes the waters and the plants grow up, fair, radiant, and full of

¹ Cf. § 24.

² 'The chief creatures;' cf. Gâh II, 8.

³ Saoka; cf. Sîrôzah I, 3, note.

⁴ Cf. Yt. VIII, 9, and 34, note.

⁶ See above, p. 182, note 2.

⁵ Taî-âpem.

⁷ Cf. § 10.

light, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the five kinds of animals, and to help the faithful.

XII.

45. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; with helms of brass, with weapons of brass, with armour¹ of brass; who struggle in the fights for victory in garments of light, arraying the battles and bringing them forwards, to kill thousands of Daêvas.

When the wind blows from behind them² and brings their breath unto men,

46. Then men know where blows the breath of victory: and they pay pious homage unto the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, with their hearts prepared and their arms uplifted.

47. Whichever side they have been first worshipped in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart³, to that side turn the awful Fravashis of the faithful, along with Mithra and Rashnu and the awful cursing thought⁴ of the wise and the victorious wind.

48. And those nations are smitten at one stroke by their fifties and their hundreds, by their hundreds and their thousands, by their thousands and their tens of thousands, by their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads, against which turn the awful Fravashis of the faithful, along with Mithra and Rashnu, and the awful cursing thought of the wise and the victorious wind.

¹ Doubtful.

² Literally, blows them within.

³ Cf. Yt. X, 9.

⁴ See above, p. 12, note 12.

XIII.

49. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who come and go through the borough at the time of the Hamaspathmaêdha¹; they go along there for ten nights, asking thus²:

50. 'Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us³? Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand⁴ and with a prayer worthy of bliss⁵? Of which of us will the name be taken for invocation⁶? Of which of you will the soul be worshipped by you with a sacrifice?' To whom will this gift of ours be given, that he may have never-failing food for ever and ever?'

51. And the man who offers them up a sacrifice,

¹ The sixth and last Gâhambâr (see Âfrîgân Gâhambâr), or the last ten days of the year (10th-20th March), including the last five days of the last month, Sapendârmad, and the five complementary days. These last ten days should be spent in deeds of charity, religious banquets (*garan*), and ceremonies in memory of the dead. It was also at the approach of the spring that the Romans and the Athenians used to offer annual sacrifices to the dead; the Romans in February '*qui tunc extremus anni mensis erat*' (Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, 21), the Athenians on the third day of the Anthesterion feast (in the same month). The souls of the dead were supposed to partake of the new life then beginning to circulate through nature, that had also been dead during the long months of winter.

² Perhaps: asking for help, thus.

³ Frînâ/: who will pronounce the Âfrîn?

⁴ To be given in alms to poor Mazdayasnians (*ashô-dâd*).

⁵ Asha-nasa: that makes him reach the condition of one of the blessed (*ahlâyîh arzânîk*, Vend. XVIII, 6 [17]): the Sanskrit translation has, 'that is to say, that makes him worthy of a great reward.'

⁶ As in the invocations from § 87 to the end.

⁷ An allusion to the formula: 'I sacrifice to the Fravashi of my own soul,' Yasna XXIII, 4 [6].

with meat and clothes in his hand, with a prayer worthy of bliss, the awful Fravashis of the faithful, satisfied, unharmed, and unoffended, bless thus :

52. 'May there be in this house flocks of animals and men! May there be a swift horse and a solid chariot! May there be a man who knows how to praise God¹ and rule in an assembly, who will offer us sacrifices with meat and clothes in his hand, and with a prayer worthy of bliss².'

XIV.

53. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who show beautiful paths to the waters, made by Mazda, which had stood before for a long time in the same place without flowing³:

54. And now they flow along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way appointed to them, at the wish of Ahura Mazda, at the wish of the Amesha-Spentas.

XV.

55. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who show a beautiful growth to the fertile⁴ plants, which had stood before for a long time in the same place without growing :

56. And now they grow up along the path made

¹ Stâhyô: stutikaro (Sansk. tr.; cf. Âtash Nyâyis, 10).

² §§ 49-52 are a part of the so-called Âfrîgân Dahmân (a prayer recited in honour of the dead); a Sanskrit translation of that Âfrîgân has been published by Burnouf in his *Études zendes*.

³ In winter.

⁴ Doubtful. The word is *h̥vawrîra*, which Aspendiârji makes synonymous with *h̥vâpara*, kind, merciful (Vispêrad XXI [XXIV], 1).

by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, in the time appointed to them, at the wish of Ahura Mazda, at the wish of the Amesha-Spentas.

XVI.

57. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who showed their paths to the stars, the moon, the sun, and the endless lights, that had stood before for a long time in the same place, without moving forwards, through the oppression of the Daêvas and the assaults of the Daêvas¹.

58. And now they move around in their far-revolving circle for ever, till they come to the time of the good restoration of the world.

XVII.

59. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the bright sea Vouru-Kasha², to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

XVIII.

60. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the stars Haptôiringa³, to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

XIX.

61. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the body

¹ Bundahis VI, 3.

² To keep the white Hôrn there from the evil beings that try to destroy it (Minokhirad LXII, 28).

³ See above, p. 97, note 4.

of Keresâspa, the son of Sâma¹, the club-bearer with plaited hair, to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

XX.

62. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the seed of the holy Zarathustra², to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

XXI.

63. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who fight at the right hand of the reigning lord, if he rejoices the faithful³ and if the awful Fravashis of the faithful are not hurt by him, if they are rejoiced by him, unharmed and unoffended.

XXII.

64. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who are greater, who are

¹ Keresâspa lies asleep in the plain of Pêryânsâi; 'the glory (far) of heaven stands over him for the purpose that, when Az-i-Dahâk becomes unfettered, he may arise and slay him; and a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous are as a protection to him' (Bundahis XXIX, 8; tr. West).

² 'Zarâtûst went near unto Hvôv (Hvôgvi, his wife) three times, and each time the seed went to the ground; the angel Nêryôsang received the brilliance and strength of that seed, delivered it with care to the angel Anâhîd, and in time will blend it with a mother' (Bundahis XXXII, 8). A maid, Ereda/-fedhri, bathing in Lake Kâsava, will conceive by that seed and bring forth the Saviour Saoshyant; his two fore-runners, Ukhshya/-ereta and Ukhshya/-nemah, will be born in the same way of Srûta/-fedhri and Vanghu/-fedhri (Yt. XIII, 141-142).

³ With alms.

stronger, who are swifter, who are more powerful, who are more victorious, who are more healing, who are more effective than can be expressed by words; who run by tens of thousands into the midst of the Myazdas.

65. And when the waters come up from the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! along with the Glory made by Mazda¹, then forwards come the awful Fravashis of the faithful, many and many hundreds, many and many thousands, many and many tens of thousands,

66. Seeking water for their own kindred, for their own borough, for their own town, for their own country, and saying thus: 'May our own country have a good store and full joy!'

67. They fight in the battles that are fought in their own place and land, each according to the place and house where he dwelt (of yore)²: they look like a gallant warrior who, girded up and watchful, fights for the hoard he has treasured up.

68. And those of them who win bring waters to their own kindred, to their own borough, to their own town, to their own country, saying thus: 'May my country grow and increase!'

69. And when the all-powerful sovereign of a country has been surprised by his foes and haters, he invokes them, the awful Fravashis of the faithful.

70. And they come to his help, if they have not been hurt by him, if they have been rejoiced by him, if they have not been harmed nor offended, the awful Fravashis of the faithful: they come flying unto him, it seems as if they were well-winged birds.

¹ Cf. Yt. XIX, 56 seq.; VIII, 34.

² Doubtful.

71. They come in as a weapon and as a shield, to keep him behind and to keep him in front, from the Drug unseen, from the female Varenya fiend, from the evil-doer bent on mischief, and from that fiend who is all death, Angra Mainyu. It will be as if there were a thousand men watching over one man¹;

72. So that neither the sword well-thrust, neither the club well-falling, nor the arrow well-shot, nor the spear well-darted, nor the stones flung from the arm shall destroy him.

73. They come on this side, they come on that side, never resting, the good, powerful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, asking for help thus: 'Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss? Of which of us will the name be taken for invocation? Of which of you will the soul be worshipped by you with a sacrifice? To whom will that gift of ours be given, that he may have never-failing food for ever and ever²?'

74. We worship the perception³; we worship the intellect; we worship the conscience; we worship those of the *Saoshyants*⁴;

We worship the souls; those of the tame animals; those of the wild animals; those of the animals that live in the waters; those of the animals that live under the ground; those of the flying ones; those of the running ones; those of the grazing ones⁵.

¹ Cf. Yt. I, 19.

³ Âsna=âzana (?).

⁵ Cf. Yt. XIII, 10.

² Cf. § 50.

⁴ Cf. p. 165, note 1.

We worship their Fravashis¹.

75. We worship the Fravashis.

We worship them, the liberal ;

We worship them, the valiant ; we worship them,
the most valiant ;

We worship them, the beneficent ; we worship
them, the most beneficent ;

We worship them, the powerful ;

We worship them, the most strong ;

We worship them, the light ; we worship them,
the most light ;

We worship them, the effective ; we worship
them, the most effective.

76. They are the most effective amongst the
creatures of the two Spirits, they the good, strong,
beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who stood
holding fast when the two Spirits created the world,
the Good Spirit and the Evil One².

77. When Angra Mainyu broke into the creation
of the good holiness, then came in across Vohu
Manô and Âtar³.

78. They destroyed the malice of the fiend
Angra Mainyu, so that the waters did not stop
flowing nor did the plants stop growing ; but at
once the most beneficent waters of the creator and

¹ There seems to be in this paragraph a distinction of five faculties of the soul, âsna, mana, daêna, urvan, fravashi. The usual classification, as given in this Yast, § 149, and in later Parsism (Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, p. 172), is: ahu, spirit of life (?); daêna, conscience; baodhô, perception; urvan, the soul; fravashi.

² The Fravashis, 'on war horses and spear in hand, were around the sky . . . and no passage was found by the evil spirit, who rushed back' (Bund. VI, 3-4; tr. West).

³ Cf. Ormazd et Ahriman, § 107.

ruler, Ahura Mazda, flowed forward and his plants went on growing.

79. We worship all the waters ;

We worship all the plants ;

We worship all the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful.

We worship the waters by their names¹ ;

We worship the plants by their names² ;

We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful by their names.

80. Of all those ancient Fravashis, we worship the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda ; who is the greatest, the best, the fairest, the most solid, the wisest, the finest of body and supreme in holiness³ ;

81. Whose soul is the Māthra Spenta, who is white, shining, seen afar ; and we worship the beautiful forms, the active forms wherewith he clothes the Amesha-Spentas ; we worship the swift-horsed sun.

XXIII.

82. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the Amesha-Spentas, the bright ones, whose looks perform what they wish, the tall, quickly coming to do, strong, and lordly, who are undecaying and holy ;

83. Who are all seven of one thought, who are all seven of one speech, who are all seven of one deed ; whose thought is the same, whose speech is the same, whose deed is the same, whose father and

¹ That is to say, after their different kinds (described in Yasna XXXVIII, 3, 5 [7-9, 13-14] ; LXVIII, 8 [LXVII, 15] ; and Bund. XXI).

² After their kinds (Bund. XXVII).

³ Cf. Yasna I, 1.

commander is the same, namely, the Maker, Ahura Mazda;

84. Who see one another's soul thinking of good thoughts, thinking of good words, thinking of good deeds, thinking of Garô-nmâna, and whose ways¹ are shining as they go down towards the libations².

XXIV.

85. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis: that of the most rejoicing³ fire, the beneficent and assembly-making⁴; and that of the holy, strong Sraosha⁵, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god; and that of Nairyô-sangha⁶.

86. And that of Rashnu Razista⁷;
That of Mithra⁸, the lord of wide pastures;
That of the Mâthra-Spenta⁹;
That of the sky;
That of the waters;
That of the earth;
That of the plants;
That of the Bull¹⁰;
That of the living man¹¹;
That of the holy creation¹².

87. We worship the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan¹³,

¹ The Vedic devayâna.

² Cf. Yt. XIX, 15, 17.

³ Urvâzista. As a proper name Urvâzista is the name of the fire in plants (Yasna XVII, 11 [65], and Bund. XVII, 1).

⁴ At the hearth and the altar.

⁵ See Yt. XI.

⁶ See Vend. XXII, 7.

⁷ See Yt. XII.

⁸ See Yt. X.

⁹ The Holy Word.

¹⁰ See Sîrôzah I, 12.

¹¹ Of mankind; possibly, of Gaya (Maretan).

¹² Doubtful.

¹³ The first man. On the myths of Gaya Maretan, see Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 129-135.

who first listened unto the thought and teaching of Ahura Mazda; of whom Ahura formed the race of the Aryan nations, the seed of the Aryan nations.

We worship the piety and the Fravashi of the holy Zarathustra;

88. Who first thought what is good, who first spoke what is good, who first did what is good; who was the first Priest, the first Warrior, the first Plougher of the ground¹; who first knew and first taught; who first possessed² and first took possession of the Bull³, of Holiness⁴, of the Word, the obedience to the Word, and dominion, and all the good things made by Mazda, that are the offspring of the good Principle;

89. Who was the first Priest, the first Warrior, the first Plougher of the ground; who first took the turning of the wheel⁵ from the hands of the Daêva and of the cold-hearted man; who first in the material world pronounced the praise of Asha⁶, thus bringing the Daêvas to naught, and confessed himself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas, and obeys the laws of Ahura.

90. Who first in the material world said the word that destroys the Daêvas, the law of Ahura; who first in the material world proclaimed the word that destroys the Daêvas, the law of Ahura; who

¹ As having established those three classes. His three earthly sons, *Isa-vâstra*, *Urvata-nara*, and *Hvare-kithra* (§ 98), were the chiefs of the three classes. Cf. Vend. Introd. III, 15, note 3.

² Doubtful.

³ Cf. Yasna XXIX, 8.

⁴ The divine Order, Asha.

⁵ The wheel of sovereignty (?); cf. Yt. X, 67; this expression smacks of Buddhism.

⁶ Who first pronounced the Ashem Vohû; cf. Yt. XXI.

first in the material world declared all the creation of the Daêvas unworthy of sacrifice and prayer; who was strong, giving all the good things of life, the first bearer of the Law amongst the nations;

91. In whom was heard the whole Mâthra, the word of holiness; who was the lord and master of the world¹, the praiser of the most great, most good and most fair Asha²; who had a revelation of the Law, that most excellent of all beings;

92. For whom the Amesha-Speñtas longed, in one accord with the sun, in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart; they longed for him, as the lord and master of the world, as the praiser of the most great, most good, and most fair Asha, as having a revelation of the Law, that most excellent of all beings;

93. In whose birth and growth the waters and the plants rejoiced; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants grew; in whose birth and growth all the creatures of the good creations cried out, Hail³!

94. 'Hail to us! for he is born, the Âthravan, Spitama Zarathustra. Zarathustra will offer us sacrifices with libations and bundles of baresma; and there will the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda come and spread through all the seven Karshvares of the earth.

95. 'There will Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, increase all the excellences of our countries, and allay their troubles; there will the powerful Apâm-Napât⁴ increase all the excellences of our countries, and allay their troubles.'

¹ Material lord and spiritual master.

² The reciter of the Ashem Vohû.

³ Cf. Vend. XIX, 46 [143].

⁴ See Sîrôzah I, 9, note.

We worship the piety and Fravashi of Maidhyô-maungha, the son of Ârâsti¹, who first listened unto the word and teaching of Zarathustra.

XXV.

96. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asmô-hvanvant²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asan-hvanvant.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gavayan.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Parshať-gaus³, the son of Frâta;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohvasti, the son of Snaoya;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Isvať, the son of Varâza.

97. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Saêna, the son of Ahûm-stuť⁴, who first appeared upon this earth with a hundred pupils⁵.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fradhi-daya.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usmânara, the son of Paêshata.

¹ Maidhyô-maungha was the cousin and first disciple of Zarathustra; Zarathustra's father, Pourushaspa, and Ârâsti were brothers (Bund. XXXII, 3); cf. Yasna LI [L], 19.

² Cf. p. 33, note 2; Yt. XXII, 37.

³ Another Parsať-gaus is mentioned § 126.

⁴ Possibly, 'the holy falcon, praiser of the lord;' thus the Law was brought to the Var of Yima by the bird Karsipta (Vend. II, 42), who recites the Avesta in the language of birds (Bund. XIX, 16): the Saêna-bird (Sîmurgh) became in later literature a mythical incarnation of Supreme wisdom (see the Mantik uttair and Dabistân I, 55).

⁵ Who was the first regular teacher, the first aêthrapaiti.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-rao^hah, the son of Frânya;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashô-rao^hah, the son of Frânya;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varesmô-rao^hah, the son of Frânya.

98. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Isat-vâstra, the son of Zarathustra;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Urvatat-nara, the son of Zarathustra;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-^hithra, the son of Zarathustra ¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Daêvô-tbis, the son of Takhma.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thrimith-want, the son of Spitâma ².

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Daungha, the son of Zairita.

99. We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Vistâspa ³; the gallant one, who was the incarnate

¹ 'By Zarâtûst were begotten three sons and three daughters; one son was Isadvâstar, one Aûrvata^h-nar, and one Khûrshê^h-kîhar; as Isadvâstar was chief of the priests he became the Môbad of Môbads, and passed away in the hundredth year of the religion; Aûrvata^h-nar was an agriculturist, and the chief of the enclosure formed by Yim, which is below the earth (see Vend. II, 43 [141]); Khûrshê^h-kîhar was a warrior, commander of the army of Pêshyôtanû, son of Vistâsp (see Yt. XXIV, 4), and dwells in Kangdez; and of the three daughters the name of one was Frên, of one Srît, and of one Pôrukîst (see Yt. XIII, 139). Aûrvata^h-nar and Khûrshê^h-kîhar were from a serving (kakar) wife, the rest were from a privileged (pâdakhshah) wife' (Bund. XXXII, 5-6; tr. West).

² According to Anquetil, 'the threefold seed of Spitama Zarathustra;' cf. above, § 62.

³ The king of Bactra, the champion of Zoroastrism; cf. Yt. V, 98, 108.

Word, the mighty-speared, and lordly one; who, driving the Drug¹ before him, sought wide room for the holy religion; who, driving the Drug¹ before him, made wide room for the holy religion, who made himself the arm and support of this law of Ahura, of this law of Zarathustra.

100. Who took her², standing bound³, from the hands of the Hunus⁴, and established her to sit in the middle [of the world], high ruling, never falling back, holy, nourished with plenty of cattle and pastures, blessed with plenty of cattle and pastures⁴.

101. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zairivairi⁵;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yukhtavairi;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Srtraokhsan;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Keresaoxshan;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vanâra;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varâza;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Bûgisravah⁶;

¹ Druga *paurvanâka*, possibly, 'with the spear pushed forwards' (reading *druka*).

² Daêna, the religion.

³ Cf. Yt. II, 15.

⁴ A generic name of the people called elsewhere Varedhakas (Yt. IX, 31; XVII, 51) or *Hvyaonas* (ibid. and XIX, 87). The Hunus have been compared with the Hunni; but it is not certain that this is a proper name; it may be a disparaging denomination, meaning the brood (*hunu*=Sansk. *sûnu*; cf. Yt. X, 113).

⁵ Zarîr, the brother of Vîstâspa and son of Aurva/-aspa (see Yt. V, 112). The ten following seem to be the names of the other sons of Aurva/-aspa (Bund. XXXI, 29).

⁶ Possibly the same with Pât-Khosrav, a brother to Vîstâspa in the *Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân*, as Mr. West informs me.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Berezyarsti;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Tîzyarsti;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Perethuarsti;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîzyarsti.

102. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Naptya;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vazâspa;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Habâspa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vistauru¹, the son of Naotara.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fras-hâm-vareta²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frashô-kareta.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtarevanu;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtarepâta;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtaredâta;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtarekithra;

¹ Gustahm, the son of Nodar; see Yt. V, 76. Strangely enough, Tusa is not mentioned here, unless he is the same with one of the preceding names: possibly the words 'the son of Naotara' (Naotairyâna) refer to all the four.

² Possibly Frashîdvard فرشیدورد (misspelt from a Pahlavi form Frasânvard 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (?); the Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân, as Mr. West informs me, has 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 and 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥). Frashîdvard was a son of Gustâsp: he was killed by one of Argâsp's heroes and avenged by his brother Isfendyâr (Speñtô-dâta). The following names would belong to his brothers: most of them contain the word Âtar, in honour of the newly-adopted worship of fire.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-
hvarênah ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-
savah ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-
zantu ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-
danghu.

103. We worship the Fravashi of the holy
Huskyaothna ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pisk-
yaothna ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant
Spentô-dâta ¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Basta-
vairi ²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kavâ-
razem ³.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frasha-
ostra ⁴, the son of Hvôva ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gâmâspa ⁵,
the son of Hvôva ;

¹ Isfendyâr, the heroic son of Gûstâsp, killed by Rustem.

² In the *Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân*, according to Mr. West, Bastvar, the son of Zairivairi, whose death he avenges on his murderer Vîdrafs. This makes Bastavairi identical with the Nastûr نستور of Firdausi (read Bastûr بستور).

³ Kavârazem is the Gurezm of later tradition (گورزم), 'the jealous brother of Isfendyâr, whom he slandered to his father and caused to be thrown into prison' (Burhân qâti'h). Firdausi (IV, 432) has only that he was a relation to Gûstâsp: شنیدم که گشتاسپ را خویش بود. See *Études Iranienes*, II, 230.

⁴ Who gave his daughter, Hvôvi, in marriage to Zarathustra (Yasna L [XLIX], 4, 17).

⁵ See Yt. V, 68.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Avâraostri¹.

104. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huskyaothna, the son of Frashaostra;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvâdaêna, the son of Frashaostra.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hanghaurvzungh, the son of Gâmâspa²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vareshna, the son of Hanghaurvzungh.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohunemah, the son of Avâraostri,

To withstand evil dreams, to withstand evil visions, to withstand evil . . .³, to withstand the evil Pairikas.

105. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Mâthravâka, the son of Sîmaêzi, the Aêthrapati, the Hamidhpati⁴, who was able to smite down most of the evil, unfaithful Ashemaoghas, that shout the hymns⁵, and acknowledge no lord and no master⁶, the dreadful ones whose Fravashis are to be broken⁷; to withstand the evil done by the faithful⁸.

¹ Another brother to Frashaostra (?).

² The son of Gâmâsp in the Shâh Nâmah is called Girâmî and Garâmîk-kard in the Yâd-kâr-i Zarîrân.

³ ? Aoiwra.

⁴ Aêthrapati, in Parsi hêrbad, a priest, whose special function is to teach; his pupils were called aêthrya. Aêthrapati meant literally 'the master of the hearth' (cf. hêrkodah, fire-temple). Hamidhpati is literally 'the master of the sacrificial log.'

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ No temporal lord (ahu) and no spiritual master (ratu).

⁷ Doubtful (avasakasta-fravashinâm).

⁸ The evil done by Zoroastrians. This Mâthravâka ('Proclaimer

106. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashastu, the son of Maidhyô-maungha¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Avarethrabah, the son of Râstare-vaghand.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Bûgra, the son of Dâzgarâspa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zbaurvant;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Karesna², the son of Zbaurvant; who was the incarnate Word, mighty-speared and lordly;

107. In whose house did walk the good, beautiful, shining Ashi Vanguhi, in the shape of a maid fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-up girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious seed³; who, rushing to the battle, knew how to make room for himself with his own arms; who, rushing to the battle, knew how to fight the foe with his own arms⁴.

108. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîrâspa, the son of Karesna;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âzâta, the son of Karesna:

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâyaodha, the son of Karesna.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy and good Arshya; Arshya, the chief in assemblies, the most energetic of the worshippers of Mazda.

of the Holy Word') was apparently a great doctor and confounder of heresies.

¹ See above, § 95.

² Possibly the eponym of that great Kâren family, which played so great a part in the history of the Sassanian times, and traced its origin to the time of Gûstâsp (Noeldeke, *Geschichte der Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 437).

³ Cf. Yt. V, 64.

⁴ Cf. Yt. XIII, 99.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Dârayat-ratha ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâyat-ratha ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Skârayat-ratha.

109. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Arsvant ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vyarsvant ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Paityarsvant.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Amru¹ ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kamru¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Drâtha ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Paiti-drâtha ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Paiti-vangha.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frashâ-vakhsha.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Nemô-vanghu, the son of Vaêdhayangha.

110. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Visadha.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashâ-vanghu, the son of Bivândangha² ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Garô-danghu, the son of Pairistîra² ;

¹ Amru and Kamru are apparently the two mythical birds mentioned above under the names of Sin-amru (the Amru-falcon) and Kâmrôs (p. 173, note 1).

² Mr. West compares Ashâvanghu, the son of Bivândangha, and Garôdanghu, the son of Pairistîra, with the two high-priests of the Karshvares of Arezahi and Savahi, whose names are, in the

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Nere-myazdana, the son of Âthwyôza.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Berezisnu, the son of Ara;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kasupatu, the son of Ara.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frya.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy ASTVAT-ERETA¹.

XXVI.

111. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gaopivanghu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Hâm-baretar vanghvâm².

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Staotar-Vahistahê-Ashyêhê³.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pouru-dhâkhsti, the son of Khstâvaênnya;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Khshoi-wrâspa, the son of Khstâvaênnya.

112. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ayô-asti, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti⁴;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohv-asti, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti;

Bundahis, Ashâshagahad-ê *Hvandkân* and Hoazarôdathhri-ê Parêstyarô (Bund. XXIX, 1, notes 4 and 5).

¹ Saoshyant; cf. §§ 117, 128.

² Possibly, 'the holy Hâm-baretar vanghvâm, the son of Takhma.' His name means, 'the gatherer of good things.'

³ This name means, 'the praiser of excellent holiness' (the reciter of the Ashem Vohû).

⁴ See preceding paragraph.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gayadhâsti, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-vazdah, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti ¹;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Urûdhu, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Khshathrô-êinah, the son of Khshvôiwârâspa ².

113. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashâhura, the son of Gîsti.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâyazanta;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frênah, the son of Frâyazanta;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Garôvanghu, the son of Frâyazanta.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy Asha-vazdah and Thrita, the sons of Sâyuzdri ³.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohuraokah, the son of Varakasa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aregan-ghant, the Turanian ⁴.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usinemah.

114. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yukhtâspa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-skyaothna, the son of Gayadhâsti ⁵.

¹ One of the seven immortals, rulers in *Hvaniratha*; cf. Yt. V, 72, text and notes, and Yt. XIII, 120, 124.

² See preceding paragraph.

³ See Yt. V, 72. The text has 'the Fravashi;' cf. Yt. V, 116, note, and Yt. XIII, 115.

⁴ Cf. Yt. XIII, 143. Possibly, the son of Tûra.

⁵ Cf. § 112.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-nemah, the son of Katu ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-vazdah, the son of Katu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-saredha, the son of Asha-sairyâkê ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-saredha, the son of Zairyâkê.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kâkhshni.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Syâvâspi.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pourusti, the son of Kavi.

115. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varesmapa, the son of Ganara.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Nanârâsti, the son of Paêshatah ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zarazdâti, the son of Paêshatah.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gaêvani, the son of Vohu-nemah ¹.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy Arezva and Srûta-spâdha.

We worship the Fravashis ² of the holy Zrayah and Spentô-khratu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varsni, the son of Vâgereza.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâkya, the son of Taurvâti.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vahmaê-dâta, the son of Mâthravâka ³.

¹ There are two men of this name ; one is the son of Katu (§ 114), the other is the son of Avâraostri (§ 104).

² The text has 'the Fravashi ;' cf. preceding page, note 3.

³ See § 105.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ustra, the son of Sadhanah.

116. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Danghu-srûta;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Danghu-frâdhah.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aspô-padhô-makhsti;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Payanghrô-makhsti.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ustâzanta.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-savah;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashô-urvatha.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Haomô-hvarenah.

117. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frava.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usnâka.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvanvant.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Daênô-vazah.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aregaona.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aiwi-hvarenah.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huyazata.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hare-dhaspa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pâzinah.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvâkhshathra.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashô-paoirya.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy ASTVARETA¹.

XXVII.

118. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hugau.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Anghuyu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gâuri ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yûsta, the son of Gâuri.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Mâzdrâvanghu ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Srîrâvanghu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âyûta.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Sûrô-yazata.

119. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Eredhwa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kavi.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshan, the son of the great Vîdi-sravah, known afar².

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vanghu-dhâta, the son of Hvadhâta ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Uzya, the son of Vanghu-dhâta ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frya.

120. We worship the Fravashi of the holy one whose name is Ashem-yênhê-raokau ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy one whose name is Ashem-yênhê-vereza ;

¹ Saoshyant; cf. §§ 110, 128.

² Perhaps, Ukhshan, the conqueror of glory, known afar, son of Berezvant.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy one whose name is Ashem-yahmâi-ustâ ¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yôista ², of the Fryâna house.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usmânara, the son of Paêshatah Paitisrîra ³, to withstand the evil done by one's kindred ⁴.

121. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Spiti ⁵, the son of Uspâsnu ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Erezrâspa, the son of Uspâsnu ⁶.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usadhan, the son of Mazdayasna.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâdat-vanghu, the son of Stivanî.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Raokas-kaêshman ⁷;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-kaêshman ⁷.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frasrûtâra ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîsrûtâra.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Baremna.

¹ One of the immortals, rulers in *Hvaniratha* : he is said to belong to the Fryâna family (Dâdistân XC, 3) ; he resides in the district of the river Nâîvtâk (Bund. XXIX, 5).

² See Yt. V, 81.

³ Paitisrîra is perhaps an epithet (most beautiful?), added to distinguish Paêshatah from the hero mentioned in § 115.

⁴ An allusion to some legend of domestic feud of which Paêshatah was the hero.

⁵ The high-priest of the Fradadhafshu Karshvare (Spîtoîd-i Aûspôsinân ; Bund. XXIX, 1 ; tr. West, note 6).

⁶ The high-priest of the Vîdadhafshu Karshvare (Aîrîz-râsp Aûspôsinân ; see *ibid.*, note 7).

⁷ Cf. § 128.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîsrûta.

122. We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Hvaspa*¹;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Kathwar-aspa*².

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Dawrâ-maêshi*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Fraora-ostra*, the son of *Kaosha*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Frtnâspa*, the son of *Kaêva*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Frâdat-nara*, the son of *Gravâratu*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Vohu-ustra*, the son of *Ākhnangha*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Vîvare-shvant*, the son of *Ainyu*.

123. We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Frârâzi*, the son of *Tûra*³.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Stipi*, the son of *Ravant*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Parshanta*, the son of *Gandarewa*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Avahya*, the son of *Spenta*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Aêta*, the son of *Mâyû*;

¹ Probably the same with *Huvâsp*, the high-priest in the *Vouru-baresti Karshvare* (Bund. XXIX, 1; tr. West, note 8).

² Possibly the same with the high-priest in the *Vouru-garesti karshvare*, *Kakhravâk* (ibid., note 9). *Kakhravâk* is the generic name of the bird *Karshihta* (Pahl. Comm. ad II, 42 [139]); it must stand here by mistake for *Kahârâsp*.

³ Or, 'the Turanian;' cf. § 113.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yaêtus-gau, the son of Vyâtana.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Garsta, the son of Kavi.

124. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pouru-bangha, the son of Zaosha.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-dâta, the son of Kâta.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Baungha, the son of Saungha.

We worship the Fravashis¹ of the holy Hvareza and Ankasa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aravaostra, the son of Erezvat-danghu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâêithra, the son of Berezvant.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-peresa, the son of Ainyu.

125. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Parô-dasma, the son of Dâstâghni, a Mîza man of the Mîza land.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy Fratîra and Baêshatastîra.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy and pure Avare-gau, the son of Aoighimatastîra.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gaomant, the son of Zavan, a Raozdya man of the Raozdya land.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thrit, the son of Aêvo-saredha-fyaêsta, a Tanya man of the Tanya land.

¹ The text has 'the Fravashi;' cf. §§ 113, 127.

126. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Tîrô-nakathwa, of the Uspaêsta-Saêna house¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Utayuti Viî-kavi, the son of Zighri, of the Saêna house¹;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frôhakaфра, the son of Merezîshmya, of the Saêna house¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varesmô-rao~~kah~~, the son of Perethu-afzem.

127. We worship the Fravashis² of the holy Asha-nemah and Vîdat-gau, of this country.

We worship the Fravashis² of the holy Par-shat-gau and Dâzgara-gau, of the Apakhshîra country.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hufra-vâkhs, of the Kahrkana house¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Akayadha, of the Pîdha house¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gâmâspa, the younger³.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Maidhyô-maungha, the younger⁴.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Urvata~~t~~-nara, the younger⁵.

128. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Rao~~kas~~-kaêsmān;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-kaêsmān;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâdat-hvarenah;

¹ See Études Iraniennes, II, 142.

² The text has 'the Fravashi;' cf. § 113.

³ Different from Gâmâspa, the son of Hvôva (§ 103).

⁴ Different from Maidhyô-maungha, the son of Ârâsti (§ 95).

⁵ Different from Urvata~~t~~-nara, the son of Zarathustra (§ 98).

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varedat-*hvarēnah* ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vouru-*nemah* ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vouru-*savah* ¹ ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshyat-*ereta* ² ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshyat-*nemah* ³ ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy ASTVAT-*ERETA* ⁴ ;

XXVIII.

129. Whose name will be the victorious SAOSH-*YANT* and whose name will be Astvat-*ereta*. He will be SAOSH-*YANT* (the Beneficent One), because he will benefit the whole bodily world; he will be ASTVAT-*ERETA* (he who makes the bodily creatures

¹ The six foremost helpers of Saoshyant, each in one of the six Karshvares : 'It is said that in the fifty-seven years, which are the period of the raising of the dead, Rôshanô-*kashm* in Arzâh, Khôr-*kashm* in Savâh, Frâdad-gadman (Frâdat-*hvarēnô*, Increaser of Glory) in Fradadâfsh, Vâredad-gadman (Varedat-*hvarēnô*, Multiplier of Glory) in Vîdadâfsh, Kâmak-vakhshishn (Vouru-nemô, Prayer-loving) in Vôrûbarst, and Kâmak-sûd (Vouru-savô, Weal-loving) in Vôrûgarst, while Sôshâns in the illustrious and pure Khvanîras is connected with them, are immortal. The completely good sense, perfect hearing, and full glory of those seven producers of the renovation are so miraculous that they converse from region unto region, every one together with the six others' (Dâdistân XXXVI, 5-6; tr. West).

² The first brother and forerunner to Saoshyant, the Oshedar mâh of later tradition (see above, p. 196, note 2; cf. § 141, note).

³ The second brother and forerunner to Saoshyant, the Oshedar bâmî of later tradition (ibid.; cf. § 142, note).

⁴ Saoshyant; cf. following paragraph and §§ 110, 117.

rise up), because as a bodily creature and as a living creature he will stand against the destruction of the bodily creatures, to withstand the Drug of the two-footed brood, to withstand the evil done by the faithful¹.

XXIX.

130. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yima², the son of Vîvanghant; the valiant Yima, who had flocks at his wish³; to stand against the oppression caused by the Daêvas, against the drought that destroys pastures, and against death that creeps unseen⁴.

131. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thraêtaona, of the Âthwya house⁵; to stand against itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever, and incontineny⁶, to stand against the evil done by the Serpent⁷.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aoshnara, the son of Pouru-gtra⁸.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Uzava, the son of Tûmâspa⁹.

¹ He will suppress both the destructive power of the men of the Drug (idolaters and the like) and the errors of Mazdayas-nians (?).

² See above, p. 25, note 4.

³ Vouru-vâthwa; cf. *Études Iraniennes*, II, 182.

⁴ As he made waters and trees undrying, cattle and men undying.

⁵ See above, p. 61, note 1.

⁶ As the inventor of medicine; see Vend. XX, Introd.

⁷ Disease, being a poison, comes from the Serpent; see *ibid*.

⁸ Or 'Aoshnara, full of wisdom;' cf. Yt. XXIII, 2, and West, *Pahlavi Texts*, II, 171, note 3.

⁹ Called in the Shâh Nâmah Zab, son of Tahmâsp, who appears to have been a son of Nodar (Bund. XXXI, 23).

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aghraêratha, the demi-man¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Manusêithra, the son of Airyu².

132. We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Kavâta³;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Aipivanghu⁴;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Usadhan⁵;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Arshan⁶;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Pisanah⁶;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Byârshan⁶;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Syâvarshan⁶;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Husravah⁶;

133. For the well-shapeden Strength⁷, for the Victory made by Ahura, for the crushing Ascendant; for the righteousness of the law, for the innocence of

¹ See above, p. 114, note 7 (Yt. IX, 18).

² Airyu, the youngest of the three sons of Thraêtaona (see p. 61, note 1), was killed by his brothers and avenged by his son Manusêithra, who succeeded Thraêtaona.

³ Kavâta, Kai Qobâd in the Shâh Nâmah, an adoptive son to Uzava, according to Bund. XXXI, 24.

⁴ Kaî-Apîveh in the Bundahis; he was the son of Kai Qobâd.

⁵ Usadhan, Arshan, Pisanah, and Byârshan were the four sons of Aipivanghu; they are called in Firdausi Kai Kaus, Kai Arish, Kai Pashîn, and Kai Armîn. Kai Kaus alone came to the throne.

⁶ Syâvakhsh and Khosrav; see above, p. 64, note 1.

⁷ To become possessed of Strength, Victory, &c., as Husravah did.

the law, for the unconquerable power of the law; for the extermination of the enemies at one stroke;

134. And for the vigour of health, for the Glory made by Mazda, for the health of the body, and for a good, virtuous offspring, wise, chief in assemblies, bright, and clear-eyed, that frees [their father] from the pangs [of hell], of good intellect; and for that part in the blessed world that falls to wisdom and to those who do not follow impiety;

135. For a dominion full of splendour, for a long, long life, and for all boons and remedies; to withstand the Yâtus and Pairikas, the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf; to withstand the evil done by oppressors¹.

136. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Keresâspa², the Sâma³, the club-bearer with plaited hair; to withstand the dreadful arm and the hordes with the wide battle array, with the many spears, with the straight spears, with the spears uplifted, bearing the spears of havoc; to withstand the dreadful brigand who works destruction⁴, the man-slayer who has no mercy; to withstand the evil done by the brigand.

137. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âkhrûra⁵, the son of Husravah;

To withstand the wicked one that deceives his friend and the niggard that causes the destruction of the world⁶.

¹ Like Frangrasyan; cf. p. 64, note 1.

² See Yt. V, 37; XV, 27; XIX, 38.

³ Belonging to the Sâma family (Yasna IX, 10).

⁴ Like the nine highwaymen killed by Keresâspa, Yt. XIX, 41.

⁵ Not mentioned in the Shâh Nâmah; Khosrav was succeeded by a distant relation, Lôhrasp.

⁶ An allusion to the lost legend of Âkhrûra; see, however, West, Pahlavi Texts, II, 375.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Haoshyangha ;

To withstand the Mâzainya Daêvas and the Varenya fiends ; to withstand the evil done by the Daêvas ¹.

138. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fradhâkhsti, the son of the jar ²,

To withstand Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear, and the Daêvas that grow through Aêshma ; to withstand the evil done by Aêshma.

XXX.

139. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvôvi ³.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frëni ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thriti ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pouru-
kêsta ⁴.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hutaosa ⁵ ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huma ⁶.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zairiêi.

¹ See Yt. V, 21-23.

² Khumbya, one of the immortals in *Hvaniratha* ; he resides in the Pêsyânsaï plain : ' he is *Hvembya* for this reason, because they brought him up in a *hvemb* (jar) for fear of *Khashm*' (Bund. XXIX, 5). He answers pretty well to the Agastya and Vasishtha of the Vedic legend (see Ormazd et Ahriman, § 177).

³ One of the three wives of Zarathustra, the daughter of Frasha-
ostra ; she is the supposed mother of Saoshyant and his brothers (see p. 195, note 2).

⁴ The three daughters of Zarathustra and sisters to Isadvâstar (see p. 204, note 1).

⁵ Vîstâspa's wife ; see Yt. IX, 26, and XVII, 46.

⁶ Vîstâspa's daughter, Humâi, in the Shâh Nâmah.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîspa-
taurvashi.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ustavaiti.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Tusnâ-
maiti.

140. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frëni,
the wife of Usenemah¹;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frëni, the
wife of the son of Frâyazanta²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frëni, the
wife of the son of Khshôiw râspa³;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frëni, the
wife of Gayadhâsti⁴.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asabani,
the wife of Pourudhâkhsti⁵.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhsh-
yeinti, the wife of Staotar-Vahistahê-Ashyêhê⁶.

141. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid
Vadhût.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid
Gaghrûdh.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid
Franghâdh.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Urû-
dhayant.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Paê-
sanghanu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Hvaredhi*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Hužithra*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Kanuka*.

¹ See § 113.

² Of Frënah or Garô-vanghu, § 113.

³ Of Khshathrô-kinah, § 112.

⁴ See § 112.

⁵ See § 111.

⁶ Ibid.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid *Srûta/-fedhri*¹.

142. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid *Vanghu/-fedhri*²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid *Eredat/-fedhri*³, who is called *Vîspa-taurvairi*. She is *Vîspa-taurvairi* (the all-destroying) because she will bring him forth, who will destroy the malice of *Daêvas* and men, to withstand the evil done by the *Gahi*⁴.

143. We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Aryan countries;

We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Aryan countries.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Turanian countries⁵;

We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Turanian countries.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Sairimyan countries⁶;

¹ *Ukhshya/-ereta's* mother (see above, § 126); the *Saddar BUNDAHIS* (*Études Iraniennes*, II, 209) calls her *Bad*, from the last part of her name (*fedhri* for *padhri*), and states that, bathing in Lake *Kâsava*, she will become pregnant from the seed of *Zarathustra*, that is preserved there (see above, p. 195, note 2), and she will bring forth a son, *Oshedar bâmî*.

² *Ukhshya/-nemah's* mother, called *Vah Bad* in the *Saddar*; she will conceive in the same way as *Srûta/-fedhri*.

³ *Saoshyant's* mother.

⁴ Cf. *Vend.* XIX, 5, and *Introd.* IV, 39-40.

⁵ *Gôgôsrasp* (a commentator to the *Avesta*) says, 'There are holy men in all religions, as appears from the words *tûiryanâm dahvyunâm* [We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Turanian countries],' (*Pahl. Comm. ad Vend.* III, end; and *Vend.* V, 38 [122]); cf. above, §§ 113, 123.

⁶ The countries inherited by *Sairima* (*Selm*), the third son of

We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Sairimyan countries.

144. We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Sâini countries¹;

We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Sâini countries.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Dâhi countries²;

We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Dâhi countries.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in all countries;

We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in all countries.

145. We worship all the good, awful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, from Gaya Maretan down to the victorious Saoshyant³. May the Fravashis of the faithful come quickly to us! May they come to our help!

146. They protect us when in distress with manifest assistance, with the assistance of Ahura Mazda and of the holy, powerful Sraosha, and with the Mâthra-Spen^ta, the all-knowing, who hates the Daêvas with a mighty hate, a friend of Ahura Mazda, whom Zarathustra worshipped so greatly in the material world.

147. May the good waters and the plants and

Thraêtaona, as Turan and Iran were inherited by Tûra and Airyu. Selm's heritage was Rûm, that is to say, Europa and Western Asia.

¹ China (Bund. XV, 29).

² Perhaps the Dahae (Pliny VI, 17; Aeneis VIII, 728) or Δάαι (Strabo), called Ta-hia by Chinese geographers, on the south of the Oxus.

³ From the first man to the last.

the Fravashis of the faithful abide down here! May you be rejoiced and well received in this house! Here are the Âthravans of the countries¹, thinking of good holiness. Our hands are lifted up for asking help, and for offering a sacrifice unto you, O most beneficent Fravashis!

148. We worship the Fravashis of all the holy men and holy women whose souls are worthy of sacrifice², whose Fravashis are worthy of invocation.

We worship the Fravashis of all the holy men and holy women, our sacrificing to whom makes us good in the eyes of Ahura Mazda: of all of those we have heard that Zarathustra is the first and best, as a follower of Ahura and as a performer of the law.

149. We worship the spirit, conscience, perception, soul, and Fravashi³ of men of the primitive law⁴, of the first who listened to the teaching (of Ahura), holy men and holy women, who struggled for holiness⁵; we worship the spirit, conscience, perception, soul, and Fravashi of our next-of-kin, holy men and holy women, who struggled for holiness⁵.

150. We worship the men of the primitive law who will be in these houses, boroughs, towns, and countries;

We worship the men of the primitive law who have been in these houses, boroughs, towns, and countries;

We worship the men of the primitive law who are in these houses, boroughs, towns, and countries.

151. We worship the men of the primitive law

¹ Itinerant priests are received here.

² Doubtful.

³ Cf. p. 198, note 1.

⁴ The Paoiryô-/kaêsas; see p. 180, note 1.

⁵ For the triumph of the Zoroastrian law.

in all houses, boroughs, towns, and countries, who obtained these houses, who obtained these boroughs, who obtained these towns, who obtained these countries, who obtained holiness, who obtained the Mâthra, who obtained the [blessedness of the] soul, who obtained all the perfections of goodness.

152. We worship Zarathustra, the lord and master of all the material world, the man of the primitive law; the wisest of all beings, the best-ruling of all beings, the brightest of all beings, the most glorious of all beings, the most worthy of sacrifice amongst all beings, the most worthy of prayer amongst all beings, the most worthy of propitiation amongst all beings, the most worthy of glorification amongst all beings, whom we call well-desired and worthy of sacrifice and prayer as much as any being can be, in the perfection of his holiness.

153. We worship this earth;

We worship those heavens;

We worship those good things that stand between (the earth and the heavens) and that are worthy of sacrifice and prayer and are to be worshipped by the faithful man.

154. We worship the souls of the wild beasts and of the tame¹.

We worship the souls of the holy men and women, born at any time, whose consciences struggle, or will struggle, or have struggled, for the good.

¹ Daitika, Persian دد; Neriosengh has 'that go by herds,' pañktiârin. Aidyu; the Pahlavi translation has ayyâr, 'that are of help' (domesticated?); Neriosengh has misread it as suvâr and translated açvacârin. The expression daitika aidyu answers to the Persian دد و دام, meaning all sorts of animals (see Études Iraniennes, II, 150).

155. We worship the spirit, conscience, perception, soul, and Fravashi of the holy men and holy women who struggle, will struggle, or have struggled, and teach the Law, and who have struggled for holiness.

Yêzhê hâtām: All those beings to whom Ahura Mazda

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

156. The Fravashis of the faithful, awful and overpowering, awful and victorious; the Fravashis of the men of the primitive law; the Fravashis of the next-of-kin; may these Fravashis come satisfied into this house; may they walk satisfied through this house!

157. May they, being satisfied, bless this house with the presence of the kind Ashi Vanguhi! May they leave this house satisfied! May they carry back from here hymns and worship to the Maker, Ahura Mazda, and the Amesha-Speñtas! May they not leave this house of us, the worshippers of Mazda, complaining!

158. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the faithful; of the Fravashis of the men of the primitive law; of the Fravashis of the next-of-kin.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man¹ brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ Who shall worship the Fravashis.

XIV. BAHRÂM YAST.

Regarding Bahrâm (Verethraghna), the Genius of Victory, see Vend. Introd. V, 8.

This Yast can be divided into four parts:—

I (§§ 1-28) An enumeration of the ten incarnations in which Verethraghna appeared to Zarathustra (as a wind, § 2; as a bull, § 7; as a horse, § 9; as a camel, § 11; as a boar, § 15; as a youth, § 17; as a raven, § 19; as a ram, § 23; as a buck, § 25; and as a man, § 27).

II (§§ 30-33). The powers given by Verethraghna to his worshipper, Zarathustra.

III (§§ 34-46). The magical powers, ascribed to the raven's feather, of striking terror into an army and dispersing it (the raven being the seventh incarnation of Verethraghna).

IV (§§ 47-64). The glorification of Verethraghna.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto Verethraghna, made by Mazda, and unto the crushing Ascendant¹;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

¹ Sîrôzah I, 20.

‘Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?’

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!’

2. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him first, running in the shape of a strong, beautiful wind, made by Mazda; he bore the good Glory, made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda, that is both health and strength.

3. Then he, who is the strongest¹, said unto him²: ‘I am the strongest in strength; I am the most victorious in victory; I am the most glorious in Glory; I am the most favouring in favour; I am the best giver of welfare; I am the best-healing in health-giving.

4. ‘And I shall destroy the malice of all the malicious, the malice of Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf.

5. ‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard; namely, unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. We worship Verethraghna, made by Ahura, with an offering of libations, according to the primitive ordinances of Ahura; with the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

‘Yênê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . .

II.

6. ‘We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.’

¹ Verethraghna.

² Zarathustra.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : ' Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

' Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods ?'

Ahura Mazda answered : ' It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

7. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the second time, running in the shape of a beautiful bull, with yellow ears and golden horns ; upon whose horns floated the well-shapen Strength, and Victory, beautiful of form, made by Ahura : thus did he come, bearing the good Glory, made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda, that is both health and strength.

Then he, who is the strongest, said unto him : ' I am the strongest in strength¹,

' And I shall destroy the malice of all malicious²'

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard³

III.

8. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : ' Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

' Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods ?'

Ahura Mazda answered : ' It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

9. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the third time, running in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with yellow ears and a golden caparison ; upon whose forehead floated the well-shapen Strength,

¹ As above, § 3.

² As above, § 4.

³ As above, § 5.

and Victory, beautiful of form, made by Ahura: thus did he come, bearing the good Glory, made by Mazda, that is both health and strength.

Then he, who is the strongest, said unto him: 'I am the strongest in strength

'And I shall destroy the malice of all malicious'

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

IV.

10. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?'

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

11. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the fourth time, running in the shape of a burden-bearing¹ camel, sharp-toothed², swift³, stamping forwards, long-haired, and living in the abodes of men⁴;

12. Who of all males in rut shows greatest strength and greatest fire, when he goes to his females. Of all females those are best kept whom a burden-bearing camel keeps, who has thick forelegs and large humps,⁵, quick-eyed, long-headed, bright, tall, and strong;

13. Whose piercing look goes afar⁶, even in the dark of the night; who throws white foam

¹ Doubtful (*vadharôis*).

² ? *Urvatô*; cf. § 19.

³ ? *Smarsnô*.

⁴ Doubtful (*dadâsôis*).

⁵ Tame, domesticated.

⁶ ? *Haitahê*.

along his mouth ; well-kneed, well-footed, standing with the countenance of an all-powerful master :

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda

V.

14. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods ?'

Ahura Mazda answered : 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

15. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the fifth time, running in the shape of a boar, opposing the foes, a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp-jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing, wrathful, with a dripping face¹, strong, and swift to run, and rushing all around².

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda

VI.

16. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods ?'

Ahura Mazda answered : 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

¹ Cf. Yt. X, 70.

² Or better, rushing before. Cf. Yt. X, 127.

17. Verethraghna,¹ made by Ahura, came to him the sixth time, running in the shape of a beautiful youth of fifteen, shining, clear-eyed, thin-heeled.

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda

VII.

18. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?'

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

19. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the seventh time, running in the shape of a raven that¹ below and¹ above, and that is the swiftest of all birds, the lightest of the flying creatures.

20. He alone of living things,—he or none,—overtakes the flight of an arrow, however well it has been shot. He flies up joyfully at the first break of dawn, wishing the night to be no more, wishing the dawn, that has not yet come, to come².

21. He grazes the hidden ways³ of the mountains, he grazes the tops of the mountains, he grazes the depths of the vales, he grazes the summits⁴ of the trees, listening to the voices of the birds.

¹ ? Urvatô, pishatô.

² The raven was sacred to Apollo. The priests of the sun in Persia are said to have been named ravens (Porphyrius). Cf. Georgica I, 45.

³ Reading vigâtavô.

⁴ Doubtful.

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda¹, the Glory made by Mazda

VIII.

22. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?'

Ahura Mazda answered : 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

23. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the eighth time, running in the shape of a wild, beautiful ram, with horns bent round².

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda³, the Glory made by Mazda

IX.

24. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?'

Ahura Mazda answered : 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

¹ The royal Glory is described flying in the shape of a raven, Yt. XIX, 35.

² Doubtful.

³ While Ardashîr, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, was flying from Ardavân, a beautiful wild ram ran after him and overtook him, and Ardavân understood from this that the kingly Glory had left him and had passed over to his rival (Shâh Nâmah, Ardashîr; Kâr Nâmakî Artachshîr, tr. Noeldeke, p. 45).

25. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the ninth time, running in the shape of a beautiful, fighting buck, with sharp horns.

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda

X.

26. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?'

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

27. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the tenth time, running in the shape of a man, bright and beautiful, made by Mazda: he held a sword with a golden blade, inlaid with all sorts of ornaments.

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda

XI.

28. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who makes virility, who makes death, who makes resurrection, who possesses peace, who has a free way.

Unto him did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice, [asking] for victorious thinking, victorious speaking, victorious doing, victorious addressing, and victorious answering.

29. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him the

fountains of manliness¹, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the Kara fish², that lives beneath the waters and can measure³ a rippling of the water, not thicker than a hair, in the Rangha whose ends lie afar, whose depth is a thousand times the height of a man⁴.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XII.

30. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who makes virility, who makes death, who makes resurrection, who possesses peace, who has a free way.

Unto him did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice, [asking] for victorious thinking, victorious speaking, victorious doing, victorious addressing, and victorious answering.

31. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him the fountains of manliness, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the male horse, that, in the dark of the night, in its first half⁵ and through the rain, can perceive a horse's hair lying on the ground and knows whether it is from the head or from the tail⁶.

¹ Erezi, Pahl. gond (Old Zand-Pahlavi Dictionary, p. 11).

² See Vendidad XIX, 42.

³ Possibly, perceive.

⁴ Cf. Yt. XVI, 7, and Bundahis XVIII, 6: 'those fish know the scratch of a needle's point (or better hole) by which the water shall increase, or by which it is diminishing' (tr. West).

⁵ Avakhshaityau, the night before hu-vakhsha (before the time when the light begins to grow; midnight).

⁶ Cf. Yt. XVI, 10, and Bundahis XIX, 32: 'Regarding the Arab

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XIII.

32. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who makes virility, who makes death, who makes resurrection, who possesses peace, who has a free way.

Unto him did the holy Zarathustra sacrifice, [asking] for victorious thinking, victorious speaking, victorious doing, victorious addressing, and victorious answering.

33. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him the fountains of virility, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the vulture with a golden collar¹, that, from as far as nine districts, can perceive a piece of flesh not thicker than the fist, giving just as much light as a needle gives, as the point of a needle gives².

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XIV.

34. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : ' Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

horse, they say that if, in a dark night, a single hair occurs on the ground, he sees it' (tr. West).

¹ Possibly the Gypaetus, the vautour doré.

² ' Even from his highest flight, he (the vulture) sees when flesh the size of a fist is on the ground' (Bund. XIX, 31 ; tr. West). Cf. Horapollon (I, 11).

‘If I have a curse thrown upon me, a spell told upon me by the many men who hate me, what is the remedy for it?’

35. Ahura Mazda answered : ‘Take thou a feather of that bird with¹ feathers, the Vârengana, O Spitama Zarathustra ! With that feather thou shalt rub thy own body², with that feather thou shalt curse back thy enemies.

36. ‘If a man holds a bone of that strong bird, or a feather of that strong bird, no one can smite or turn to flight that fortunate man. The feather of that bird of birds brings him help ; it brings unto him the homage of men, it maintains in him his glory.

37. ‘Then the sovereign, the lord of countries, will no longer kill his³ hundreds, though he is a killer of men ; the⁴ will not kill at one stroke ; he alone smites and goes forwards.

38. ‘All tremble before him who holds the feather, they tremble therefore before me ; all my enemies tremble before me and fear my strength and victorious force and the fierceness established in my body.

39. ‘He⁵ carries the chariot of the lords ; he carries the chariots of the lordly ones, the chariots of the sovereigns. He carried the chariot of Kavi

¹ Peshô-parena. The Vârengana is the same bird as the Vâraghna, the raven.

² The feather of the Vârengana plays here the same part as the Sîmurgh’s feather in the Shâh Nâmah. When Rûdâbah’s flank was opened to bring forth Rustem, her wound was healed by rubbing it with a Sîmurgh’s feather ; Rustem, wounded to death by Isfendyâr, was cured in the same manner.

³ Of him who holds that feather.

⁴ ? Vaêsaêpa.

⁵ That bird.

Usa¹; upon his wings runs the male horse², runs the burden-bearing camel, runs the water of the river.

40. 'Him rode the gallant Thraêtaona, who smote Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who had a thousand senses; that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle³.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XV.

41. 'We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

'Verethraghna confounds the glory of this house with its wealth in cattle. He is like that great bird, the Saêna⁴; he is like the big clouds, full of water, that beat the mountains.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XVI.

42. 'We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.'

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'Where is it that we must invoke the name of Verethraghna, made by Ahura? Where is it that

¹ Kai Kaus; when he tried to ascend to heaven on a throne carried by eagles (*Journal Asiatique*, 1881, I, 513).

² A metaphor to express the swiftness of the wind, of the camel, and of the rivers.

³ Cf. Yt. V, 34.

⁴ The Sîmurgh; cf. p. 241, note 2.

we must praise him? That we must humbly praise him?'

43. Ahura Mazda answered: 'When armies meet together in full array, O Spitama Zarathustra! (asking) which of the two is the party that conquers¹ and is not crushed, that smites and is not smitten;

44. 'Do thou throw¹ four feathers² in the way. Whichever of the two will first worship the well-shapen Strength, and Verethraghna, beautiful of form, made by Mazda, on his side will victory stand.

45. 'I will bless Strength and Victory, the two keepers, the two good keepers, the two maintainers; the two who³, the two who³, the two who³; the two who forgive, the two who strike off, the two who forget⁴.

46. 'O Zarathustra! let not that spell be shown to any one, except by the father to his son, or by the brother to his brother from the same womb, or by the Âthravan to his pupil⁵. These are words that are awful and powerful, awful and assembly-ruling, awful and victorious, awful and healing; these are words that save the head that was lost and chant away the uplifted weapon.'

XVII.

47. We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura: who goes along the armies arrayed, and goes here

¹ Doubtful.

² Or an arrow feathered with four Vârengana's feathers.

³ Â-dhwaozen, vî-dhwaozen, fra-dhwaozen.

⁴ Âmarezen, cf. آمرزیدن; vîmarezen, cf. Yt. I, 2; fra marezen, cf. فرموش.

⁵ Cf. Yt. IV, 10.

and there asking, along with Mithra and Rashnu : 'Who is it who lies unto Mithra ? Who is it who thrusts [his oath] against Rashnu¹ ? To whom shall I, in my might, impart illness and death² ?'

48³. Ahura Mazda said : 'If men sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, if the due sacrifice and prayer is offered unto him just as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness, never will a hostile horde enter the Aryan countries, nor any plague, nor leprosy, nor venomous plants, nor the chariot of a foe, nor the uplifted spear of a foe.'

49⁴. Zarathustra asked : 'What is then, O Ahura Mazda ! the sacrifice and invocation in honour of Verethraghna, made by Ahura, as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness ?'

50. Ahura Mazda answered : 'Let the Aryan nations bring libations unto him ; let the Aryan nations tie bundles of baresma for him ; let the Aryan nations cook for him a head of cattle, either white, or black, or of any other colour, but all of one and the same colour.

51. 'Let not a murderer take of those offerings, nor a whore, nor a , who does not sing the Gâthâs, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathustra.

52. 'If a murderer take of those offerings, or a whore, or a , who does not sing the Gâthâs, then Verethraghna, made by Ahura, takes back his healing virtues.

¹ Against truth.

³ § 48 ; cf. Yt. VIII, 56.

² Cf. Yt. X, 108 seq.

⁴ §§ 49-53 = Yt. VIII, 57-61.

53. 'Plagues will ever pour upon the Aryan nations; hostile hordes will ever fall upon the Aryan nations; the Aryans will be smitten by their fifties and their hundreds, by their hundreds and their thousands, by their thousands and their tens of thousands, by their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.'

54. There Verethraghna, made by Ahura, proclaimed thus: 'The Soul of the Bull¹, the wise creature, does not receive from man due sacrifice and prayer; for now the Daêvas and the worshippers of the Daêvas make blood flow and spill it like water;

55. 'For now the² Daêvas and the worshippers of the Daêvas bring to the fire the plant that is called Haperesi, the wood that is called Neme/ka³;

56. '(Therefore) when the² Daêvas and the worshippers of the Daêvas bow their backs, bend their waists, and arrange all their limbs⁴, they think they will smite and smite not, they think they will kill and kill not; and then the² Daêvas and the worshippers of the Daêvas have their minds confounded and their eyes made giddy⁵.'

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ Gôsrûn or Drvâspa; see Yt. IX. The destruction of any living being is an injury to Drvâspa.

² ? Vyâmbura.

³ The Haperesi and the Neme/ka are probably some species of green wood; it is forbidden to put green wood in the fire as it kills it, and injures the Genius of Water at the same time.

⁴ In order to strike.

⁵ The general meaning of the last four clauses is that the impious are defeated.

XVIII.

57. We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

I offer up Haoma, who saves one's head¹; I offer up the victorious Haoma; I offer him up, the good protector; I offer up Haoma, who is a protector to my body, as a man who shall drink² of him shall win and prevail³ over his enemies in battle;

58. That I may smite this army, that I may smite down this army, that I may cut in pieces this army that is coming behind me.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XIX.

59. We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

The prince and his son and his sons who are chiefs of myriads⁴ offer him up a bright⁵ [saying]: 'He is strong, and Victorious is his name; he is victorious, and Strong is his name;'

60. That I may be as constantly victorious as any one of all the Aryans⁶; that I may smite this army, that I may smite down this army, that I may cut in pieces this army that is coming behind me.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ ? Sâiri-baoghem; cf. § 46.

² Nivazaiti; literally, swallow (? frôt ô bun burtan, Vend. V, 8 [26]).

³ Literally, overtake.

⁴ Cf. Yt. V, 85.

⁵ ? Asânem sikhûirê.

⁶ Cf. Yt. V, 69.

XX.

61. We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

In the ox is our strength, in the ox is our need¹; in the ox is our speech, in the ox is our victory; in the ox is our food, in the ox is our clothing; in the ox is tillage, that makes food grow for us.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXI.

62. We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura;

Who breaks the columns asunder, who cuts the columns to pieces, who wounds the columns, who makes the columns shake; who comes and breaks the columns asunder, who comes and cuts the columns to pieces, who comes and wounds the columns, who comes and makes the columns shake, both of Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXII.

63. We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

When Verethraghna, made by Ahura, binds the hands, confounds the eye-sight, takes the hearing

¹ From Yasna X, 20 (62), where, instead of the words, 'in the ox is our strength (amem), in the ox is our need,' the text has, 'in the ox is his need, in the ox is our need,' meaning, 'when we give him his need (water and grass), he gives us our need (milk and calves),' (Pahl. tr.).

from the ears of the Mithradrugēs¹ marching in columns, allied by cities, they can no longer move their feet, they can no longer withstand.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

64. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Verethraghna, made by Mazda; and of the crushing Ascendant.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man² brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ See p. 120, note 2.

² Who shall offer a sacrifice to Verethraghna.

XV. RÂM YAST.

This Yast bears the name of Râma *Hvâstra*, the Genius who presides over the 21st day of the month (*Sîrôzah*, § 21), and is devoted to his *Hamkâr*, *Vayu*.

Regarding Râma *Hvâstra*, the Genius that gives good abodes and good pastures, and his connection with *Vayu*, see *Vend. Introd.* IV, and *Études Iraniennes*, II, 187.

This Yast can be divided into two parts. The first part (§§ 1-140) contains an enumeration of worshippers who sacrificed to *Vayu*: *Ahura Mazda* (§ 2), *Haoshyangha* (§ 7), *Takhma Urupa* (§ 11), *Yima* (§ 15), *Azi Dahâka* (§ 19), *Thraêtaona* (§ 23), *Keresâspa* (§ 27), *Aurvasâra* (§ 31), *Hutaosa* (§ 35), and Iranian maids (§ 39). The second part (§§ 42-58) contains a special enumeration and glorification of the many names of *Vayu* (§§ 42-50).

o. May *Ahura Mazda* be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of *Mazda*, a follower of *Zarathustra*, one who hates the *Daêvas*, and obeys the laws of *Ahura*;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [*Hâvani*], the holy and master of holiness

Unto Râma *Hvâstra*, unto *Vayu* who works highly and is more powerful to afflict than all other creatures¹,

Be propitiation from me, for sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them². I will sacrifice to Peace, whose breath is friendly, and to Weal, both of them.

¹ Cf. *Sîrôzah* I, 21.

² *Apâm Napât* (*Yt.* VIII, 34) or *Tistrya* (*Yt.* VIII, 1).

To this Vayu do we sacrifice,* this Vayu do we invoke, for this house, for the master of this house, and for the man here who is offering libations and giving gifts. To this excellent God do we sacrifice, that he may accept our meat and our prayers, and grant us in return to crush our enemies at one stroke.

2¹. To him did the Maker, Ahura Mazda, offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah¹, on a golden throne, under golden beams² and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk]³.

3. He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly⁴, that I may smite the creation of Angra Mainyu, and that nobody may smite this creation of the Good Spirit!'

4. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

5. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu: we sacrifice to Vayu, who works highly.

To this part of thee do we sacrifice, O Vayu! that belongs to Spenta Mainyu⁵.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the awful Vayu, who works highly. We offer up a sacrifice unto the awful Vayu, who works highly, with the libations, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the

¹ Cf. Yt. V, 17.

² Fraspât, Persian فرسب.

³ Cf. p. 169, note 5.

⁴ See p. 10, note 4.

⁵ As Vayu, the atmosphere, is the place in which the conflict of the two principles takes place, one part of him belongs to the Evil Spirit (see Vend. Introd. IV, 17).

holy spells, the words, the deeds, the libations, and the well-spoken words.

Yēnhē hātām: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . .

II.

6. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke¹

7. To him did Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, offer up a sacrifice on the Taêra of the Hara, bound with iron², on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

8. He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may smite two-thirds of the Daêvas of Mâzana and of the fiends of Varena³.'

9. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda⁴, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

III.

10. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

¹ The rest as in clause 1.

² Cf. Yt. V, 21, p. 58, note 2.

³ Cf. Yt. V, 21-23.

⁴ Introduced from § 4 into this and all similar clauses, except the one relating to Azi Dahâka (§ 21).

11. To him did Takhma Urupa¹, the well-armed², offer up a sacrifice on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

12. He begged of him a boon, saying : ' Grant me this, O Vayu ! who dost work highly, that I may conquer all Daêvas and men, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and that I may ride Angra Mainyu, turned into the shape of a horse, all around the earth from one end to the other, for thirty years.'

13. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon³, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

IV.

14. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

15. Unto him did the bright Yima, the good shep-

¹ Takhma Urupa (in later legend Tahnûrâf) was a brother to Yima. He reigned for thirty years and rode Ahriman, turned into a horse. But at last his wife, deceived by Ahriman, revealed to him the secret of her husband's power, and Tahnûrâf was swallowed up by his horse. But Yima managed to take back his brother's body from the body of Ahriman and recovered thereby the arts and civilisation which had disappeared along with Tahnûrâf (see Minokhired XXVII, 32; Ravâet apud Spiegel, *Einleitung in die traditionelle Literatur*, pp. 317 seq.; Ormazd et Ahriman, § 137 seq.; cf. above, p. 60, note 1).

² Azinavant or zaênahvant: he kept that epithet in later tradition: Zînavend, 'quod cognomen virum significat armis probe instructum' (Hamza Ispahensis, p. 20, tr. Gottwaldt).

³ As told Yt. XIX, 29.

herd, sacrifice from the height Hukairya, the all-shining and golden, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

16. He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may become the most glorious of the men born to behold the sun: that I may make in my reign both animals and men undying, waters and plants undrying, and the food for eating creatures never-failing¹.'

In the reign of the valiant Yima there was neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither old age nor death, nor envy made by the Daêvas².

17. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

V.

18. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

19. Unto him did the three-mouthed Azi Dahâka offer up a sacrifice in his accursed palace of Kvirinta³,

¹ Cf. Yasna IX, 4-5 (11-20) and Yt. XIX, 31 seq.

² This passage is interpolated from Yasna IX, 5 (17-19).

³ Or, 'his accursed palace of the Stork' (upa kvirintem duzitem). 'Azi Dahâka,' says Hamza (p. 32 in the text, p. 22 in the translation), 'used to live in Babylon (cf. Yt. V, 29), where he had built a palace in the form of a stork; he called it Kuleng Dîs (کلنگ دیس), the fortress of the Stork; the inhabitants called it Dis Het (دیس حت).' Kuleng Dîs was in Zend Kvirinta daêza and Dis Het is nothing else than Duzita. One may doubt

on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

20. He begged of him a boon, saying : ' Grant me this, O Vayu ! who dost work highly, that I may make all the seven Karshvares of the earth empty of men¹.'

21. In vain did he sacrifice, in vain did he beg, in vain did he invoke, in vain did he give gifts, in vain did he bring libations ; Vayu did not grant him that boon.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

VI.

22. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

23. Unto him did Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

24. He begged of him a boon, saying : ' Grant me this, O Vayu ! who dost work highly, that I may overcome Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that

whether Kvirinta is the name of a place or the Zend form of Kuleng, a stork : in any case it was a palace in Bawri (Babylon). In the Shâh Nâmah it is called Dizukht (duz-ukhta for duz-ita ; see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 211).

¹ Cf. Yt. V, 30 seq.

demon baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavâk and Erenavâk, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world¹.

25. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

VII.

26. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

27. To him did the manly-hearted Keresâspa² offer up a sacrifice by the Gudha³, a channel of the Rangha, made by Mazda, upon a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

28. He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may succeed in avenging my brother Urvâkhshaya⁴, that I may smite Hitâspa and yoke him to my chariot.'

The Gandarewa, who lives beneath the waters,

¹ Yt. V, 34; IX, 14; XVII, 34.

² Cf. Yt. V, 37 seq.

³ An unknown affluent of the Rangha (Tigris).

⁴ Sâma had two sons, Keresâspa, a warrior, and Urvâkhshaya, a judge and law-giver (Yasna IX, 10 [29 seq.]). We have no further details about Urvâkhshaya's legend than that he was killed by 'Hitâspa, the golden-crowned' (cf. Yt. XIX, 41), and avenged by Keresâspa.

is the son of Ahura in the deep, he is the only master of the deep¹.

29. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

VIII.

30. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

31. To him did Aurvasâra², the lord of the country, offer up a sacrifice, towards the White Forest³, by the White Forest, on the border of the White Forest, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

32. He begged of him a boon, saying : ' Grant me this, O Vayu ! who dost work highly, that the gallant Husravah, he who unites the Aryan nations into one kingdom⁴, may not smite us ; that I may flee from king Husravah⁵ ;

¹ A disconnected allusion to the struggle of Keresâspa with the Gandarewa (Yt. V, 38, text and notes ; XIX, 41). On the words ' the son of Ahura ' cf. Ormazd et Ahriman, p. 215, note 1.

² No other mention is made of Aurvasâra in the Avesta, unless he is alluded to in Yt. V, 50. He does not appear to have been known to Firdausi.

³ Spaêtinis razûra is called ' the chief of forests ' (Bund. XXIV, 16). According to the Bahman Yast (III, 9), it was the seat of the last and decisive battle between Argâsp and Gûstâsp.

⁴ Cf. Yt. V, 49 ; IX, 21.

⁵ Cf. Yt. V, 50.

‘That king Husravah and all the Aryans in the Forest may smite him¹.’

33. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

IX.

34. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

35. To him did Hutaosa, she of the many brothers², of the Naotara house³, offer up a sacrifice, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of boiling milk.

36. She begged of him a boon, saying : ‘Grant me this, O Vayu ! who dost work highly, that I may be dear and loved and well-received in the house of king Vîstâspa.’

37. Vayu, who works highly, granted her that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

X.

38. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

¹ This line looks as if it should belong to a counter-prayer by Husravah, which was heard by Vayu, as appears from Yt. V, 50.

² See Yt. IX, 26.

³ See p. 77, note 1.

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

39. To him did¹ the maids, whom no man had known, offer up a sacrifice on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of boiling milk.

40. They begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant us this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that we may find a husband, young and beautiful of body, who will treat us well, all life long, and give us offspring; a wise, learned, ready-tongued husband.'

41. Vayu, who works highly, granted them that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XI.

42. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

We sacrifice to that Vayu that belongs to the Good Spirit², the bright and glorious Vayu.

43. My name is Vayu, O holy Zarathustra! My name is Vayu, because I go through (vyêmi) the two worlds³, the one which the Good Spirit has

¹ It may be doubted whether the allusion here is to a legend of marriage en masse, following the marriage of Hutaosa with Vis-tâspa, or whether the aorist is used with an indicative meaning: 'To him do the maids who have known no man They beg of him a boon, saying' Cf. Yt. XVI, 17.

² Cf. § 5, note 5.

³ An attempt to an etymological explanation of the name Vayu. Cf. § 53.

made and the one which the Evil Spirit has made.

My name is the Overtaker (apaêta), O holy Zarathustra! My name is the Overtaker, because I can overtake the creatures of both worlds, the one that the Good Spirit has made and the one that the Evil Spirit has made.

44. My name is the All-smiting, O holy Zarathustra! My name is the All-smiting, because I can smite the creatures of both worlds, the one that the Good Spirit has made and the one that the Evil Spirit has made.

My name is the Worker of Good, O holy Zarathustra! My name is the Worker of Good, because I work the good of the Maker, Ahura Mazda, and of the Amesha-Spentas¹.

45. My name is He that goes forwards.

My name is He that goes backwards.

My name is He that bends backwards.

My name is He that hurls away.

My name is He that hurls down.

My name is He that destroys.

My name is He that takes away.

My name is He that finds out.

My name is He that finds out the Glory (*Hvarenô*).

46. My name is the Valiant; my name is the Most Valiant.

My name is the Strong; my name is the Strongest.

My name is the Firm; my name is the Firmest.

My name is the Stout; my name is the Stoutest.

My name is He that crosses over easily.

My name is He that goes along hurling away.

¹ He is their agent and instrument.

My name is He that crushes at one stroke.

My name is¹

My name is He that works against the Daêvas.

My name is²

47. My name is He that prevails over malice ; my name is He that destroys malice.

My name is He that unites ; my name is He that re-unites ; my name is He that separates.

My name is the Burning ; my name is the Quick of intelligence³.

My name is Deliverance ; my name is Welfare⁴.

My name is the Burrow⁵ ; my name is He who destroys the burrows⁵ ; my name is He who spits upon the burrows⁵.

48. My name is Sharpness of spear ; my name is He of the sharp spear.

My name is Length of spear ; my name is He of the long spear.

My name is Piercingness of spear ; my name is He of the piercing spear.

My name is the Glorious ; my name is the Over-glorious.

49⁶. Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathustra ! in the midst of the havocking hordes, in the midst of the columns moving forwards, in the strife of the conflicting nations.

¹ Âiniva (?).

² Keredharisa (?).

³ Doubtful ; *baokā*, cf. *بوز*.

⁴ Reading *sudhis*.

⁵ *Geredha* is the burrow of an Ahrimanian creature (see Vend. III, 10 [33] ; VII, 24 [61]) : *Vayu*, in that half of him that belongs to the Evil Spirit, is the seat (the burrow) of Ahriman ; but with his better half, he struggles against the fiend and destroys him.

⁶ Cf. Yt. I, 11, 16.

50. Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathustra! when the all-powerful tyrant of a country falls upon thee, rushes upon thee, deals wounds upon thee, or hurls his chariot against thee, to rob thee¹ of thy wealth, to rob thee of thy health.

51. Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathustra! when the unholy Ashemaogha falls upon thee, rushes upon thee, deals wounds upon thee, or hurls his chariot against thee, to rob thee of thy strength, to rob thee of thy wealth, to rob thee of thy health.

52. Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathustra! when a man stands in bonds, when a man is being thrown into bonds, or when a man is being dragged in bonds: thus the prisoners flee from the hands of those who carry them, they flee away out of the prison².

53. O thou Vayu! who strikest fear upon all men and horses, who in all creatures workest against the Daêvas, both into the lowest places and into those a thousand times deep dost thou enter with equal power³.

54. 'With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship thee? With what manner of sacrifice shall I forward and worship thee? With what manner of sacrifice will be achieved thy adoration, O great Vayu! thou who art high-up girded, firm, swift-moving, high-footed, wide-breasted, wide-thighed, with untrembling eyes, as powerful in sovereignty as any absolute sovereign in the world?'

¹ Literally, coveting.

² The translation of this clause is doubtful; the text is corrupt.

³ Cf. § 42.

55. 'Take thou a baresma, O holy Zarathustra ! turn it upwards or downwards, according as it is full day or dawning ; upwards during the day, downwards at the dawn¹.

56. 'If thou makest me worshipped with a sacrifice, then I shall say unto thee with my own voice things of health, made by Mazda and full of glory, so that Angra Mainyu may never do harm unto thee, nor the Yâtus, nor those addicted to the works of the Yâtu, whether Daêvas or men.'

57. We sacrifice unto thee, O great Vayu ! we sacrifice unto thee, O strong Vayu !

We sacrifice unto Vayu, the greatest of the great ; we sacrifice unto Vayu, the strongest of the strong.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden helm.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden crown.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden necklace.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden chariot.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden wheel.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden weapons.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden garment.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden shoe.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden girdle.

We sacrifice unto the holy Vayu ; we sacrifice unto Vayu, who works highly.

To this part of thee do we sacrifice, O Vayu ! that belongs to the Good Spirit.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the awful Vayu, who works highly

58. Yathâ ahû vairyô : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and invocation unto, and the

¹ Études Iraniennes, II, 110.

strength and vigour of Râma *Hvâstra*, and Vayu, who works highly, more powerful to afflict than all the other creatures: this part of thee that belongs to the Good Spirit.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

XVI. DÎN YAST.

Dîn (Daêna) presides over the 24th day of the month (Sîrôzah 24) and gives it her name; she is invoked in company with *Kîsta*, and in fact this Yast, though it bears the name of Daêna, is consecrated to *Kîsta* (§§ 2, 7). These two Genii are, however, very closely connected in their nature, as Daêna is the impersonation of the Zoroastrian Law or Religion, and *Kîsta* is religious knowledge, the knowledge of what leads to bliss (*fargânak*, *nirvânagñâna*; the same as *Kîsti*).

The description of *Kîsta* is rather pallid, and does not rise above abstractions (see, however, *Mihir Yast*, § 126). She was not worshipped by the old epic heroes as Anâhita was, but by Zarathustra and his wife, because she must have been, from her very name and nature, a goddess of Zoroastrian origin and growth.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

To the most right *Kîsta*, made by Mazda and holy, and to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda,

Be propitiation from me, for sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. We sacrifice to the most right *Kîsta*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda, the supplier of good

stores, who runs quickly to the goal and frees one best from dangers¹, who brings libations, who is holy, clever, and renowned, speedy to work and quick of work; who goes quickly and cleanses well; the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda;

2. To whom Zarathustra did sacrifice, saying: 'Rise up from thy seat, come forward from the Abode², thou most right *Kīsta*, made by Mazda and holy. If thou art before me, stay for me; if thou art behind me, overtake me.

3. 'Let everything be as friendly to us as anything can be: may we go smoothly along the roads, find good pathways in the mountains, run easily through the forests, and cross happily the rivers!'

4. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the most right *Kīsta*, made by Mazda and holy. I will offer up a sacrifice unto the most right *Kīsta*, made by Mazda and holy, with the libations, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words and deeds, with the libations, with the well-spoken words.

Yēzhê hâtām: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

II.

5. We sacrifice to the most right *Kīsta*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda³

¹ Reading *nimarezista*; cf. *vimarezistem*, Yt. I, 2.

² The heavenly abode, the Garôthmân.

³ The rest as in § 1.

6. To whom Zarathustra did sacrifice for righteousness of thought, for righteousness of speech, for righteousness of deed, and for this boon,

7. That the most right *Kista*, made by Mazda and holy, would give him the swiftness of the feet, the quick hearing of the ears, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the Kara fish, that lives beneath the waters, and can measure a rippling of the waters not thicker than a hair, in the Rangha, whose ends lie afar and whose depth is a thousand times the height of a man¹.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard

III.

8. We sacrifice to the most right *Kista*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda

9. To whom Zarathustra did sacrifice for righteousness of thought, for righteousness of speech, for righteousness of deed, and for this boon,

10. That the most right *Kista*, made by Mazda and holy, would give him the swiftness of the feet, the quick hearing of the ears, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the male horse, that, in the dark of the night, through the rain, the snow, the hail, or the sleet, from as far as nine districts, can perceive a horse's hair, mingled with the earth, and knows whether it is from the head or from the tail².

¹ Cf. Yt. XIV, 29.

² Cf. Yt. XIV, 31.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard

IV.

11. We sacrifice to the most right *Kista*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda

12. To whom Zarathustra did sacrifice for righteousness of thought, for righteousness of speech, for righteousness of deed, and for this boon,

13. That the most right *Kista*, made by Mazda and holy, would give him the swiftness of the feet, the quick hearing of the ears, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the vulture with a golden collar, that, from as far as nine districts, can perceive a piece of flesh, not thicker than a fist, giving just as much light as a needle gives, as the point of a needle gives¹.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard

V.

14. We sacrifice to the most right *Kista*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda

15. To whom the holy *Hvôvi*² did sacrifice with full knowledge, wishing that the holy Zarathustra would give her his good narcotic³, that she might

¹ Cf. Yt. XIV, 33.

² Zarathustra's wife.

³ *Bangha*; the so-called *Bang* of Zoroaster (Vend. XV, 14 [44]; Phl. tr.). What must have been its virtue may be gathered from the legends of *Gûstâsp* and *Ardâ Virâf*, who are said to have been transported in soul to the heavens, and to have had the higher

think according to the law, speak according to the law, and do according to the law.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard

VI.

16. We sacrifice to the most right *Kîsta*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda

17. To whom the Âthravans, sent afar¹, did sacrifice², wishing a good memory to preach the law, and wishing strength for their own body.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard

VII.

18. We sacrifice to the most right *Kîsta*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda

19. To whom the king of the country, the lord of the country does sacrifice, wishing peace for his country, wishing strength for his own body.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard

20. *Yathâ ahû vairyô*: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength

mysteries revealed to them, on drinking from a cup prepared by the prophet (*Zardust Nâmah*), or from a cup of *Gûstâsp-bang* (*Ardâ Virâf*, II, 29).

¹ The itinerant priests, the ancestors of the modern dervishes.

² Or better, do sacrifice; cf. *Yt.* XIV, 39.

and vigour of the most right *Kîsta*, made by Mazda and holy, and of the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him long, long life, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

XVII. ASHI YAST.

Ashi Vanguhi or 'the good Ashi'¹ is a feminine impersonation of piety², and she is, at the same time, the source of all the good and riches that are connected with piety³. She is described, therefore, as a goddess of Fortune and Wealth, and is invoked in company with Pârendi, the goddess of Treasures (Sîrôzah 25)

She appears in the latter character in the first part of the Yast (§§ 1-14); she praises and loves Zarathustra (§§ 15-21). She is worshipped by Haosyangha (§ 26), Yima (§ 28), Thraêtaona (§ 33), Haoma (§ 37), Husravah (§ 41), Zarathustra (§ 45), and Vîstâspa (§ 49)⁴. She rejects the offerings of all sterile people (old men, courtezans, and children, §§ 53-61).

I.

1. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high, tall-formed, well worthy of sacrifice, with a loud-sounding chariot, strong, welfare-giving, healing, with fulness of intellect⁵, and powerful;

2. The daughter of Ahura Mazda, the sister of the Amesha-Spentas, who endows all the Sao-

¹ In Parsi Ardisvang or Ard (Ardis from Artis, the Persian form of Ashis); she presides over the 25th day of the month; cf. Sîrôzah 25.

² Ashi is not the feminine adjective of Asha, as the i was originally short (genitive ashôis, not ashyau); ashi is ar-ti, and means bhakti, piety (Neriosengh).

³ The so-called Ashi's remedies (ashôis baêshaza; cf. Yt. XIII, 32).

⁴ This enumeration is the same as in the Gôsr Yast (§§ 3, 8, 14, 17, 21, 26, 29).

⁵ Perethu-vîra; see *Études Iranienes*, II, 183.

shyants¹ with the enlivening intelligence; she also brings heavenly wisdom at her wish, and comes to help him who invokes her from near and him who invokes her from afar, and worships her with offerings of libations.

3². For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer up unto Ashi Vanguhi a good sacrifice with an offering of libations. We sacrifice unto Ashi Vanguhi with the libations; with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

II.

4. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high, tall-formed, well worthy of sacrifice, with a loud-sounding chariot, strong, welfare-giving, healing, with fulness of intellect, and powerful.

5. Homage unto Haoma, and unto the Mâthra³, and unto the holy Zarathustra!

Homage unto Haoma, because all other drinks are attended with Aêshma⁴, the fiend of the wounding spear: but the drinking of Haoma is attended with Asha and with Ashi Vanguhi herself⁵.

6. Ashi is fair; Ashi is radiant with joy; she is far-piercing with her rays. Ashi gives good Glory

¹ The allies of Saoshyant, who are to be active in the restoration of the world to eternal life (frashô-kereti). Cf. p. 165, note 1. Ashi gives them the 'intelligence of life' (frasha khratu), through which they will be enabled to perform their task.

² Cf. Yt. V, 10.

³ The Holy Word.

⁴ The Daêva of anger.

⁵ As drinking Haoma is an act of religion (cf. Yasna XI, 12 [31] seq.).

unto those men whom thou dost follow, O Ashi! Full of perfumes is the house in which the good, powerful Ashi Vanguhi puts her . . . ¹ feet, for long friendship.

7. Those men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi! are kings of kingdoms, that are rich in horses, with large tributes, with snorting horses, sounding chariots, flashing swords, rich in aliments and in stores of food²; well-scented where the beds are spread and full of all the other riches that may be wished for. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

8. Those men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have houses that stand well laid up, rich in cattle, foremost in Asha, and long-supported. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

9. The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have beds that stand well-spread, well-adorned, well-made, provided with cushions and with feet inlaid with gold. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

10. The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have their ladies that sit on their beds, waiting for them: they lie on the cushions, adorning themselves, . . . ³, with square bored ear-rings and a necklace of gold: 'When will our lord come? when shall we enjoy in our bodies the joys of love?'

¹ ? Âgairimaitis.

² Cf. Yt. V, 130.

³ ? Ankupasmanau.

Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

11. The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have daughters that sit¹; thin is their waist, beautiful is their body, long are their fingers; they are as fair of shape as those who look on can wish. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

12. The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have horses swift and loud-neighing; they drive the chariot lightly, they take it to the battle², they bear a gallant praiser (of the gods), who has many horses, a solid chariot, a sharp spear, a long spear, and swift arrows, who hits his aim, pursuing after his enemies, and smiting his foes. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

13. The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have large-humped, burden-bearing camels, flying from the ground or fighting with holy fierceness³. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

14. The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have hoards of silver and gold brought together from far distant regions; and garments of splendid make. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

¹ ? Āgamô-paidhisa.

² Doubtful.

³ Cf. Yt. XIV, 11.

15. Do not turn thy look from me! turn thy mercy towards me, O great Ashi! thou art well-made and of a noble seed¹; thou art sovereign at thy wish; thou art Glory in a bodily form.

16. Thy father is Ahura Mazda, the greatest of all gods, the best of all gods; thy mother is Ârmaiti Spenta; thy brothers are Sraosha², a god of Asha, and Rashnu³, tall and strong, and Mithra⁴, the lord of wide pastures, who has ten thousand spies and a thousand ears; thy sister is the Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

17. Praised of the gods, unoffended by the righteous⁵, the great Ashi Vanguhi stood up on her chariot, thus speaking: 'Who art thou who dost invoke me, whose voice is to my ear the sweetest of all that invoked me most?'

18. And he⁶ said aloud: 'I am Spitama Zarathustra, who, first of mortals, recited the praise of the excellent Asha⁷ and offered up sacrifice unto Ahura Mazda and the Amesha-Spentas; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants rejoiced; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants grew; in whose birth and growth all the creatures of the good creation cried out, Hail⁸!'

19. 'In whose birth and growth Angra Mainyu rushed away from this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, and he, the evil-doing Angra Mainyu, who is all death, said: "All the gods together

¹ Born from the gods; cf. Yt. XXII, 9.

² See Yt. XI.

³ See Yt. XII.

⁴ See Yt. X.

⁵ Or, 'doing no harm to the righteous.'

⁶ Zarathustra.

⁷ The Ahuna Vairya.

⁸ Cf. Yt. XIII, 93.

have not been able to smite me down in spite of myself, and Zarathustra alone can reach me in spite of myself.

20. "He smites me with the Ahuna Vairya, as strong a weapon as a stone big as a house¹; he burns me with Asha-Vahista, as if it were melting brass². He makes it better for me that I should leave this earth, he, Spitama Zarathustra, the only one who can daunt me."

21. And the great Ashi Vanguhi exclaimed: 'Come nearer unto me, thou pure, holy Spitama! lean against my chariot!'

Spitama Zarathustra came nearer unto her, he leant against her chariot.

22. And she caressed him with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, thus speaking: 'Thou art beautiful, O Zarathustra! thou art well-shapen, O Spitama! strong are thy legs and long are thy arms: Glory is given to thy body and long cheerfulness³ to thy soul, as sure as I proclaim it unto thee.'

III.

23⁴. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high, tall-formed, well worthy of sacrifice, with a loud-sounding chariot, strong, welfare-giving, healing, with fulness of intellect and powerful.

24⁵. To her did Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, offer up a sacrifice, upon the enclosure of the Hara, the beautiful height, made by Mazda.

25. He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant

¹ Cf. Vend. XIX, 4 (13).

² Cf. Yt. III.

³ Bliss after death.

⁴ As § 1.

⁵ For §§ 24-26, cf. Yt. IX, 3-6.

me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi ! that I may overcome all the Daêvas of Mâzana ; that I may never fear and bow through terror before the Daêvas, but that all the Daêvas may fear and bow in spite of themselves before me, that they may fear and flee down to darkness.'

26. The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side : Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

IV.

27. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high and powerful.

28¹. To her did Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd, offer up a sacrifice from the height Hukairya.

29. He begged of her a boon, saying : 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi ! that I may bring fatness and flocks down to the world created by Mazda ; that I may bring immortality down to the world created by Mazda ;

30. 'That I may take away both hunger and thirst, from the world created by Mazda ; that I may take away both old age and death, from the world created by Mazda ; that I may take away both hot wind and cold wind, from the world created by Mazda, for a thousand years.'

31. The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side : Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd, obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

¹ For §§ 28-31, cf. Yt. IX, 8-11.

V.

32. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high and powerful.

33¹. To her did Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena.

34. He begged of her a boon, saying : 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi ! that I may overcome Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle ; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavâk and Erenavâk, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world.'

35. The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side. Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

VI.

36. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high and powerful.

37². To her did Haoma offer up a sacrifice, Haoma, the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes, upon the highest height of the Haraiti Bareza.

¹ Cf. Yt. V, 34 ; IX, 14 ; XV, 24.

² For §§ 37-39, cf. Yt. IX, 17-19.

38. He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may bind the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan, that I may drag him bound, that I may bring him bound unto king Husravah, that king Husravah may kill him, behind the *Kaêkasta* lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of his father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man.'

39. The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side. Haoma, the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes, obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

VII.

40. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high and powerful.

41¹. To her did the gallant Husravah, he who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom, offer up a sacrifice, behind the *Kaêkasta* lake, the deep lake of salt waters.

42. He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may kill the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan, behind the *Kaêkasta* lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of my father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man.'

43. The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side. The gallant Husravah, he who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom, obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ For §§ 41-43, cf. Yt. IX, 21-23.

VIII.

44. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high . . . and powerful.

45¹. To her did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah, by the good river Dâitya, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

46. He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may bring the good and noble Hutaosa to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to do according to the law, that she may spread my law and make it known, that she may bestow beautiful praises upon my deeds.'

47. The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side: the holy Zarathustra obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

IX.

48. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high . . . and powerful.

49. To her did the tall Kavi Vîstâspa offer up a sacrifice behind the waters of the river Dâitya.

50. He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may put to flight Asta-aurvant, the son of Vîspô-thaurvô-asti, the all-afflicting, of the brazen helmet, of the brazen armour, of the thick neck, behind whom seven

¹ For §§ 45-47, cf. Yt. IX, 25-27.

hundred camels . . . ; that I may put to flight the *Hvyaona* murderer, *Aregat-aspa*; that I may put to flight *Darsinika*, the worshipper of the *Daêvas*;

51. 'And that I may smite *Tâthravant* of the bad law; that I may smite *Spingauruska*, the worshipper of the *Daêvas*; and that I may bring unto the good law the nations of the *Varedhakas* and of the *Hvyaonas*; and that I may smite of the *Hvyaona* nations their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.'

52. The great *Ashi Vanguhi* ran and came to his side: the tall *Kavi Vistâspa* obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

X.

53. We sacrifice to *Ashi Vanguhi*, who is shining, high and powerful.

54. And the great *Ashi Vanguhi* said: 'None of those libations will be accepted by me, which are sent to me either by a man whose seed is dried out¹, or by the courtesan who produces untimely issues², or by young boys, or by girls who have known no man³.

'When the Turanians and the swift-horsed *Naotaras*⁴, clapping their hands, ran after me,

¹ See Vend. III, 20 [63], note.

² By procuring abortion.

³ She refuses the offerings of all barren beings.

⁴ Cf. Yt. V, 98. The following clauses allude to some myth of *Ashi Vanguhi* connected with the conflict between the Turanians and the *Naotaras* (either *Tusa* and *Vistauru*; cf. p. 71, note 7, or more likely *Vistâspa* himself, to whom the preceding chapter

55. 'I hid myself under the foot of a bull walking under his burden; then young boys, and girls who had known no man, discovered me, even while the Turanians and the swift-horsed Naotaras, clapping their hands, were running after me.

56. 'Even I hid myself under the throat of a ram of hundredfold energy: then again young boys, and girls who had known no man, discovered me, even while the Turanians and the swift-horsed Naotaras, clapping their hands, were running after me.'

57. The first wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi is her wailing about the courtesan who destroys her fruit: 'Stand thou not near her, sit thou not on her bed!'—'What shall I do? Shall I go back to the heavens? Shall I sink into the earth?'

58. The second wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi is her wailing about the courtesan who brings forth a child conceived of a stranger and presents it to her husband: 'What shall I do? Shall I go back to the heavens? Shall I sink into the earth?'

59. This is the third wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi: 'This is the worst deed that men and tyrants do, namely, when they deprive maids, that have been barren for a long time, of marrying and bringing forth children. What shall I do? Shall I go back to the heavens? Shall I sink into the earth?'

60. Ahura Mazda answered: 'O fair and wise Ashi, go not back to the heavens, sink not into the

[§§ 48-52] and the last but one clause of the Yast refer). She tried to flee in the way practised by Ulysses in the Cyclops' cavern; both parties were pursuing the animal that bore her, though they knew not what it bore, till children discovered her.

earth! Stay here and walk inside the fine kingly palace.'

61. I shall worship thee with such a sacrifice, I shall worship and forward thee with such a sacrifice as Vîstâspa offered unto thee, behind the river Dâitya¹. The Zoatar lifted up a loud voice, with baresma before him. With that sort of sacrifice shall I worship thee? With that sort of sacrifice shall I worship and forward thee, O fair and wise Ashi?

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

62. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Ashi Vanguhi; of the good *Kîsti*; of the good *Erethe*; of the good *Rasâstât*; of the Glory and Weal, made by Mazda².

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ Cf. §§ 49 seq.

² Cf. *Sîrôzah*, § 25.

XVIII. ÂSTÂD YAST.

Arstât is Truthfulness: she is invoked in company with the Genius of Truth, Rashnu Razista (Sîrôzah, § 18), on the day Rashn. On the day especially dedicated to her, the 26th day of the month, she is invoked in company with Mount Ushi-darena, which accounts for the singular fact that her Yast is wholly devoted to the *Hvarenô*, and thus is hardly distinguishable from the *Zamyâd Yast*, as Mount Ushi-darena is the actual seat of the *Hvarenô* (Yt. I, 31, text and note; cf. Yt. XIX, 66). Whence comes this particular connection of Arstât with Mount Ushi-darena is uncertain, unless it alludes to the fact that the possession of the *Hvarenô* can be secured only through truthfulness: as soon as Yima 'began to find delight in words of falsehood and untruth,' the *Hvarenô* flew away from him (Yt. XIX, 34).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto the Glory of the Aryans, made by Mazda,
Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation,
and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'I made the Aryan Glory, rich in food, rich in flocks, rich in wealth¹, rich in Glory; provided with full store of intelligence, with full store of money, to withstand Need, and to withstand enemies.

¹ As it gives food, flocks, and wealth to those who get possessed of it.

2. 'It destroys Angra Mainyu, who is all death ; it destroys Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear¹; it destroys the yellow Bûshyâsta²; it destroys the contagion³ of Aêkha⁴; it destroys the fiend of death, Apaosha⁵; it destroys the non-Aryan nations.

3. 'And I made the great Ashi Vanguhi; she comes in, amid the family; she comes in, inside the fine royal palace⁶.

4. 'Let Ashi, with fulness of welfare, follow the man who gladdens the faithful with his gifts⁷! she comes in, inside his family; she comes in, inside his fine royal palace.

'With all sorts of flocks, with all victory, with all intelligence, with all Glory, the great Ashi Vanguhi puts one foot⁸ inside his family; she comes in, inside his fine royal palace.

5. 'Horses multiply a thousandfold, flocks multiply a thousandfold; and so does his virtuous offspring, (as) the bright, glorious star Tistrya moves on equally⁹, and so does the strong wind made by Mazda, and so does the Glory of the Aryas.

6. 'And they bring increase on the tops of all mountains, down the depths of all vales; they bring increase to all the growing plants¹⁰, the fair, the golden-hued. And they bring (away)¹¹ the contagion

¹ See Vendîdâd, Introd. IV, 22.

² Ibid. Introd. IV, 24.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ ? A daêva or a disease.

⁵ See Yt. VIII, 22.

⁶ See Yt. XVII.

⁷ Who gives alms to the poor Mazdayasnians.

⁸ Even one foot (?), when she stays not there 'for long friendship' (Yt. XVII, 6).

⁹ So that the rain falls in due time (Yt. VIII, 11).

¹⁰ Cf. Yt. VIII, 29.

¹¹ Cf. § 2.

of Aêkha, they bring (away) the fiend of death, Apaosha.

7. 'Hail to the bright and glorious star Tistrya! Hail to the strong wind, made by Mazda! Hail to the Glory of the Aryas!

'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

8. 'We worship the Ahuna Vairya.

'We worship Asha-Vahista, the fairest Amesha-Spenta.

'We worship the rightly-spoken Words¹, fiend-smiting and healing.

'We worship the healing, well-spoken Words, the fiend-smiting.

'We worship the Mâthra Spenta and the Law of Mazda, and (piety) that delights in Haoma².

'We worship the Glory of the Aryas.

'Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

9. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda.

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

'[Give] unto that man³ brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

¹ Arshukhdha vaêô, the words conformable to the rites.

² Haomakinem; see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 148.

³ Who shall have sacrificed to the Aryan Glory.

XIX. ZAMYÂD YAST.

This Yast, inscribed to the Genius of the Earth, is devoted to a description of the mountains and the kingly Glory (*kavaêm Hvarenô*), which are invoked, together with the Earth, in the corresponding formula of the *Sîrôzah* (§ 28): there is no Yast devoted to the Earth itself.

The mountains are simply enumerated (§§ 1-8). The rest of the Yast is devoted to the praise of the *Hvarenô*, or, more precisely, to that of those who possessed it, whose powers or feats are described. The list begins with Ahura Mazda (§ 10), and closes with Saoshyant (§ 89); that is to say, it begins with the beginning of the world, and closes with its end. It includes the Amesha-Spentas (§ 15), Haoshyangha (§ 26), Takhma Urupa (§ 28), Yima (§ 31), Mithra (§ 35), Thraêtaona (§ 36), Keresâspa (§ 38), the kings of the Kaianyan dynasty (§§ 66-72), Kavi Husravah (§ 74), Zarathustra (§ 79), Vistâspa (§ 84). The unsuccessful efforts of Franghrasyan to take possession of it are described at length (§§ 56-64).

This Yast would serve as a short history of the Iranian monarchy, an abridged *Shâh Nâmah*.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the *Daêvas* and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [*Hâvani*], the holy and master of holiness

Unto Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness; unto the kingly Glory, made by Mazda; unto that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda¹,

¹ *Sîrôzah* I, 28.

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. The first mountain that rose up out of the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! was the Haraiti Barez¹. That mountain stretches all along the shores of the land washed by waters² towards the east.

The second mountain was Mount Zeredhô, outside³ Mount Manusha⁴: this mountain too stretches all along the shores of the land washed by waters towards the east.

2. From there grew up Mount Ushi-dhau Ushi-darena⁵, Mount Erezifya⁶, and Mount Fraorepa.

The sixth was Mount Erezura⁷.

The seventh was Mount Bumya⁸.

The eighth was Mount Raoidhita⁹.

¹ The same as the Hara Berezaiti, the later Albôrz; see p. 58, note 3.

² The Caspian sea.

³ Doubtful: pârentarem aredhô; possibly beyond.

⁴ According to the Bundahis, Manusha is another name of Mount Zeredhô (XII, 2). It is the mountain on which Mânûskîhar was born (ibid. 10).

⁵ 'The mountain that gives understanding, that preserves understanding,' the later Mount Ôrdâstâr; see p. 33, note 1.

⁶ See p. 65, note 2.

⁷ Mount Arzûr 'is a summit at the gate of hell' (Bundahis XII, 8; cf. Vend. III, 7 (23); XIX, 140).

⁸ The Arzûr Bûm of Bundahis XII, 2, which 'is in the direction of Arûm' (Asia Minor, Bundahis XII, 16).

⁹ The Rôyisn-ômand mountain of Bundahis XII, 27; its name

The ninth was Mount Mazisisvau.

The tenth was Mount Antare-danghu.

The eleventh was Mount Erezisha.

The twelfth was Mount Vâiti-gaêsa¹.

3. And Mount Âdarana, Mount Bayana, Mount Iskata Upairi-saêna², with the . . .³ snows; the two Hamankuna mountains, the eight Vasma mountains, the eight powerful Frâvanku, the four Vidhvana summits;

4. Mount Aêzakha, Mount Maênakha, Mount Vâkhedrakaê, Mount Asaya, Mount Tudhaskaê, Mount Isavaê, Mount Draoshisvau, Mount Sâirivau, Mount Nanghusmau, Mount Kakahyu, Mount Antare-Kangha⁴;

5. Mount Siêidava⁵, Mount Ahuna, Mount Raêmana, Mount Asha-stembana, Mount Urunyô-vâidhkaê, Mount Âsnavant⁶, Mount Ushaoma, Mount Usta-hvarenah, Mount Syâmaka⁷, Mount Vafrayau, Mount Vourusha;

means 'the mountain on which vegetation has grown' (ibid. tr. West).

¹ The Bâdghês mountain near Herât, بادغيس.

² Or 'Mount Iskata ("rugged"), belonging to the Upairi-saêna ridge.' The Upairi-saêna ridge or Aparsên ridge is 'the mountain of Persia, and its beginning is in Seistân and its end in Susiana' (Bund. XII, 9).

³ ? Kâsô-tafedhra; possibly the name of a mountain: Mount Kâsô-tafedhra Vafra.

⁴ See p. 67, note 4.

⁵ 'Siêidâv, a mountain among those which are in Kangdez' (Bund. XII, 2, tr. West).

⁶ See p. 7, note 5.

⁷ The Mount Siyâk-ômand ('the black mountain') and Mount Vafar-ômand ('the snowy mountain') of Bundahis XII, 22, which are said to have grown out of the Aparsên ridge and to extend towards China.

6. Amongst which stand Mount *Gatara*, Mount *Adhutavau*, Mount *Spitavarena*, Mount *Spentô-dâta*¹, Mount *Kadrva-aspa*², Mount *Kaoirisa*³, Mount *Taêra*⁴, Mount *Barô-srayana*, Mount *Barana*, Mount *Frâpayau*, Mount *Udria*, and Mount *Raêvant*⁵, and all those heights to which men have given the name of mount,

7. To the number of two thousand mountains, and two hundred and forty and four⁶, O *Spitama Zarathustra*!

8. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the awful kingly Glory. Unto the awful kingly Glory we offer up the libations, the *Haoma* and meat, the *baresma*, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words⁷.

Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom *Ahura Mazda*⁷

II.

9. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by *Mazda*; most conquering, highly working, that possesses health, wisdom, and happiness, and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures;

¹ The *Spendyâd* mountain, near Mount *Rêvand* (*Bundahis* XII, 23).

² The *Kôndrâsp* mountain, by the town of *Tûs* (in *Khorasan*, *Bund.* XII, 24).

³ The *Kôîrâs* mountain in *Îrân-Vêg* (*Bund.* XII, 25).

⁴ Cf. *Yt.* XV, 7, and p. 58, note 2.

⁵ See p. 8, notes 1 and 2.

⁶ 'The other mountains have grown out of *Albûrs*, in number 2244 mountains' (*Bund.* XII, 2).

⁷ See notes to *Yt.* III, 17 (p. 47).

10. That belongs to Ahura Mazda, as (through it) Ahura Mazda made the creatures, many and good, many and fair, many and wonderful, many and prosperous, many and bright ;

11¹. So that they may restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish ;

12. When the creation will grow deathless,—the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit,—and the Drug² shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings ; she and her hundred-fold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord².

13. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . .

III.

14. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda³

15⁴. That belongs to the Amesha-Spentas, the bright ones, whose looks perform their wish, tall, quickly coming to do, strong, lordly, who are undecaying and holy ;

16. Who are all seven of one thought, who are all seven of one speech, who are all seven of one deed ; whose thought is the same, whose speech is the same, whose deed is the same, whose father and commander is the same, namely, the Maker, Ahura Mazda.

¹ §§ 11-12=§§ 19-20, 23-24, 89-90.

² Doubtful.

³ As above, § 9.

⁴ §§ 15-17=Yt. XIII, 82-84.

17. Who see one another's soul thinking of good thoughts, thinking of good words, thinking of good deeds, thinking of Garô-nmâna, and whose ways are shining as they go down to the libations ;

18. Who are the makers and governors, the shapers and overseers, the keepers and preservers of these creations of Ahura Mazda.

19¹. It is they who shall restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish ;

20. When the creation will grow deathless,—the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit,—and the Drug shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings ; she and her hundred-fold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

IV.

21. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

22. That belongs to the gods in the heavens and to those in the material world, and to the blessed ones, born or not yet born, who are to perform the restoration of the world ².

23³. It is they who shall restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and

¹ §§ 19-20 = §§ 11-12.

² The Saoshyants ; see p. 165, note 1.

³ §§ 23-24 = §§ 19-20.

ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish ;

24. When the creation will grow deathless,—the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit,—and the Drug shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings ; she and her hundred-fold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

V.

25. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

26. That clave unto Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, for a long time¹, when he ruled over the seven Karshvares of the earth, over the Daêvas and men, over the Yâtus and the Pairikas, over the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf ; he who smote two-thirds of the Daêvas of Mâzana and of the Varenya fiends².

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

VI.

27. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

28. That clave unto Takhma Urupa, the well-armed, while he ruled over the seven Karshvares of the earth, over the Daêvas and men, the Yâtus and Pairikas, the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf ;

29. When he conquered all Daêvas and men, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and rode Angra Mainyu,

¹ For forty years, according to the Bundahis (XXXIV, 4) ; for thirty years, according to Firdausi.

² See Yt. V, 22.

turned into the shape of a horse, all around the earth from one end to the other, for thirty years¹.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

VII.

30. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

31. That clave unto the bright Yima, the good shepherd, for a long time², while he ruled over the seven Karshvares of the earth, over the Daêvas and men, the Yâtus and Pairikas, the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf;

32. He who took from the Daêvas both riches and welfare, both fatness and flocks, both weal and Glory³;

In whose reign both aliments⁴ were never failing for feeding creatures, flocks and men were undying, waters and plants were undrying;

33. In whose reign there was neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither old age nor death, nor envy made by the Daêvas⁵, in the times before his lie, before he began to have delight in words of falsehood and untruth.

34. But when he began to find delight in words of falsehood and untruth⁶, the Glory was seen to flee away from him in the shape of a bird. When his Glory had disappeared, then the great⁷ Yima

¹ Cf. Yt. XV, 12, and notes.

² For six hundred and sixteen years and six months (Bundahis XXXIV, 4).

³ See Yt. V, 26, text and note.

⁴ Food and drink.

⁵ Cf. Yt. XV, 16.

⁶ He pretended to be a god (Firdausi).

⁷ Doubtful: fraêsta.

Khshaêta, the good shepherd, trembled and was in sorrow before his foes¹; he was confounded, and laid him down on the ground.

35. The first time² when the Glory departed from the bright Yima, the Glory went from Yima, the son of Vîvanghant, in the shape of a Vâraghna bird³.

Then Mithra seized that Glory, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, whose ear is quick to hear, who has a thousand senses. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda has created the most glorious of all the gods in the heavens.

36. The second time when the Glory departed from the bright Yima, the Glory went from Yima, the son of Vîvanghant, in the shape of a Vâraghna bird.

Then Thraêtaona seized that Glory, he, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, who was the most victorious of all victorious men next to Zarathustra;

37. Who smote Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who had a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle⁴.

¹ Azi Dahâka and his followers.

² The Glory is described as departing three times, because it is threefold, according as it belongs to the king considered as a priest, a warrior, or a husbandman. In that threefold character it is identical with Âdar Frobâ, Âdar Gushasp, and Âdar Bûrzîn Mihr (p. 7, notes).

³ A raven, one of the incarnations of the Genius of Victory (Yt. XIV, 18-21; cf. *ibid.* § 35).

⁴ Cf. Yt. V, 34.

38. The third time when the Glory departed from the bright Yima, that Glory went from Yima, the son of Vîvanghant, in the shape of a Vâraghna bird.

Then the manly-hearted Keresâspa¹ seized that Glory; he who was the sturdiest of the men of strength, next to Zarathustra, for his manly courage.

39. For Manly Courage clave unto him. We worship Manly Courage, firm of foot, unsleeping, quick to rise, and fully awake, that clave unto Keresâspa;

40. Who killed the snake Srvara, the horse-devouring, men-devouring, yellow, poisonous snake, over which yellow poison flowed a thumb's breadth thick. Upon him Keresâspa was cooking his food in a brass vessel: at the time of noon, the fiend felt the heat, and stood upon his feet: he rushed from under the brass vessel and upset the boiling water: the manly-hearted Keresâspa fell back affrighted²;

41. Who killed the golden-heeled Gandarewa, that was rushing with open jaws, eager to destroy the living world of the good principle³;

Who killed the brood of Pathana, all the nine⁴;

¹ See V, 37 (pp. 62-63, and notes); XIII, 136; XV, 27.

² Cf. Yasna IX, 11 (34-39). This tale belongs to the widespread cyclis of the island-whale (a whale whose back is mistaken by sailors for an island; they land upon it, cook their food there, and the monster, awaked by the heat, flies off and carries them away: see Arabian Nights, Seventy-first Night; Babâ Bathrâ, 5).

³ See Yt. V, 38.

⁴ Known in the Minokhired (XXVII, 50) as 'the wolf Kapôd' (perhaps 'the blue wolf,' as Mr. West suggests), 'which they also call Pēhan.' Those nine sons of Pathana were nine highwaymen (the very word Pathana seems to have that meaning): their defeat is told by Keresâspa in a Pahlavi Rivâyat as follows: 'I have slain the highwaymen who were so big in body that, when they were

and the brood of Nivika, and the brood of Dâstanya;

Who killed the golden-crowned Hitâspa¹, and Vareshava, the son of Dâna², and Pitaona, attended by many Pairikas³;

42. Who killed Arezô-shamana, him of the manly courage, who was strong, well-beloved⁴, hail, energetically rushing, fully awake, never falling back....⁵;

43. Who killed Snâvidhaka, him who killed with his nails, the stone-handed : thus did he exclaim to all around : 'I am an infant still, I am not yet of age : if I ever grow of age, I shall make the earth a wheel, I shall make the heavens a chariot ;

44. 'I shall bring down the Good Spirit from the shining Garô-nmâna ; I shall make the Evil Spirit rush up from the dreary Hell. They will carry my

walking, people considered in this way, that "below them are the stars and moon, and below them moves the sun at dawn, and the water of the sea reaches up to their knees." And I reached up to their legs, and they were smitten on the legs by me ; they fell, and the hills on the earth were shattered by them' (West, Pahlavi Texts, II, 376). Keresâspa's Fravashi, accordingly, is invoked against thieves (Yt. XIII, 136). Perhaps the assimilation of the wolf Kapôz with Pzhan is merely a guess of the author of the Minokhired.

¹ The murderer of Keresâspa's brother, Urvâkhshaya (Yt. XV, 28).

² Doubtful: dânayana. Vâresha is the Pahlavi name of a bird of prey (Bund. XIV, 30), which might induce us to identify Vareshava with the gigantic bird Kamak, 'which overshadowed the earth and kept off the rain till the rivers dried up' (West, l.l. 378), and whose destruction was one of the feats of Keresâspa.

³ Like the Pairika Knâthaiti, who clave to Keresâspa (Vend. I, 10 [36]).

⁴ Doubtful: frâzustem.

⁵ The rest of the sentence is obscure, and the text seems to be corrupt.

chariot, both the Good Spirit and the Evil One, unless the manly-hearted Keresâspa kill me.'

The manly-hearted Keresâspa killed him, his life went away, his spirit vanished ¹.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

VIII.

45. We sacrifice unto the awful Glory, that cannot be forcibly seized², made by Mazda

46. For which the Good Spirit and the Evil One did struggle with one another³: for that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized² they flung each of them their darts most swift.

The Good Spirit flung a dart, and so did Vohu-Manô, and Asha-Vahista and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda.

The Evil Spirit flung a dart, and so did Akem-Manô⁴, and Aêshma of the wounding spear, and Azî Dahâka and Spityura, he who sawed Yima in twain⁵.

¹ Snâvidhaka reminds one vividly of the Titanic Otus and Ephialtes (Odyssea XI, 308):

'Such were they youths! Had they to manhood grown,
Almighty Jove had trembled on his throne:
But ere the harvest of the beard began
To bristle on the chin, and promise man,
His shafts Apollo aim'd.' (Pope.)

² The sacerdotal Glory; see p. 11, note 6, cf. § 53.

³ When it had departed from Yima.

⁴ Bad Thought, the demoniac counterpart of Vohu-Manô (Vend. Introd. IV, 34).

⁵ Spityura was a brother of Yima's (Bund. XXXI, 3: 'Spîtûr was he who, with Dahâk, cut up Yim,' *ibid.* 5, tr. West). Nothing more is known of him, though he appears to have played a great part in the original Yima legend, and to have stood to his brother in the same relation as Barmâyûn and Katâyûn to Ferîdûn, or

47. Then forward came Âtar¹, the son of Ahura Mazda, thinking thus in his heart: 'I want to seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized.'

But Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, he of the evil law, rushed on his back, thinking of extinguishing it:

48. 'Here give it up to me², O Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda: if thou seizest that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, I shall rush upon thee, so that thou mayest never more blaze on the earth made by Ahura and protect the world of the good principle.'

And Âtar took back his hands, as the instinct of life prevailed, so much had Azi affrighted him.

49. Then Azi, the three-mouthed, he of the evil law, rushed forward, thinking thus in his heart: 'I want to seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized.'

But Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, advanced behind him, speaking in these words:

50. 'There give it up to me², thou three-mouthed Azi Dahâka. If thou seizest that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, then I will enter thy hinder part, I will blaze up in thy jaws, so that thou mayest never more rush upon the earth made by Mazda and destroy the world of the good principle.'

Then Azi took back his hands, as the instinct of life prevailed, so much had Âtar affrighted him.

51. That Glory swells up and goes to the sea

Shagâd to Rustam. Firdausi does not mention him, and makes Dahâk himself saw Gemshîd.

¹ Âdar Frobâ (the Glory of the Priest) is meant here: 'when they sawed Yim, Âdar Frobâ saved his Glory from the hand of Dahâk' (Bund. XVII, 5; Études Iraniennes, II, 70, 84).

² Doubtful.

Vouru-Kasha. The swift-horsed Son of the Waters¹ seizes it at once: this is the wish of the Son of the Waters, the swift-horsed: 'I want to seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, down to the bottom of the sea Vouru-Kasha, in the bottom of the deep rivers.'

52. We sacrifice unto the Son of the Waters, the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord, the lord of females; the male god, who helps one at his appeal; who made man, who shaped man², a god who lives beneath waters, and whose ear is the quickest to hear when he is worshipped.

53. 'And whosoever of you, O men,'—thus said Ahura Mazda,—'O holy Zarathustra! shall seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, he has the gifts³ of an Âthravan⁴; whosoever shall long for the illumination of knowledge, he has the gifts of an Âthravan; whosoever shall long for fulness of knowledge, he has the gifts of an Âthravan;

54. 'And Riches will cleave unto him, giving him full welfare, holding a shield before him, powerful, rich of cattle and garments; and Victory will cleave unto him, day after day; and likewise Strength, that smites more than a year. Attended by that Victory, he will conquer the havocking hordes; attended by that Victory, he will conquer all those who hate him.'

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

¹ Apām Napât; see p. 6, note 1.

² An allusion to old myths on the igneous origin of life (Ormazd et Ahriman, § 78).

³ Doubtful.

⁴ As that Glory is the one that belongs to the Âthravan.

IX.

55. We sacrifice unto the awful Glory, that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda

56. Which the Turanian ruffian Frangrasyan tried to seize in the sea Vouru-Kasha. He stripped himself naked, wishing to seize that Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra¹. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat, and an arm of the sea Vouru-Kasha was produced, namely, that lake that is called Lake Husravah².

57³. Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed out of the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! thinking evil thoughts: '. . . .⁴ I have not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra.

58. 'Then I will defile all corn and liquors⁵, as to greatness, goodness, and fairness.'

—'Ahura Mazda will come against thee, ever eager to create new creatures⁶.'

Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed down into the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra!

¹ See *Études Iraniennes*, II, 227; cf. § 82.

² 'Lake Husrû is within fifty leagues (parasang) of Lake Kêkâst' (Lake Urumiah, Bund. XXII, 8, tr. West).

³ Cf. §§ 60, 63.

⁴ Itha itha yathana ahmâi.

⁵ Tarshuḱa khshudraḱa, translated dhânyâni madhûniḱa (Sansk. tr. to Âfrîgân Gâhambâr, § 12). Afrâsyâb was charged with having laid Iran waste by filling up or conducting away rivers (Hamzah Ispahensis, p. 34; cf. Bund. XXI, 6).

⁶ This looks like an answer to Afrâsyâb's threats.

59. A second time he stripped himself naked, wishing to seize that Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat, and an arm of the sea Vouru-Kasha was produced, namely, that lake that is called Lake Vanghazdau¹.

60². Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed out of the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! thinking evil thoughts: '...³ I have not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra.

61. 'Then I will defile all corn and liquors, as to greatness, goodness, and fairness.'

—'Ahura Mazda will come against thee, ever eager to create new creatures.'

Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed down into the sea Vouru-Kasha.

62. A third time he stripped himself naked, wishing to seize the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat, and an arm was produced in the sea Vouru-Kasha, namely, the water that is called Awz-dânva.

63⁴. Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed out of the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! thinking evil thoughts: '...⁵ I have

¹ The situation of that lake is not stated. ² Cf. §§ 57, 63.

³ Itha itha yathana ahmâi avatha itha yathana ahmâi.

⁴ Cf. §§ 57, 60.

⁵ Itha itha yathana ahmâi avatha itha yathana ahmâi âvoya itha yathana ahmâi.

not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra !'

64. He was not able to seize the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

X.

65. We sacrifice unto the awful Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda

66. That cleaves unto him¹ who grows up there, where lies Lake Kāsava², along with the Haêtumant³ river; there where stands Mount Ushidhau⁴, surrounded by waters, that run from the mountain.

67. It⁵ runs unto him, it flows and swells unto him, bringing good pastures and fine horses, bringing plenty, full of glory; with beauty and weal; powerful and friendly, rich of pastures, prolific and golden. It runs unto him, it flows and swells unto him, bright and glorious, making the white⁶ grow, smiting away all plagues.

68. And there comes with him a horse's strength, there comes with him a camel's strength, there

¹ That is to say, to any one who The Kavis or Kings of Iran are meant: Lake Kāsava was supposed to be 'the home of the Kayân race' (Bund. XXI, 7). The Kavis are enumerated in the following clauses (§§ 71 seq.).

² The present Zarah or Hamûn sea in Seistan.

³ The Helمند ('Ερύμανδρος; cf. Vend. I, 14).

⁴ The seat of the Hvarenô; see p. 33, note 1, p. 287, note 5, and Introduction to Yt. XVIII.

⁵ The water of the rivers in which the Glory lies, and in the midst of which the Kavi has been nourished.

⁶ ? Varemîs.

comes with him a man's strength, there comes with him the kingly Glory: and there is in him, O holy Zarathustra! so much of kingly Glory as might extinguish at once all the non-Aryan nations.

69. And then (through it) living creatures may keep away¹ hunger and death, living creatures (may keep away) cold and heat¹. Such is the kingly Glory, the keeper of the Aryan nations and of the five kinds of animals², made to help the faithful and the Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

XI.

70. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

71. That clave unto Kavi Kavâta, and unto Kavi Aipivôhu, and unto Kavi Usadha, and unto Kavi Arshan, and unto Kavi Pisina, and unto Kavi Byârshan, and unto Kavi Syâvarshan³;

72. So that they were all of them brave, all of them strong, all of them healthful, all of them wise, all of them happy in their wishes, all of them powerful kings.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

XII.

73. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

74⁴. That clave unto Kavi Husravah for the well-shapen Strength, for the Victory made by Ahura, for the crushing Ascendant; for the righteousness of the law, for the innocence of the law, for the

¹ Doubtful.

² See p. 182, note 2.

³ See Yt. XIII, § 132.

⁴ §§ 74-76=Yt. XIII, 133-135.

unconquerable power of the law; for the extermination of the enemies at one stroke;

75. And for the vigour of health, for the Glory made by Mazda, for the health of the body, and for a good, virtuous offspring, wise, chief in assemblies, bright, and clear-eyed, that frees [their father] from the pangs [of hell], of good intellect; and for that part in the blessed world that falls to wisdom and to those who do not follow impiety;

76. And for a dominion full of splendour, for a long, long life, and for all boons and remedies;

77. So that king Husravah [had the lead] all along the long race, and he could not pass through the forest, he¹, the murderer, who was fiercely striving against him on horseback; the lord Kavi Husravah prevailed over all; he put in bonds Frangrasyan and Keresavazda², to avenge the murder of his father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man³.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

XIII.

78. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

79. That clave unto the holy Zarathustra, so that he thought according to the Law, spake according

¹ Aurvasâra; see Yt. XV, 32; cf. Yt. V, 50 (where the words all along the long race have been omitted in the translation). The words have the lead here have been supplied from Yt. V, 50: the text here has two words, tãm keresem, of which both the reading and the meaning are doubtful.

² Keresavazda, the Karsîvaz of Firdausi, the brother of Afrâsyâb and the murderer of Syâvarshâna: he was put to death by Husravah in company with his brother (Études Iraniennes, II, 227).

³ See p. 114, note 7.

to the Law, and did according to the Law; so that he was the holiest in holiness in all the living world, the best-ruling in exercising rule, the brightest in brightness, the most glorious in glory, the most victorious in victory.

80. At his sight the Daêvas rushed away; at his sight the (demoniac) malices were extinguished; at his sight the Gainis¹ drew back their ways from the mortals and, lamenting² and wailing, laid violent hands on the Daêvas.

81. And that one prayer, the Ahuna Vairya, which the holy Zarathustra sang and repeated four times, with a song that waxed louder and louder, drove back all the Daêvas beneath the earth, and took off from them sacrifice and prayer³.

82. It was it, the Glory of Zarathustra, that the Turanian ruffian Frangrasyan tried to seize to rule over all the Karshvares; round about the seven Karshvares did that ruffian Frangrasyan rush, trying to seize the Glory of Zarathustra⁴. But that Glory escaped to hidden inlets of the sea⁵; and there those two⁶ made my will⁷ roll on⁸; they entered my will, as it was my wish, Ahura Mazda's, and as it was the wish of the Law of Mazda.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

¹ See Vend. XX, 10.

² Doubtful. Perhaps: and lamenting and wailing the Daêvas left off injuring.

³ Cf. Yt. XIII, 90.

⁴ See above, §§ 56-64.

⁵ Cf. §§ 56, 59, 62.

⁶ Zarathustra and Vîstâspa (?); cf. §§ 84-87.

⁷ Meaning my law.

⁸ Cf. Yt. XIII, 89, note 5.

XIV.

83. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

84. That clave unto king Vîstâspa, so that he thought according to the Law, spake according to the Law, and did according to the Law; so that he professed that Law, destroying his foes and causing the Daêvas to retire.

85¹. Who, driving the Drug before him², sought wide room for the holy religion; who, driving the Drug before him, made wide room for the holy religion; who made himself the arm and support of this law of Ahura, of this law of Zarathustra;

86. Who took her, standing bound, from the hands of the Hunus, and established her to sit in the middle [of the world], high ruling, never falling back, holy, nourished with plenty of cattle and pastures, blessed with plenty of cattle and pastures.

87. The valiant king Vîstâspa conquered all enemies, Tâthrvant of the evil law, Peshana, the worshipper of the Daêvas, and the fiendish wicked Aregat-aspa and the other wicked Hvyaonas³.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

XV.

88. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

89⁴. That will cleave unto the victorious Sao-shyant and his helpers⁵, when he shall restore the

¹ §§ 85-86=Yt. XIII, 99-100.

² Or 'with his spear pushed forwards;' see p. 205, note 1.

³ Cf. Yt. V, 109.

⁴ §§ 89-90=§§ 11-12.

⁵ See p. 117, note 6.

world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish ;

90. When the creation will grow deathless,—the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit,—and the Drug shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings ; she and her hundred-fold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

XVI.

91. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

92. When *Astvat-ereta*¹ shall rise up from Lake *Kâsava*², a friend of Ahura Mazda, a son of *Vîspataurvairi*³, knowing the victorious knowledge.

It was that Glory that *Thraêtaona* bore with him when *Azi Dahâka* was killed⁴;

93. That *Frangrasyan*, the Turanian, bore when *Drvau*⁵ was killed, when the Bull was killed⁶ ;

That king *Husravah* bore when *Frangrasyan*, the Turanian, was killed⁷ ;

¹ *Saoshyant*; cf. Yt. XIII, 129.

² Cf. § 66 and Vend. XIX, 5 (18).

³ See Yt. XIII, 142.

⁴ Cf. § 36.

⁵ Or 'the demon.'

⁶ This line is in contradiction with what we know of the *Frangrasyan* legend, unless the text is corrupt and the name of *Frangrasyan* has been introduced here by mistake (for *Keresâspa*?). Yet it may allude to brighter sides, unknown to us, of the Turanian hero : the Bull (*gaus*) may be his brother *Aghraêratha*, the Bull-man (*Gôpatishâh*); see p. 114, note 7.

⁷ See § 77.

That king Vîstâspa bore, when he victoriously maintained Holiness against the host of the fiends and took off the Drug from the world of the good principle ¹.

94. He ², with the eye of intelligence ³, shall look down upon all the creatures of the Paêsis ⁴, her of the evil seed: he shall look upon the whole living world with the eye of plenty, and his look shall deliver to immortality the whole of the living creatures.

95. And there shall his friends ⁵ come forward, the friends of Astvat-ereta, who are fiend-smiting, well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, following the good law, and whose tongues have never uttered a word of falsehood.

Before them shall Aêshma of the wounding spear, who has no Glory, bow and flee; he shall smite the most wicked Drug, her of the evil seed, born of darkness.

96. Akem-Manô ⁶ smites, but Vohu-Manô shall smite him; the Word of falsehood smites, but the Word of truth shall smite it. Haurvatât and Ameretât ⁷ shall smite both hunger and thirst: Haurvatât and Ameretât shall smite the evil hunger and the evil thirst. The evil-doing Angra Mainyu bows and flees, becoming powerless.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

97. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

¹ Cf. § 84.

² Saoshyant.

³ Cf. Yt. I, 28.

⁴ A name of the Drug.

⁵ See p. 220, note 1.

⁶ See p. 297, note 4.

⁷ The Genii of the waters and of the plants (cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 34).

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness; of the kingly Glory, made by Mazda; of the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda¹.

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man² brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ Cf. § o.

² Who sacrifices to the kingly Glory.

XX. VANANT YAST.

This Yast ought to follow immediately after the Tîr Yast, as it is derived from the same Sîrôzah formula; the one in which Tistrya is invoked along with Vanant and Haptôiringa (Sîrôzah, § 13). It is a mere supplement to that Yast. On Vanant, see p. 97, note 6.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto the star Vanant, made by Mazda,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

1. We sacrifice unto the star Vanant, made by Mazda, the holy and master of holiness.

I will sacrifice unto Vanant, strong, invoked by his own name¹, healing, in order to withstand the accursed and most foul Khrafstras² of the most abominable Angra Mainyu.

2. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the star Vanant, made by Mazda.

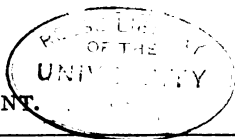
Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man³ brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ See p. 13, note 2.

² The reptiles and other Ahrimanian creatures (Vendidad, Intro. V, 11) which are destroyed by the rain (Bund. VII, 7).

³ Who sacrifices to Vanant.



XXI AND XXII. YAST FRAGMENTS.

These two Yasts or Yast fragments are known among the Parsis as the Hâdhôkht Nask, though their context does not correspond to any part of the description of that Nask as given in the Dînkart (West, Pahlavi Texts, I, 224, note 8). A Pahlavi translation of these Yasts has been edited by Haug and West (The Book of Ardâ Virâf, p. 269 seq.).

XXI. YAST FRAGMENT.

Yast XXI is a eulogy of the Ashem Vohû prayer, the value of which rises higher and higher, according as the circumstances under which it is being recited are of greater importance.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'What is the only word in which is contained the glorification of all good things, of all the things that are the offspring of the good principle?'

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the praise of Holiness¹, O Spitama Zarathustra!

3. 'He who recites the praise of Holiness¹, in the fulness of faith and with a devoted heart, praises me, Ahura Mazda; he praises the waters, he praises the earth, he praises the cattle, he praises the plants, he praises all good things made by Mazda, all the things that are the offspring of the good principle.

4. 'For the reciting of that word of truth, O Zarathustra! the pronouncing of that formula, the Ahuna Vairya, increases strength and victory in one's soul and piety.

¹ Asha: the Ashem Vohû.

5. 'For that only recital of the praise of Holiness is worth a hundred khshnaothras of the beings of Holiness¹, when delivered while going to sleep, a thousand when delivered after eating, ten thousand when delivered during cohabitation, or any number when delivered in departing this life.'

6. 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth ten others in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

7. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers when eating the gifts of Haurvatât and Ameretât², at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

8. 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth a hundred others in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

9. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers while drinking of the Haoma strained for the sacrifice, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

10. 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth a thousand others in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

11. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers when starting

¹ A hundred times the formula: 'Be propitiation (khshnaothra) unto N. . . , the holy and master of holiness' (cf. p. 1, note 2).

² Eating or drinking (see Vendîdâd, Introd. IV, 33).

up from his bed or going to sleep again, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

12. 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth ten thousand others in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

13. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers when waking up and rising from sleep, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

14. 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth this Karshvare of ours, *Hvaniratha*¹, with its cattle and its chariots, without its men, in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

15. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers in the last moments of his life, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

16. 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth all that is between the earth and the heavens, and this earth, and that luminous space, and all the good things made by Mazda, that are the offspring of the good principle in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

17. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers to renounce evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds².'

¹ See p. 123, note 5.

² In a conversion, or in the recital of the penitential prayers.

YAST XXII.

This Yast is a description of the fate that attends the soul of the righteous (§§ 1-18) and the soul of the wicked (§§ 19-37) after death. They spend the first three nights (the *sadis* or *sidôs*; cf. *Commentaire du Vendîdâd*, XIII, 55) amongst the highest enjoyments or pains; they are then met by their own conscience in the shape of a beautiful heavenly maiden (or a fiendish old woman¹), and are brought in four steps up to heaven or down to hell, through the three paradises of Good-Thought, Good-Word, and Good-Deed, or the three hells of Evil-Thought, Evil-Word, and Evil-Deed: there they are praised and glorified by Ahura, or rebuked and insulted by Angra Mainyu, and fed with ambrosia or poison.

Similar developments are to be found in Yast XXIV, 53-65; Ardâ Virâf XVII; Minokhired II, 123-194.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'When one of the faithful departs this life, where does his soul abide on that night?'

Ahura Mazda answered:

2. 'It takes its seat near the head, singing the *Ustavaiti Gâtha*² and proclaiming happiness: "Happy is he, happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes!" On that night his soul tastes³ as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste.'

¹ See p. 319, note 1.

² The name of the second Gâtha, which begins with the word *usta*: the words in the text, 'Happy the man . . .', are its opening line (*Yasna* XLII, 1).

³ Literally, sees, perceives.

3. —‘On the second night where does his soul abide?’

4. Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gâtha and proclaiming happiness: “Happy is he, happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes!” On that night his soul tastes as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste.’

5. —‘On the third night where does his soul abide?’

6. Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gâtha and proclaiming happiness: “Happy is he, happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes!” On that night his soul tastes as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste.’

7. At the end¹ of the third night, when the dawn appears, it seems to the soul of the faithful one as if it were brought amidst plants and scents: it seems as if a wind were blowing from the region of the south, from the regions of the south, a sweet-scented wind, sweeter-scented than any other wind in the world.

8. And it seems to the soul of the faithful one as if he were inhaling that wind with the nostrils, and he thinks: ‘Whence does that wind blow, the sweetest-scented wind I ever inhaled with my nostrils?’

9. And it seems to him as if his own conscience were advancing to him in that wind, in the shape of a maiden fair, bright, white-armed, strong, tall-

¹ Thraosta: in Pahlavi rôisman.

formed, high-standing, thick-breasted, beautiful of body, noble, of a glorious seed¹, of the size of a maid in her fifteenth year, as fair as the fairest things in the world.

10. And the soul of the faithful one addressed her, asking: 'What maid art thou, who art the fairest maid I have ever seen?'

11. And she, being his own conscience, answers him: 'O thou youth of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion, I am thy own conscience!

'Everybody did love thee for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength and freedom from sorrow, in which thou dost appear to me;

12. 'And so thou, O youth of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion! didst love me for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength, and freedom from sorrow, in which I appear to thee.

13. 'When thou wouldst see a man making derision² and deeds of idolatry, or rejecting³ (the poor) and shutting his door⁴, then thou wouldst sit singing the Gâthas and worshipping the good waters and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, and rejoicing⁵ the faithful that would come from near or from afar.

¹ 'That is to say, from the gods' (Pahl. Comm.).

² Of holy things.

³ Doubtful. The Pahlavi commentary has the following gloss: 'He would not give his friends what they begged for.'

⁴ To the poor:—Urvarô-straya: urvar babâi kart (Pahl. Comm.): âighshân babâ barâ asrûnast (star, to tie, as in frastaretem baresma). Cf. Yt. XXIV, 37, 59.

⁵ With alms to the poor Mazdayasnians (ashô-dâd).

14. 'I was lovely and thou madest me still lovelier; I was fair and thou madest me still fairer; I was desirable and thou madest me still more desirable; I was sitting in a forward place and thou madest me sit in the foremost place, through this good thought, through this good speech, through this good deed of thine; and so henceforth men worship me for my having long sacrificed unto and conversed with Ahura Mazda.

15. 'The first step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Thought¹ Paradise;

'The second step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Word² Paradise;

'The third step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Deed³ Paradise;

'The fourth step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Endless Lights⁴.'

16. Then one of the faithful, who had departed before him, asked him, saying: 'How didst thou depart this life, thou holy man? How didst thou come, thou holy man! from the abodes full of cattle and full of the wishes and enjoyments of love? From the material world into the world of the spirit? From the decaying world into the undecaying one? How long did thy felicity last?'

17. And Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ask him not what thou askest him, who has just gone the dreary

¹ The so-called Hûmat Paradise (cf. Yt. III, 3).

² The so-called Hûkht Paradise.

³ The so-called Hvarsht Paradise.

⁴ The seat of the Garôthmân.

way, full of fear and distress, where the body and the soul part from one another.

18. '[Let him eat] of the food brought to him, of the oil of Zaremaya¹: this is the food for the youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion, after he has departed this life; this is the food for the holy woman, rich in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, well-principled and obedient to her husband, after she has departed this life.'

II.

19. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'When one of the wicked perishes, where does his soul abide on that night?'

20. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It rushes and sits near the skull, singing the Kima² Gâtha, O holy Zarathustra!

"To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda? To whom shall I go with praying?"

'On that night his soul tastes as much of suffering as the whole of the living world can taste.'

21. —'On the second night, where does his soul abide?'

22. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It rushes and sits near the skull, singing the Kima Gâtha, O holy

¹ Zaremaya is the spring: the word translated oil (raoghna, Persian روغن) might perhaps be better translated 'butter;' the milk made in the middle of spring was said to be the best (Vispêrad I, 2; Pahl. Comm.; cf. Dâdistân XXXI, 14).

² The Gâtha of lamenting, beginning with the word Kām (Kām nemê zām: 'To what land shall I turn?'); Yasna XLVI (XLV).

Zarathustra! "To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda? To whom shall I go with praying?"

'On that night his soul tastes as much of suffering as the whole of the living world can taste.'

23. —'On the third night, where does his soul abide?'

24. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It rushes and sits near the skull, singing the Kima Gâtha, O holy Zarathustra! "To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda? To whom shall I go with praying?"'

'On that night his soul tastes as much of suffering as the whole of the living world can taste.'

25. At the end of the third night, O holy Zarathustra! when the dawn appears, it seems to the soul of the faithful one as if it were brought amidst snow and stench, and as if a wind were blowing from the region of the north, from the regions of the north, a foul-scented wind, the foulest-scented of all the winds in the world.

26-32. And it seems to the soul of the wicked man as if he were inhaling that wind with the nostrils, and he thinks: 'Whence does that wind blow, the foulest-scented wind that I ever inhaled with my nostrils¹?'

¹ A development similar to that in §§ 9-14 is to be supplied here: in the *Ardâ Virâf* and the *Minokhired* the soul of the wicked is met by a horrid old woman, who is his own conscience: 'And in that wind he saw his own religion and deeds, as a profligate woman, naked, decayed, gaping, bandy-legged, lean-hipped, and unlimitedly spotted, so that spot was joined to spot, like the most hideous noxious creatures (*khrafstar*), most filthy and most stinking' (cf. § 9).

Then that wicked soul spoke thus: 'Who art thou? than whom I never saw any one of the creatures of *Aûharmazd* and *Akharman* uglier, or filthier or more stinking' (cf. § 10).

To him she spoke thus: 'I am thy bad actions, O youth of evil thoughts, of evil words, of evil deeds, of evil religion! It

33. The first step that the soul of the wicked man made laid him in the Evil-Thought Hell ;

The second step that the soul of the wicked man made laid him in the Evil-Word Hell ;

The third step that the soul of the wicked man made laid him in the Evil-Deed Hell ;

The fourth step that the soul of the wicked man made laid him in the Endless Darkness.

34. Then one of the wicked who departed before him addressed him, saying: 'How didst thou perish, O wicked man? How didst thou come, O fiend! from the abodes full of cattle and full of the wishes and enjoyments of love? From the material world into the world of the Spirit? From the decaying

is on account of thy will and actions that I am hideous and vile, iniquitous and diseased, rotten and foul-smelling, unfortunate and distressed, as appears to thee (cf. §§ 11-12).

'When thou sawest any one who performed the Yazishn and Drôn ceremonies, and praise and prayer and the service of God, and preserved and protected water and fire, cattle and trees, and other good creations, thou practisedst the will of Akharman and the demons, and improper actions. And when thou sawest one who provided hospitable reception, and gave something deservedly in gifts and charity, for the advantage of the good and worthy who came from far, and who were from near, thou wast avaricious, and shuttedst up thy door (cf. § 13).

'And though I have been unholy (that is, I have been considered bad), I am made more unholy through thee; and though I have been frightful, I am made more frightful through thee; though I have been tremulous, I am made more tremulous through thee; though I am settled in the northern region of the demons, I am settled further north through thee; through these evil thoughts, through these evil words, and through these evil deeds, which thou practisedst. They curse me, a long time, in the long execration and evil communion of the Evil Spirit (cf. § 14).

'Afterwards that soul of the wicked advanced the first footstep on Dûsh-hûmat (the place of evil thoughts), &c.' (The Book of Ardâ Virâf, XVII, 12-27, as translated by Haug).

world into the undecaying one? How long did thy suffering last?’

35. Angra Mainyu, the lying one, said: ‘Ask him not what thou askest him, who has just gone the dreary way, full of fear and distress, where the body and the soul part from one another.

36. ‘Let him eat of the food brought unto him, of poison and poisonous stench¹: this is the food, after he has perished, for the youth of evil thoughts, evil words, evil deeds, evil religion after he has perished; this is the food for the fiendish woman, rich in evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds, evil religion, ill-principled, and disobedient to her husband.

37². ‘We worship the Fravashi of the holy man, whose name is Asmô-*hvanvant*³; then I will worship the Fravashis of the other holy Ones who were strong of faith⁴.

38². ‘We worship the memory of Ahura Mazda, to keep the Holy Word.

‘We worship the understanding of Ahura Mazda, to study the Holy Word.

‘We worship the tongue of Ahura Mazda, to speak forth the Holy Word.

‘We worship the mountain that gives understanding, that preserves understanding; [we worship

¹ Cf. Yasna XXXI, 20: ‘He who would deceive the holy One, to him afterwards (will be) a long weeping in the dark place, bad food and words of insult. O wicked! this is the place down which your own conscience will bring you through your own deeds.’

² §§ 37-38, 39-40, 41-42 are separate fragments.

³ One of the first disciples of Zoroaster; cf. Yt. XIII, 96.

⁴ Cf. p. 33, note 2.

it] by day and by night, with offerings of libations well-accepted¹.

39². 'O Maker! how do the souls of the dead, the Fravashis of the holy Ones, manifest³ themselves⁴?'

40. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They manifest themselves from goodness of spirit and excellence of mind⁵.'

41⁶. Then towards the dawning of the dawn⁷, that bird Parôdars⁸, that bird Karetô-dâsu⁹ hears the voice of the Fire.

¹ § 38=Yt. I, 31.

² A Pahlavi translation of the following two fragments is found in MS. 33, Paris, Supplément Persan (edited in *Études Iraniennes*, II).

³ *Kithra* (Paris MS. p. 255).

⁴ 'How do they manifest their assistance?' (Pahl. tr. *ibid.*); that is to say, when do they assist their relations and countrymen? (see Yt. XIII, 49 seq.)

⁵ When men are instinct with good spirit and good thought.

⁶ The Pahlavi translation of this fragment has here §§ 14-16 of the *Âtash Nyâyis*, then §§ 18-19 of *Vendîdâd* XVIII. Therefore the whole passage is to be restored as follows:

Âtar looks at the hands of all those who pass by: 'What does the friend bring to his friend . . . ?' (*Âtash N.* 14.)

And if that passer-by brings him wood holily brought, or bundles of baresma holily tied up . . . , then Âtar . . . will bless him thus:

May herds of oxen grow for thee . . . (*Âtash N.* 15-16).

In the first part of the night, Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the master of the house for help, saying:

'Up! arise, thou master of the house' (*Vend.* XVIII, 18-19).

'Then towards the dawning of the dawn' (see the text).

⁷ Cf. *Vend.* XVIII, 23.

⁸ 'He who has knowledge made,' or 'He who has the knowledge of what is made' (*kartak dânishn*); his other name Parôdars is 'He who foresees.'

⁹ Here again a large passage is omitted: it can only partly be

42. Here the fiendish Bûshyâsta, the long-handed, rushes from the region of the north, from the regions of the north, speaking thus, lying thus: 'Sleep on, O men! Sleep on, O sinners! Sleep on and live in sin.'

supplied from the Pahlavi translation; the words in brackets refer to Zend texts lost to us:

'Then he flaps his wings and lifts up his voice, saying: "Arise, O men! [and also women, grown-up people, and children, &c. . . . Put on well your girdle and shirt, wash your hands, put your girdle around your body, go and give food to the cattle and recite aloud the five holy Gâthas of Spitama Zarathustra.]"

'Here the fiendish Bûshyâsta' (see the text). Then the Pahlavi translation has: 'Never care for the three excellent things, good thoughts, good words, good deeds' (cf. Vend. XVIII, 25).

XXIII-XXIV. ÂFRÎN PAIGHAMBAR ZARTÛST AND VÎSTÂSP YAST.

'God taught the Zendávasta to Zartusht—a sublime work God said to Zartusht, "Go and before Sháh Gushtásp read this book, that he may come into the faith keep all my counsel and repeat it word by word to Sháh Gushtásp¹.'

Zartusht, in obedience to God, went to the court of Gushtásp: 'He came forward and called down a blessing on the Sháh².' Then he read to him the Zandávasta and said: 'Learn its statutes and walk therein. If your desire is towards its laws, your abode shall be in the paradise of heaven. But if you turn away from its commandments, you shall bring down your crowned head to the dust. Your God will be displeased with you, and will overthrow your prosperous condition. At the last you shall descend into hell, if you hear not the counsel of the Almighty³.'

These lines of the Zartusht-Namah are a summary of the following two Yasts. The first, entitled 'The blessing of the prophet Zartûst,' contains the words of blessing addressed by Zarathustra when appearing before the king. These words seem to have followed a similar blessing pronounced by Gâmâspa⁴, the prime minister of Vîstâspa⁵.

Yast XXIV contains the exhortations of the prophet to the king to follow and closely adhere to the Law of Mazda. It is a counterpart to the XIXth Fargard of the Vendîdâd, as Zarathustra plays here the same part to Vîstâspa as Ahura does there to Zarathustra. It is, therefore, a summary of the Law, of the duties it

¹ The Zartusht-Namah, translated by E. B. Eastwick, in Wilson's *Parsi Religion*, p. 495.

² *Ibid.* p. 499.

³ *Ibid.* p. 501.

⁴ See Yt. XXIII, 2; whether Anquetil's statement to that effect (*Zend-Avesta* II, 623) rests on independent tradition or only on the text of our Yast is not clear.

⁵ See above, p. 70, note 1.

enforces and of the rewards it promises. This accounts for the strange disconnection apparent in it, which makes it a crux interpretum, as, besides the very corrupt state of the text, the chief difficulty of this Yast arises from the fact that many passages in it are incomplete quotations from the Vendîdâd, or allusions to statements therein¹, which, when supplied, help a good deal to relieve this Yast from its apparent state of utter incoherence.

For this translation I was able to avail myself of a Pahlavi translation, of which a copy was kindly lent to me by Mr. West. That translation is apparently of late date and often manifestly wrong; yet it was very useful to me in several passages, besides its giving a Zend text generally more correct and more correctly divided than the text in Westergaard's edition².

Yast XXIII was originally no independent Yast, being nothing more than the beginning of Yast XXIV, detached from it, with some slight alterations and inversions.

XXIII. ÂFRÎN PAIGHAMBAR ZARTÛST.

1. 'I am a pious man, who speaks words of blessing.'

—'Thou appearest unto me full of Glory.'

And Zarathustra spake unto king Vîstâspa, saying: 'I bless thee, O man! O lord of the country! with the living of a good life, of an exalted life, of a long life. May thy men live long! May thy women live long! May sons be born unto thee of thy own body!

2. 'Mayest thou have a son like Gâmâspa, and may he bless thee as (Gâmâspa blessed) Vîstâspa (the lord) of the country³!

¹ For instance, §§ 28, 30, 31, 39, &c.

² The various readings in Mr. West's manuscript are indicated by the letter W. in the notes.

³ See the introduction to this Yast and Yt. XXIV, 3, text and note.

'Mayest thou be most beneficent, like Mazda !

'Mayest thou be fiend-smiting, like Thraêtaona ¹!

'Mayest thou be strong, like Gâmâspa ²!

'Mayest thou be well-armed, like Takhma-Urupa ³!

3. 'Mayest thou be glorious, like Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd !

'Mayest thou be instructed with a thousand senses, like Azi Dahâka, of the evil law ⁴!

'Mayest thou be awful and most strong, like Keresâspa ⁵!

'Mayest thou be a wise chief of assemblies, like Urvâkhshaya ⁶!

'Mayest thou be beautiful of body and without fault, like Syâvarshâna ⁷!

4. 'Mayest thou be rich in cattle, like an Âthwya-nide ⁸!

'Mayest thou be rich in horses, like Pourus-aspa ⁹!

'Mayest thou be holy, like Zarathustra Spitama !

'Mayest thou be able to reach the Rangha, whose shores lie afar, as Vafra Navâza was ¹⁰!

'Mayest thou be beloved by the gods and revered by men ¹¹!

¹ Cf. Yt. V, 33.

³ Cf. Yt. XV, 11.

⁴ Cf. Yt. V, 29.

⁶ See Yt. XV, 28.

² Cf. Yt. V, 68.

⁵ Cf. Yt. V, 37.

⁷ See p. 64, note 1.

⁸ One belonging to the Âthwya family, of which Thraêtaona was a member. All of them bore names that show them to have been rich in cattle: Pûr-tôrâ, Sôk-tôrâ, Bôr-tôrâ, &c. ('one with abundant oxen, with useful oxen, with the brown ox, &c.,' Bundahis, tr. West, XXXI, 7, note 8).

⁹ Pourus-aspa was the father of Zarathustra. His name means, 'He who possesses many horses,' πολὺ-ἵππος.

¹⁰ Cf. Yt. V, 61.

¹¹ Cf. Yt. XXIV, 4.

5. 'May ten sons be born of you ¹! In three of them mayest thou be an Âthravan! In three of them mayest thou be a warrior! In three of them mayest thou be a tiller of the ground ²! And may one be like thyself, O Vistâspa!

6. 'Mayest thou be swift-horsed, like the Sun ³!

'Mayest thou be resplendent, like the moon!

'Mayest thou be hot-burning, like fire!

'Mayest thou have piercing rays, like Mithra!

'Mayest thou be tall-formed and victorious, like the devout Sraosha ⁴!

7. 'Mayest thou follow a law of truth, like Rashnu ⁵!

'Mayest thou be a conqueror of thy foes, like Verethraghna ⁶, made by Ahura!

'Mayest thou have fulness of welfare, like Râma Hvâstra ⁷!

'Mayest thou be freed from sickness and death, like king Husravah ⁸!

8. 'Then the blessing goes for the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones ⁹.

'May it happen unto thee according to my blessing!

¹⁰ Let us embrace and propagate the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds that have been done and that will be done here and elsewhere, that we may be in the number of the good.

¹ Of Vistâspa and his wife Hutaosa.

² Cf. Yt. XXIV, 4.

³ Cf. Sîrôzah, § 11.

⁴ Cf. Yt. XI.

⁵ Cf. Yt. XII, Introduction.

⁶ Cf. Yt. XIV.

⁷ Cf. Yt. XV.

⁸ Kai Khosrav went alive to Paradise (Firdausi).

⁹ He closes his blessing by wishing him bliss in heaven.

¹⁰ Yasna XXXV, 2 (4-5).

‘Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

‘[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.’

XXIV. VÎSTÂSP YAST.

I.

1. ‘I am a pious man, who speaks words of blessing,’ thus said Zarathustra to the young king Vîstâspa¹.—‘She² appears to me full of Glory, O Zarathustra!’—‘O young king Vîstâspa! [I bless thee³] with the living of a good life, of an exalted life, of a long life. May thy men live long! May thy women live long! May sons be born unto thee of thy own body⁴!’

2. ‘Mayest thou thyself⁵ be holy, like Zarathustra!

‘Mayest thou be rich in cattle, like an Âthwya-nide⁶!’

‘Mayest thou be rich in horses, like Pourus-aspa⁷!’

‘Mayest thou have a good share of bliss⁸, like king Husravah!

‘Mayest thou have strength to reach the Rangha, whose way lies afar, as Vafra Navâza did⁹.

¹ Literally, O young king Vîstâspa! (or, O my son, king Vîstâspa!)

² The law of Mazda (Pahl.).

³ Understood in âfri-va^kau (who speaks blessing).

⁴ Cf. Yt. XXIII, 1.

⁵ Khayeus (=nafsman) belongs to § 2 (W.).

⁶ See p. 326, note 8.

⁷ See p. 326, note 9.

⁸ Immortality (cf. Yt. XXIII, 7). W. has ashem merezô= ahlâyih patmânîk, amargîg (Pahl.).

⁹ Cf. Yt. XXIII, 4.

3. 'May ten sons be born of thy own body ¹! three as Âthravans ², three as warriors ³, three as tillers of the ground ⁴! May one of them be like Gâmâspa ⁵, that he may bless thee with great and ever greater happiness ⁶!

4. 'Mayest thou be freed from sickness and death, like Peshô-tanu ⁷.

'Mayest thou have piercing rays, like Mithra!

'Mayest thou be warm, like the moon!

'Mayest thou be ⁸ resplendent, like fire!

'Mayest thou be long-lived, as long-lived as an old man can be ⁹!

5. 'And when thou hast fulfilled a duration of a thousand years, [mayest thou obtain] the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones!

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

¹ Cf. Yt. XXIII, 5.

² 'Like Âturpât, the son of Mâhraspand' (Pahl. Comm.).

³ 'Like Spenddât (Isfendyâr), the son of Gûstâsp' (ibid.).

⁴ 'Like Zav' (Uzava; 'Zav urbes et castella, quae Afrasiab deleverat, refici jussis, aperuit fluvios, quos ille operuerat, agros denuo coluit, qui in optimam, qua antehac floruerant, conditionem redierunt,' Hamzah Ispahensis, p. 24 of the Gottwaldt translation).

⁵ Cf. Yt. XXIII, 2.

⁶ W. has the same text as Yt. XXIII, 2: yatha dangheus Vistâspâi, which is interpreted âfrîn patas obdûnât ñigûn Gâmâsp kart madam matâpat Gûstâsp.

⁷ Peshôtanu was a son of Vîstâspa: Zarathustra made him drink of a certain sort of milk, and 'he forgot death.' He is one of the seven immortals, and reigns in Kangdez (Zartusht-Namah and Bundahis XXIX, 5).

⁸ Bavâhi (W.).

⁹ Doubtful. The Pahlavi translation follows Yt. XXIII, 4, though the text is the same as in Westergaard (only bavâi and zarumatô instead of bavâhi, zaranumatô).

II.

6¹. 'Give² him strength and victory! Give him welfare in cattle and bread³!' thus said Zarathustra to the young king Vîstâspa! 'Give him a great number⁴ of male children, praisers⁵ [of God] and chiefs in assemblies, who smite and are not smitten, who smite at one stroke their enemies, who smite at one stroke their foes, ever in joy and ready to help.

7. 'Ye gods of full Glory, ye gods of full healing, let your greatness become manifest!'

8. Zarathustra addressed him, saying: 'O young king Vîstâspa! May their greatness become manifest as it is called for!

'Ye Waters, impart and give your Glory to the man who offers you a sacrifice!

'This is the boon we beg (for thee) of Ashi Vanguhi⁶, of Râta⁷, with eyes of love.'

9. Pârendi⁸, of the light chariot, follows: 'Mayest thou⁹ become manifest unto him, the young king Vîstâspa!

'May plenty dwell in this house, standing upon high columns and rich in food¹⁰! Thou wilt never

¹ For §§ 6-7, cf. Mâh Nyâis, 10-11.

² The prayer is addressed to Waters.

³ *Hvâthrô-nahîm*: âsânîh lahmâk.

⁴ *Paourvatâtem*: kebad farzand.

⁵ *Stâhyanãm*: kebad stâyîâtâr.

⁶ See Yt. XVI.

⁷ See Vend. Introd. IV, 30.

⁸ See p. 11, note 5.

⁹ Pârendi.

¹⁰ Plenty will reign in thy house, if thou wilt be liberal to the priest.

offer and give bad food to a priest: for a priest must be to thee like the brightest¹ offspring of thy own blood.'

10. Zarathustra spake unto him: 'O young king Vîstâspa!

'He who supports the Law of the worshippers of Mazda, as a brother or as a friend, he who treats her friendly in any way, looks to keep off want of food from her².'

11. The holy Zarathustra preached that law to Frashaostra³ and Gâmâspa: 'May ye practise holiness and thrive, O young Frashaostra (and Gâmâspa)!'

12. Thus said Ahura Mazda unto the holy Zarathustra, and thus again did Zarathustra say unto the young king Vîstâspa: 'Have no bad priests or unfriendly priests; for bad priests or unfriendly priests will bring about much harm, and, though thou wish to sacrifice, it will be to the Amesha-Spentas as if no sacrifice had been offered⁴.

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . .

III.

13. 'When I teach thee, that thou mayest do the same to thy son⁵, O Vîstâspa! receive thou well that teaching; that will make thee rich in children and rich in milk; rich in seed, in fat, in milk⁶.

¹ Raêvatām ka (not rashvatām ka) belongs to § 9 (W.).

² W. has, hanairê vaêm aiwi vaina/ (vaêm=Sansk. vayas?).

³ See Yt. XIII, 103. Frashaostra and Gâmâspa were brothers.

⁴ Cf. Vend. XVIII, 1-13. Perhaps, 'Be not bad to the priests! Be not unfriendly to the priest! For he who is bad to the priest, he who is unfriendly to the priest . . .'

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Cf. Vend. XXI, 6-7.

14. 'Thus do we announce unto thee, Ahura Mazda, and Sraosha, and Ashi, and the Law of the worshippers of Mazda, with the whole of all her hymns, with the whole of all her deeds, with the whole of her performances; the Law of Mazda, who obtains her wishes, who makes the world grow, who listens to the songs and rejoices the faithful man at his wish; who protects the faithful man, who maintains the faithful man;

15. 'From whom come the knowledge of holiness and the increase in holiness of the world of the holy Principle, and without whom¹ no faithful man² can know holiness.

'To thee³ come every Hâvanan, every Âtarevakhsha, every Frabaretar, every Âberet, every Âsnâtar, every Rathwiskar, every Sraoshâ-varez⁴;

16. 'Every priest, every warrior, every husbandman; every master of a house, every lord of a borough, every lord of a town, every lord of a province;

17. 'Every youth of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, and good religion; every youth who speaks the right words; every one who performs the next-of-kin marriage⁵; every itinerant priest; every mistress of a house; every wandering priest, obedient to the Law.

18. 'To thee come all the performers⁶ (of holiness), all the masters of holiness, who, to the

¹ Doubtful.

² Saoshyantem. W. has srashyantem.

³ To the Law.

⁴ The seven priests engaged in the sacrifice (Vendîdâd, p. 64, note 1).

⁵ The *hvaêtvôdatha* (Vend. Introd. p. xlv, note 7; see West, Pahlavi Texts, II, 389 seq.).

⁶ Thâtus: kêr kartâr (Pahl.).

number of three and thirty¹, stand next to Hâvani, being masters of holiness.

19. 'May they be fully protected² in thee, O young king Vîstâspa! While thou smitest thy adversaries, thy foes, those who hate thee, a hundred times a hundred for a hundred³, a thousand times a thousand for a thousand, ten thousand times ten thousand for ten thousand, myriads of myriads for a myriad.

20. 'Proclaim thou that word, as we did proclaim it unto thee!

'O Maker of the good world! Ahura Mazda, I worship thee with a sacrifice, I worship and forward thee with a sacrifice, I worship this creation of Ahura Mazda.'

21⁴. The young king Vîstâspa asked Zarathustra: 'With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship, with what manner of sacrifice shall I worship and forward this creation of Ahura Mazda?'

22. Zarathustra answered: 'We will make it known unto thee, O young king Vîstâspa!

'Go towards that tree that is beautiful, high-growing, and mighty amongst the high-growing trees, and say thou these words: "Hail to thee! O good, holy tree, made by Mazda! Ashem Vohû!"

23. 'Let the faithful man cut off twigs of baresma, either one, or two, or three: let him bind them and

¹ See Yasna I, 10 (33).

² Thrâtôtêmô belongs to § 19 (W.).

³ He kills a hundred times a hundred of them, while they kill a hundred of his people.

⁴ For this clause and the following two, cf. Vend. XIX, 17 seq., text and notes.

tie them up according to the rites, being bound and unbound according to the rites.

‘The smallest twig of Haoma, pounded according to the rules, the smallest twig prepared for sacrifice, gives royalty to the man (who does it).’

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

IV.

24¹. Zarathustra said : ‘O young king Vîstâspa !

‘Invoke Ahura Mazda, who is full of Glory, Ahura Mazda, and the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time, and Vayu who works highly.

25. ‘Invoke the powerful Wind, made by Mazda, and Fate.

‘Repeat thou those words, that the god invoked may give thee the boon wished for ; that thou, strong, and belonging to the creation of the good Spirit, mayest smite and take away the Drug and watch with full success those who hate thee ; smite down thy foes, and destroy at one stroke thy adversaries, thy enemies, and those who hate thee².

26. ‘Proclaim thou those prayers : they will cleanse thy body from deeds of lust³, O young king Vîstâspa !

‘I will worship thee, O Fire, son of Ahura Mazda, who art a valiant warrior. He falls upon the fiend Kuzda⁴, who is drunken without drinking, upon the men of the Drug, the slothful ones⁵, the wicked Daêva-worshippers, who live in sin.

¹ Cf. Vend. XIX, 13.

² Cf. Yt. V, 53.

³ Paourvô vasta saota : read skyaothna (cf. § 40), as in Vend. XVI, 14 (paourvô-vasna skynothna).

⁴ Cf. Vend. XI, 9 and Bundahis XXVIII, 42.

⁵ Cf. Vend. XIX, 41 ; better : ‘on the Drugaskân’ (the sons of the Drug ? see Bund. XXXI, 6).

27. 'He¹ trembles at the way² made by Time and open both to the wicked and to the righteous.

'They³ tremble at the perfume of his soul⁴, as a sheep does on which a wolf is falling.

28. 'Reciting the whole collection of the Staota Yēsnya⁵ prayers brings one up all the way to the blessed Garô-nmâna, the palace beautifully made. That indeed is the way.

29. 'That man does not follow the way of the Law, O Zarathustra⁶! who commits the Baodhô-(varsta) crime⁷ with a damsel and an old woman⁸,' said Zarathustra to the young king Vîstâspa.

'Let him⁹ praise the Law, O Spitama Zarathustra! and long for it and embrace the whole of the Law, as an excellent horse turns back from the wrong way and goes along the right one, smiting the many Druges¹⁰.

30. 'Go forward with praises, go forward the way of the good Mazdean law and of all those who walk in her ways, men and women.

¹ The dead man.

² The *Kinvat*-bridge (Vend. XIX, 29).

³ The fiends (Vend. XIX, 33).

⁴ The soul of the righteous.

⁵ See page 152, note 1.

⁶ The Pahlavi has, 'the way of Zarathustra' (lâ Zartûhstîg râs yakhsûnît).

⁷ Wilful murder (Vend. p. 84, note 1).

⁸ To procure miscarriage (see Vend. XV, 12-14).

⁹ The sinner.

¹⁰ 'As a horseman on the back of a good horse, when he has gone the wrong way, perceiving that he has lost his way, turns back his horse from that direction and makes him go the right way; so thou, turn back thy horse to the right way; that is to say, turn him to the way of the Law of Mazda; that is to say, receive the Law' (Pahl. Comm.).

‘He who wishes to seize the heavenly reward¹, will seize it by giving gifts to him who holds up (the Law) to us² in this world here below³

31. ‘Let him⁴ give (the Law) to him who is unfriendly to her, that he may become friendly.

‘Wash thy hands with water, not with gômêz⁵, and let thy son, who will be born of thy wife⁶, do the same.

‘Thus thy thought will be powerful to smite him⁷, who is not so⁸; thy speech will be powerful to smite him, who is not so; thy deed will be powerful to smite him.

32. ‘“Hear me! Forgive me⁹!”—We, the Ame-sha-Spenta, will come and show thee, O Zarathustra! the way to that world¹⁰, to long glory in the spiritual world, to long happiness of the soul in Paradise;

33. ‘To bliss and Paradise, to the Garô-nmâna of Ahura Mazda, beautifully made and fully adorned,

¹ Bliss, eternal life.

² Yô nô nidârô anghê: lanman dîn barâ dâstâr (Pahl.).

³ Naêdhka vanghê paiti usta vanghê buyât; saoshyâs dîs verethraga. I cannot make anything of these words, nor reconcile them with the Pahlavi translation: ‘It is not fair when he wishes weal for his own person; that is to say, when, being satisfied himself, he does not satisfy other people and wishes comfort for himself. (Make the Law of Mazda current, till the time when) the victorious Sôshyôsh will make it current.’ The last three Zend words appear to be abridged from a longer passage.

⁴ The faithful man.

⁵ This is an allusion to the Bareshnûm purification (Vend. VIII, 39). The unclean man washes himself with gômêz first and with water last.

⁶ Doubtful.

⁷ The sinner.

⁸ Friendly to the Law.

⁹ He recites the prayer Sraotâ mê, merezdâta mê (Yasna XXXIII, 11).

¹⁰ The world above.

when his soul goes out of his body through the will of fate, when I, Ahura Mazda, when I, Ahura Mazda, gently show him his way as he asks for it.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

V.

34. ‘They¹ will impart to thee full brightness and Glory.

‘They will give him² quick³ and swift horses, and good sons.

‘He wishes to go to the Law, the young king Vîstâspa.’

Zarathustra said: ‘Let him who is unfriendly to her become a follower of the Law of Mazda, such as we proclaim it.

35. ‘Proclaim thou ever (unto the poor): “Ever mayest thou wait here for the refuse that is brought unto thee, brought by those who have profusion of wealth⁴!” Thus the Drug will not fall upon thee and throw thee away; thou wilt wield kingly power there⁵.

36. ‘The Law of Mazda will not deliver thee unto pain⁶. Thou art entreated (for charity) by the whole of the living world, and she⁷ is ever standing at thy door in the person of thy brethren in the faith: beggars are ever standing at the door of the stranger, amongst those who beg for bread.

¹ The Amesha-Spentas (see § 46).

² To Vîstâspa.

³ Hathwadhêa: Pahl. tîzêi.

⁴ Cf. Vend. III, 29.

⁵ If he practises charity he will be a king even in Garôthmân.

⁶ Aspahê, from a-spa (no comfort, anâsânîh tangîh, Pahl. Comm.).

⁷ The Law.

‘Ever will that bread be burning coal upon thy head¹.

‘The good, holy Râta², made by Mazda, goes and nurses thy bright offspring³.’

37. Zarathustra addressed Vistâspa, saying: ‘O young king Vistâspa! The Law of Mazda, O my son! will give thy offspring the victorious strength that destroys the fiends.

‘Let no thought of Angra Mainyu ever infect thee, so that thou shouldst indulge in evil lusts, make derision and idolatry, and shut (to the poor) the door of thy house⁴.

38⁵. ‘Âtar thus blesses the man who brings incense to him, being pleased with him and not angry, and fed as he required: “May herds of oxen grow for thee, and increase of sons! May fate and its decrees bring thee the boons thou wishest for! Therefore do thou invoke and praise (me) excellently in this glorious world! That I may have unceasing food, full of the glory of Mazda⁶ and with which I am well pleased.”

39. ‘O Mazda! take for thyself the words of our praise: of these words I speak and speak again, the strength and victorious vigour, the power of health and healing, the fulness, increase, and growth.

‘Bring it together with the words of hymns up to the Garô-nmâna of Ahura Mazda. He will⁷ first

¹ Hvarishnî dâgh pun rôismanî lak yahvûnât (Pahl. Comm.).

² Charity.

³ If thou art charitable, thy children will thrive.

⁴ See Yt. XXII, 13.

⁵ Cf. Vend. XVIII, 27.

⁶ *Hv*arnamazdau (W.).

⁷ He who will pronounce all prayers and hymns: the full formula is found in the Âbân Nyâyis, § 8.

enter there. Therefore do thou pronounce these prayers.

‘Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

VI.

40. ‘Converse ye with the Amesha-Spentas,’ said Zarathustra unto the young king Vîstâspa, ‘and with the devout Sraosha, and Nairyô-sangha, the tall-formed, and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, and the well-desired kingly Glory.

41. ‘Men with lustful deeds address the body¹; but thou, all the night long, address the heavenly Wisdom²; but thou, all night long, call for the Wisdom that will keep thee awake.

‘Three times a day raise thyself up and go to take care of the beneficent cattle.

42. ‘Of these men may the lordship³ belong to the wisest of all beings, O Zarathustra! May their lord belong to the wisest, O Zarathustra! Let him show them the way of holiness, let him show them at once the way thereto, which the Law of the worshippers of Mazda enters victoriously. Thus the soul of man, in the joy of perfect holiness, walks over the bridge, known afar, the powerful *Kinvat*-bridge⁴, the well-kept, and kept by virtue.

43. ‘How the worlds were arranged was said to thee first, O Zarathustra! Zarathustra said it again to the young king Vîstâspa; therefore do thou⁵ praise him⁶ who keeps and maintains the moon and the sun.

¹ Cf. § 26.

² Cf. Vend. IV, 45; XVIII, 6.

³ The supervision and care.

⁴ See § 27.

⁵ Thou Vîstâspa.

⁶ Ahura Mazda.

‘He who has little friendship for the Law, I have placed him down below to suffer.’

44. Thus said Angra Mainyu, he who has no Glory in him, who is full of death: ‘This is an unbeliever, let us throw him down below; this is a liar, or a traitor to his relatives, and like a mad dog who wounds cattle and men; but the dog who inflicts wounds pays for it as for wilful murder¹.

‘The first time he shall smite a faithful man, the first time he shall wound a faithful man, he shall pay for it as for wilful murder.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

VII.

45. ‘Mayest thou receive², O holy young king Vistâspa! (a house) with a hundred³, ten thousand large windows, ten thousand small windows, all the year long⁴, O holy Vistâspa! never growing old, never dying, never decaying, never rotting, giving plenty of meat, plenty of food, plenty of clothes to the other worshippers of Mazda.

46. ‘May all boons be bestowed upon thee, as I proclaim it unto thee! May the Amesha-Speñtas impart to thee their brightness and glory and plenty⁵! May they give him quick and swift horses and good sons, strong, great in all things, powerful to sing the hymns.

¹ See Vend. XIII, 31.

² In Paradise; see Vend. XVIII, 28, text and note.

³ Satayâre: that stands a hundred years (?). The Vend. XVIII, 28 has ‘with a hundred columns.’

⁴ Uninjured by the changes of temperature.

⁵ Cf. § 34.

47. 'He wields his power according to the wish of Ahura Mazda, the Good Spirit, and for the destruction of the Evil Spirit, whichever of two men goes quicker to perform a sacrifice (to Ahura); but if he chooses to perform the sacrifice and prayer to us not in the right way, he does not wield the right power, he will not reign ¹.

48. 'He will receive bad treatment in the next world, though he has been the sovereign of a country, with good horses to ride and good chariots to drive. Give royalty to that man, O Zarathustra! who gives royalty unto thee with good will ².

49 ³. 'Thou shalt keep away the evil by this holy spell: "Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee a woman rich in children and rich in milk; a woman rich in seed, in milk, and in offspring. For thee I shall make springs run and flow towards the pastures that will give food to the child."

50. 'Do not deliver me ⁴ into the hands of the fiend ⁵; if the fiend take hold of me, then fever with loss of all joy will dry up the milk of the good Spenta-Ârmaiti ⁶. The fiend is powerful to distress, and to dry up the milk of the woman who indulges in lust and of all females.

51. 'The perfume of fire, pleasant to the Maker,

¹ In Paradise (Pahl. Comm.).

² Doubtful.

³ Cf. Vend. XXI, 6-7.

⁴ The Law.

⁵ That is to say, let not impiety prevail.

⁶ If impiety prevails, the earth will grow barren (cf. Vend. XVIII, 64).

Ahura Mazda, takes them¹ away from afar;²; and all those that harm the creation of the Good Spirit are destroyed³;

52. 'Whom Mithra, and Rashnu Razista, and the Law of the worshippers of Mazda wish to be taken far away, longing for a man who is eager to perform and does perform the ceremonies he has been taught; . . .⁴

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . .

VIII^b.

53. 'The words of the Vahistôisti⁶ Gâtha are to be sung: "Happy is he, O holy Vîstâspa! happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes."

'Where does his soul abide on that night⁷?'

54. Ahura Mazda answered: 'O my son, Frashaostra! It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gâtha and proclaiming happiness: "Happy is he, happy the man whoever he be!"

'On the first night, his soul sits in Good Words⁸;

¹ The demons (see Vend. VIII, 80).

² Nôi/ ta/ paiti vohu manô katha sîsraya ayaka. The Pahlavi Commentary has: 'That is to say, good will happen to thee through the good will of Âtar (fire).'

³ Te kinashanya (W.;—read taêka nashanya?); âigh harvaspîn bêshîtârân min spinâk mînôî dâmân lvît apêtâk avîn yahvûnit (Pahl. Comm.).

⁴ Yatha ya/ tê fravaokâmi (fravaokâma, W.) puthrô berethyâ/ sairimananâm (sairi mananâm, W.) bakhedhrâi (translated as hakhedhrâi: dôstîh, friendship).

⁵ This chapter is borrowed, though slightly altered, from Yt. XXII.

⁶ Read ustavaiti (? cf. § 54 and Yt. XXII, 2): the Vahistôisti Gâtha is the fifth and last Gâtha.

⁷ On the night of his departing.

⁸ Not in the Good-Word Paradise, to which he will go later

on the second night, it sits in Good Deeds; on the third night, it goes along the ways (to Garô-nmâna).

55. 'At the end of the third night, O my son, Frashaostra! when the dawn appears, it seems to the soul of the faithful one as if it were brought amidst plants [and scents: it seems as if a wind were blowing from the region of the south, from the regions of the south]¹, a sweet-scented wind, sweeter-scented than any other wind in the world, and it seems to his soul as if he were inhaling that wind with the nose, and it asks, saying: "Whence does that wind blow, the sweetest-scented wind I ever inhaled with my nose?"

56. 'And it seems to him as if his own conscience were advancing to him in that wind, in the shape of a maiden fair, bright, white-armed, strong, tall-formed, high-standing, thick-breasted, beautiful of body, noble, of a glorious seed, of the size of a maid in her fifteenth year, as fair as the fairest things in the world.

57. 'And the soul of the faithful one addressed her, asking: "What maid art thou, who art the fairest maid I have ever seen?"

58. 'And she, being his own conscience, answers him: "O thou youth, of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion! I am thy own conscience.

"Everybody did love thee for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength, and freedom from sorrow, in which thou

(§ 61), but in the thought and delightful remembrance of his good words (cf. Yt. XXII, 2).

¹ Supplied from Yt. XXII, 7.

dost appear to me ; [and so thou, O youth of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion ! didst love me for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength, and freedom from sorrow, in which I appear to thee.

59. “ “When thou wouldst see a man¹] making derision and deeds of idolatry, or rejecting (the poor) and shutting (his door), then, thou wouldst sit, singing the Gâthas, and worshipping the good waters, and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, and rejoicing the faithful that would come from near or from afar.

60. “ “I was lovely, and thou madest me still lovelier ; I was fair, and thou madest me still fairer ; I was desirable, and thou madest me still more desirable ; I was sitting in a forward place, and thou madest me sit in the foremost place, through this good thought, through this good speech, through this good deed of thine ; and so henceforth men worship me for my having long sacrificed unto and conversed with Ahura Mazda.”

61. ‘The first step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Thought Paradise ; the second step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Word Paradise ; the third step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Deed Paradise ; the fourth step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Endless Light.

62. ‘Then one of the faithful, who had departed before him, asked, saying : “ How didst thou depart this life, thou holy man ? How didst thou come,

¹ From Yt. XXII, 12-13.

thou holy man! from the abodes full of cattle and full of the wishes and enjoyments of love? from the material world into the world of the spirit? from the decaying world into the undecaying one? How long did thy felicity last?"

63. And Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ask him not what thou askest him, who has just gone the dreary way, full of fear and distress, when the body and the soul part from one another.

64. '[Let him eat] of the food brought to him, of the oil of Zaremaya: this is the food for the youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion, after he has departed this life; this is the food for the holy woman, rich in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, well-principled, and obedient to her husband, after she has departed this life.'

65. Spitama Zarathustra said to the young king Vistâspa: 'To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda? To whom shall I go with praying¹?'

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

¹ This clause, taken from Yt. XXII, 20, shows that the second part of Yt. XXII (§§ 19-36), describing the fate of the wicked, should be inserted here.

NYÂYIS.

NYÂYIS.

A Nyâyis is properly a begging prayer, as opposed to Sitâyis, a prayer of praise. It is a term particularly applied to five prayers addressed to the Sun, to Mithra, to the Moon, to Waters, and to Fire. Every layman over eight years old is bound to recite the Nyâyis: he recites it standing and girded with his Kôstî.

The Sun Nyâyis is recited three times a day, at the rising of the sun (Gâh Hâvan), at noon (Gâh Rapihvîn), and at three o'clock in the afternoon (Gâh Uzîren). The Mithra Nyâyis is recited with the Sun Nyâyis, as Mithra follows the sun in its course (see Yt. X, 13).

The Moon Nyâyis is recited three times a month: first, at the time when it begins to be seen; second, when it is at the full; third, when it is on the wane.

The Waters Nyâyis and the Fire Nyâyis are recited every day, when one finds oneself in the proximity of those elements. The Fire Nyâyis is recited with the Penôm on (see Vend. p. 168, 7).

The first four Nyâyis must be recited especially on the days over which the Izads invoked preside; that is to say, on the Khôrshêd, Mihir, Mâh, and Âbân days (the eleventh, sixteenth, twelfth, and tenth days of the month)¹.

I. KHÔRSHÊD NYÂYIS.

1. [Hail unto the Sun, the swift-horsed! May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced ²!]

¹ Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta* II, pp. 6, 22, 565-566.

² This clause is wanting in most manuscripts.

Hail unto thee, O Ahura Mazda, in the threefold way ¹! [Hail unto thee] before all other creatures!

Hail unto you, O Amesha-Spentas, who are all of you of one accord with the Sun!

May this prayer come unto Ahura Mazda! May it come unto the Amesha-Spentas! May it come unto the Fravashis of the holy Ones! May it come unto the Sovereign Vayu of the long Period ²!

2. [Hail unto the Sun, the swift-horsed !]

May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! May Angra Mainyu be destroyed! by those who do truly what is the foremost wish (of God).

I recite the 'Praise of Holiness' ³.

3. I praise well-thought, well-spoken, and well-done thoughts, words, and deeds. I embrace all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; I reject all evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds ⁴.

4. I give sacrifice and prayer unto you, O Amesha-Spentas! even with the fulness of my thoughts, of my words, of my deeds, and of my heart: I give unto you even my own life.

I recite the 'Praise of Holiness' ³ :'

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. Well is it for it, well is it for that holiness which is perfection of holiness ⁴!'

5⁵. Hail to Ahura Mazda!

Hail to the Amesha-Spentas!

Hail to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures!

Hail to the Sun, the swift-horsed!

Hail to the two eyes of Ahura Mazda!

Hail to the Bull!

Hail to Gaya ⁶!

¹ In thought, speech, and deed (Pers. and Sansk. transl.).

² Vayu, as being the same with Fate (Vend. Intro. IV, 17), became identified with Time.

³ The Ashem Vohû.

⁴ See p. 22.

⁵ § 5=Yasna LXVIII (22-23 [LXVII, 58-67]).

⁶ Gaya Maretan, the first man.

Hail to the Fravashi of the holy Spitama Zarathustra!

Hail to the whole of the holy creation that was, is, or will be!

May I grow in health of body through Vohu-Manô, Khshathra, and Asha, and come to that luminous space, to that highest of all high things¹, when the world, O Spenta Mainyu! has come to an end!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . .

6. We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake².

7. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda made the most glorious of all the gods in the world unseen³.

So may Mithra and Ahura, the two great gods, come to us for help!

We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

8. We sacrifice unto Tistrya, whose sight is sound⁴.

We sacrifice unto Tistrya; we sacrifice unto the rains of Tistrya⁵.

We sacrifice unto Tistrya, bright and glorious.

We sacrifice unto the star Vanant⁶, made by Mazda.

¹ The sun: 'May my soul arrive at the sun-region!' (Pahl. transl.)

² Yt. X, 7.

³ In heaven.

⁴ See Yt. VIII, 12, note 7.

⁵ See Yt. VIII, 12, note 2.

⁶ See Yt. XX.

We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star.

We sacrifice unto the sovereign sky.

We sacrifice unto the boundless Time.

We sacrifice unto the sovereign Time of the long Period.

We sacrifice unto the beneficent, well-doing Wind.

We sacrifice unto the most upright *Kista*¹, made by Mazda and holy.

We sacrifice unto the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

We sacrifice unto the way of content².

We sacrifice unto the golden instrument³.

We sacrifice unto Mount *Saokanta*, made by Mazda³.

9. We sacrifice unto all the holy gods of the world unseen.

We sacrifice unto all the holy gods of the material world.

We sacrifice unto our own soul.

We sacrifice unto our own *Fravashi*.

We sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent *Fravashis* of the holy Ones.

We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

10. I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra

¹ See Yt. XVI.

² Or, of pleasure.

³ 'On Mount *Saokanta* there is a golden tube coming from the root of the earth; the water that is on the surface of the earth goes up through the hole of that tube to the heavens, and being driven by the wind, spreads everywhere, and thus the dew is produced' (Sansk. transl.).

Unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification¹

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

[We sacrifice] unto the Ahurian waters², the waters of Ahura, with excellent libations, with finest libations, with libations piously strained³.

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

II. MIHIR NYÂYIS.

1⁴. Hail unto thee, O Ahura Mazda, in the threefold way!
[Hail unto thee] before all other creatures!

Hail unto you, O Amesha-Spentas, who are all of you of one accord with the Sun!

May this prayer come unto Ahura Mazda! May it come unto the Amesha-Spentas! May it come unto the Fravashis of the holy Ones! May it come unto the sovereign Vayu of the long Period!

2. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

3. I praise well-thought, well-spoken, and well-done thoughts, words, and deeds

4. I give sacrifice and prayer unto you, O Amesha-Spentas!

5. Hail to Ahura Mazda!

May I grow in health of body through Vohu-Manô, Khshathra, and Asha, and come to that luminous space, to that highest of all high things, when the world, O Spenta Mainyu, has come to an end!

6⁵. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand

¹ The whole of the Khôrshêd Yast is inserted here.

² Rivers considered as Ahura's wives (cf. Ormazd et Ahriman, § 32).

³ From Yasna LXVIII, 10 (LXVII, 30); cf. p. 34.

⁴ §§ 1-5 = Khôrshêd Nyâyis, §§ 1-5.

⁵ §§ 6-7 = Khôrshêd Nyâyis, §§ 6-7.

eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake.

7. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda made the most glorious of all the heavenly gods.

So may Mithra and Ahura, the two great gods, come to us for help!

We sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

8¹. We sacrifice unto Tistrya, whose sight is sound

9. We sacrifice unto all the holy gods of the world unseen

10². I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra

11³. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with a thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake.

We sacrifice unto the Mithra around countries ;

We sacrifice unto the Mithra within countries ;

We sacrifice unto the Mithra in this country ;

We sacrifice unto the Mithra above countries ;

We sacrifice unto the Mithra under countries ;

We sacrifice unto the Mithra before countries ;

We sacrifice unto the Mithra behind countries.

12. We sacrifice unto Mithra and Ahura, the two great, imperishable, holy gods ; and unto the stars, and the moon, and the sun, with the trees that yield baresma. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries.

13⁴. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ §§ 8-9 = Khôrshêd Nyâvis, §§ 8-9.

² Yt. X, o.

³ §§ 11-12 = Yt. X, 144-145.

⁴ §§ 13-15 = Yt. X, 4-6.

We offer up libations unto Mithra

14. May he come to us for help! May he come to us for ease!

15. I will offer up libations unto him, the strong Yazatâ, the powerful Mithra

Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

16¹. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Mithra

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

III. MÂH NYÂYIS.

1². Hail to Ahura Mazda! Hail to the Amesha-Spentas! Hail to the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull! Hail to thee when we look at thee! Hail to thee when thou lookest at us!

2³. Unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull; unto the only-created Bull and unto the Bull of many species;

Be propitiation

3. Hail to Ahura Mazda!

4. How does the moon wax? How does the moon wane?

5. We sacrifice unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull

6. And when the light of the moon waxes warmer

7. I will sacrifice unto the Moon

8. For its brightness and glory

9. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

10⁴. Give us strength and victory! Give us welfare in cattle and in bread! Give us a great number of male children, praisers [of God] and chiefs in assemblies, who smite and are not smitten, who smite at one stroke their enemies, who smite at one stroke their foes, ever in joy and ready to help.

¹ Yt. X, 146. ² § 1=Mâh Yast, § 1. ³ §§ 2-9=Mâh Yast.

⁴ §§ 10-11; cf. Yt. XXIV, 6-8.

11. Ye gods of full Glory, ye gods of full healing, let your greatness become manifest! let your assistance become manifest as soon as you are called for! and ye, Waters, manifest your Glory, and impart it to the man who offers you a sacrifice.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

IV. ÂBÂN NYÂYIS.

1. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Unto the good Waters, made by Mazda; unto the holy water-spring ARDVI ANÂHITA; unto all waters, made by Mazda; unto all plants, made by Mazda,
Be propitiation¹

2². Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

3. 'Who makes the seed of all males pure, who makes the womb of all females pure for bringing forth

4. 'The large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole of the waters that run along the earth

5. 'All the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over, when she runs down there

6. 'From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven Karshvares;

7. 'I, Ahura Mazda, brought it down with mighty vigour, for the increase of the house, of the borough, of the town, of the country³.

8. 'He from whom she will hear the staota yêsnya⁴; he from whom she will hear the Ahuna

¹ As Âbân Yast, o.

³ Cf. Âbân Yast, § 6.

² §§ 2-6 = Âbân Yast, §§ 1-5.

⁴ See above, p. 152, note 1.

vairya¹; he from whom she will hear the Asha-vahista²; he by whom the good waters will be made pure; with the words of the holy hymns³, he will enter first the Garô-nmâna of Ahura Mazda: she will give him the boons asked for⁴.

9⁵. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer her a sacrifice well-performed. Thus mayest thou advise us when thou art appealed to! Mayest thou be most fully worshipped.

'We sacrifice unto the holy Ardvi Sûra Anâhita with libations. We sacrifice unto Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the holy and master of holiness, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

'Yênê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . .

10. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . .

'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the holy water-spring Anâhita.

'[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

V. ÂTAS NYÂYIS.

1⁶. Take me out⁷, O Ahura! give me perfect piety and strength . . .

4⁸. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! . . .

¹ The Yathâ ahû vairyô prayer.

² The Ashem Vohû prayer.

³ Cf. Yt. XXII, 2, and Yt. XXIV, 39.

⁴ Cf. Âbân Yast, §§ 19, 23, 27, 35, 39, 47, &c.

⁵ Cf. Âbân Yast, § 9.

⁶ §§ 1-3 = Yasna XXXIII, 12-14.

⁷ 'Deliver me from Ahriman' (Pahl. Comm.).

⁸ As in Ormazd Yast, o.

Hail unto thee, O Fire, son of Ahura Mazda, thou beneficent and most great Yazata!

¹ Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification

Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; unto thee Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda !

5². Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; unto the Glory and the Weal, made by Mazda ; unto the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda ; unto the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; unto king Husravah ; unto the lake of Husravah ; unto Mount Âsnavant, made by Mazda ; unto Lake Kaêkasta, made by Mazda ; unto the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

6. Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; unto Mount Raêvant, made by Mazda ; unto the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda.

Unto Âtar, the beneficent, the warrior ; the God who is a full source of Glory, the God who is a full source of healing.

Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, with all Âtars ; unto the God Nairyô-sangha, who dwells in the navel of kings ;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

7³. I bless the sacrifice and invocation, and the

¹ As in Ormazd Yast, o.

² Cf. Sirôzah, § 9.

³ §§ 7-16 = Yasna LXII, 1-10 (LXI). See the Sanskrit translation in *Études Iraniennes*, II.

good offering, the beneficent offering, the offering of assistance offered unto thee, O Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda !

Thou art worthy of sacrifice and invocation ; mayest thou receive the sacrifice and the invocation in the houses of men.

Well may it be unto the man who ever worships thee with a sacrifice, holding the sacred wood in his hand, the baresma in his hand, the meat in his hand, the mortar ¹ in his hand.

8. Mayest thou have the right ² wood ! Mayest thou have the right incense ! Mayest thou have the right food ! Mayest thou have the right fuel ³ !

Mayest thou be full-grown for protecting (this house) ! Mayest thou grow excellent for protecting !

9. Mayest thou burn in this house ! Mayest thou ever burn in this house ! Mayest thou blaze in this house ! Mayest thou increase in this house ! Even for a long time, till the powerful restoration of the world, till the time of the good, powerful restoration of the world !

10. Give me, O Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda ! lively welfare, lively maintenance, lively living ; fulness of welfare, fulness of maintenance, fulness of life ;

Knowledge, sagacity ; quickness of tongue ; (holiness of) soul ; a good memory ; and then the understanding that goes on growing and the one that is not acquired through learning ⁴ ;

¹ The mortar for pounding the Haoma.

² In quality and quantity.

³ Upasayêni : what is added to keep up the fire when lighted (Pers. transl.).

⁴ The gaoshô-srûta khratu and the âsna khratu (see p. 7, note 1).

And then the manly courage,

11. Firm-footed, unsleeping, (sleeping only) for a third part of the day and of the night, quick to rise up from bed, ever awake ;

And a protecting, virtuous offspring, able to rule countries and assemblies of men, well growing up, good, freeing us from the pangs (of hell), endowed with a good intellect, that may increase my house, my borough, my town, my country, my empire.

12. Give me, O Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda! however unworthy I am¹, now and for ever, a seat in the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

May I obtain the good reward, a good renown², and long cheerfulness for my soul³!

13. Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, lifts up his voice to all those for whom he cooks their evening meal and their morning meal⁴. From all those he wishes a good offering, a beneficent offering, an offering of assistance, O Spitama !

14. Âtar looks at the hands of all those who pass by: 'What does the friend bring to his friend? What does he who comes and goes bring to him⁵ who stays motionless?'

We sacrifice unto Âtar, the valiant warrior⁶.

15. And if the passer-by brings him wood holily brought, or bundles of baresma holily tied up, or

¹ Yâ mê afrasæunghæu anghaʾ: yâ me abhût ayogyatâ (Sansk. transl.).

² Here.

³ Above.

⁴ Khshafnîm, sîirîm (Études Iraniennes, II, 161).

⁵ Âtar.

⁶ 'Bodily he is infirm (armêst, motionless); spiritually he is a warrior' (Pahl. Comm.).

twigs of Hadhânaêpata¹, then Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, well pleased with him and not angry, and fed as required, will thus bless him :

16. 'May herds of oxen grow for thee, and increase of sons; may thy mind be master of its vow, may thy soul be master of its vow, and mayest thou live on in the joy of the soul all the nights of thy life.'

This is the blessing which Âtar speaks unto him who brings him dry wood, well-examined by the light of the day, well-cleansed with godly intent².

17. Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda³

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

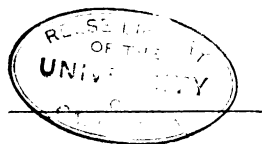
18³. We gladden by our virtue thy mighty Fire, O Ahura! thy most quick and powerful Fire, who shows his assistance⁴ to him who has ever comforted him, but delights in taking vengeance with his hands on the man who has harmed him.

¹ See Vend. p. 94, note 1.

² Cf. Vend. XVIII, 26-27.

³ From Yasna XXXIV, 4.

⁴ 'In the var nîrang' (Pahl. Comm.), that is to say, in the fire ordeal; see above, p. 170, note 3.



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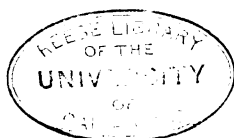
TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.									III Class.
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k			क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh			ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g			ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗		
4 " aspirata	gh			घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘		
5 Gutturo-labialis	q										
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)			ङ	{ 𐬙 (ng) }						
7 Spiritus asper	h			ह	𐬚 (h)	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,										
9 " asper faucalis	'h										
10 " lenis faucalis	'h										
11 " asper fricatus		'h									
12 " lenis fricatus		'h									
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis		k		च	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	k	
14 " aspirata		kh		छ	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	kh	
15 Media		g		ज	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝		
16 " aspirata		gh		झ	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞		
17 " Nasalis		ñ		ञ	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟		

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨 𐬨					

Dentales modificatæ (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	48 Tenuis	p
40 Media	d	49 " aspirata	ph
41 " aspirata	dh	50 Media	b
42 Nasalis	n	51 " aspirata	bh
43 Semivocalis	r	52 Tenuissima	
44 " fricata	r	53 Nasalis	m
45 " diacritica		54 Semivocalis	w
46 Spiritus asper	sh	55 " aspirata	hw
47 " lenis	zh	56 Spiritus asper	f
		57 " lenis	v
		58 Anusvâra	m
		59 Visarga	h

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	II Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.									
1 Neutralis	0									ə
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē									...
3 " labialis	ō					fin.				...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا	א	ā
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	ā	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	ī	י	i
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	ī	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	ē			ए				ē		...
9 " longa	ē			ऐ				ē		...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि				...		...
11 " longa	ri			रि				...		...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ				...		u
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	ū	ו	ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	...		...
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)		ऐ	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	...		...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		औ	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	...		...
17 " "	ei (ēi)			इ	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	...		...
18 " "	oi (ōu)			उ	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	...		...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	𐬊	𐬊	𐬊	...		...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		औ	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋	...		...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		औ	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	...		...
22 " "	eu (ēu)			इ	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍	...		...
23 " "	ou (ōu)			उ	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	...		...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			अ				...		...
25 Palatalis fracta	i			इ				...		...
26 Labialis fracta	ü			उ				...		...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			ओ				...		...



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PAHLAVI TEXTS

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PART III

DĪNĀ-Ī MAĪNŌG-Ī KHIRAD

SIKAND-GŪMĀNĪK VIGĀR

SAD DAR



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INTRODUCTION.

I. THE DÎNÂ-Î MAÎNÔG-Î KHIRAD.

THE Pahlavi phrase *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad*, 'Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom,' is a name applied to sixty-two enquiries, or series of enquiries, on subjects connected with the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, made by an anonymous wise man and answered by the Spirit of Wisdom. But, as this name is only found prefixed to a manuscript, written in A. D. 1569, in which the first part of the work is missing¹, it is doubtful whether it be the original name of the book, or not, although it is very suitable to the general character of the work.

Regarding the reading of this name, here adopted, it must be observed that the correct pronunciation of the Pahlavi word *maînôg*, 'spirit,' is uncertain; the traditional reading is *madônad*, which is a possible pronunciation of its letters, but is otherwise inexplicable; Haug proposed to read *maînivad* or *mînavad*, but, in that case, the word ought to end with *d=t*, or with *nd*; some of the present *Dastûrs* read *mînôê*, but this would be written *mînôêk* in Pahlavi; the Pâzand writers have *mainyô*, but this is evidently an imitation of Av. *mainyavô*, and does not correspond with the Pahlavi letters. As the word is *manû* or *mînô* in the Sasanian inscriptions, and *mînû* in Persian, to which words a final *k* would be added in Pahlavi, it seems probable that the final letter of the Pahlavi word is not *d* or *ê*, but *g*, a corruption of *k*, and that we ought to read *mînôg* or *maînôg*. At the same time it should be noticed that a very old copy of the Pahlavi Farhang, in the library of *Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji* in Bombay, has the word written with an extra medial stroke, so that it might be

¹ See p. 3, note 1.

read *mînavand*, as required by Haug's hypothesis, although this copy of the *Farhang* gives *madonend* as the traditional reading.

The subjects discussed by the Spirit of Wisdom are of a very miscellaneous character, and their discussion is evidently intended to furnish an outline of the tenets, legends, and morality of the religion with which they deal; but it forms by no means a complete, or systematic, treatise on these subjects, and it is remarkably silent with regard to all details of religious rites and ceremonies, which are only occasionally mentioned. This silence may, perhaps, be due to the fact that the author was a layman, as seems clear from the account he gives of his doubts and enquiries in Chap. I, 14-56. Any incompleteness of the treatise may also be explained by the apparent loss of the latter end of the work, as the sixty-second reply (Chap. LXIII) terminates the extant text of the treatise abruptly, and without any trace of peroration.

By the Spirit of Wisdom the author means the innate wisdom of *Aûharmazd* (Chap. LVII, 4), the *âsna khratu* of Yas. XXII, 29, XXV, 18, through which the spiritual and worldly creations were produced (Chaps. I, 49, 51, LVII, 5). It was originally created by *Aûharmazd* (Chap. VIII, 3, 8), and is superior to the archangels (Chap. I, 53); it can appear in a personal form, and undertake to be an instructor (Chap. I, 57, 60, 61); and it can likewise be used as a defence (Chap. XLIII, 6).

With regard to the author of this treatise, and the age in which he lived, we have no further information than can be gathered from the contents of the book itself. The author was evidently a devoted Mazda-worshipper, and probably a layman, as has been already remarked, but he has given us no further hints about himself. Whether he wrote before or after the Arab conquest of Persia is doubtful. There are only two passages that might be strained into allusions to Muhammadanism: one in Chap. I, 18, which alludes to some heterodox religion injuring the property of the orthodox faith, but the author has just been talking of many sects, and the grievance here mentioned is much too

X common to be considered as applicable only to the Arabs; the other passage is Chap. XVI, 37-48, which describes the advantages of 'the moderate drinking of wine,' and might be supposed to be written in indirect opposition to the Muhammadan prohibition of such indulgence. In either case the allusion is certainly far too obscure to form a fair basis for argument. On the other hand, Chap. XIII, 13, 14, speaks of the sovereignty of Vistâsp existing in connection with the most powerful sect or form of devotion, which statement might be strained to imply that the government was still orthodox; and the definitions of good and bad government in Chap. XV, 12-39 could hardly have been written after the Arab conquest. The allusion to the continued conflict of the Arûmans and Tûrânians with the Irânians, in Chap. XXI, 23-26, may possibly refer to some troublesome wars carried on by the Greeks and Turks against the Persians in the time of the author, and the late Dr. A. D. Mordtmann has suggested A. D. 580-590 as a probable period for such remarks, but, here again, the allusion is too obscure to be relied on.

Very few of the author's quotations can be identified, but this is no argument for a greater age than eight or ten centuries, as we know, from passages quoted in the Shâyast Lâ-shâyast, Dâdistân-i Dînik, and other works, that some of the lost Nasks must have been still extant as recently as that. The Avesta is quoted only twice by name, in Chaps. I, 27, XVI, 15; the former passage has not been identified, but the latter may perhaps be from the Pâzag Nask. Several quotations, however, are made from the dînô or 'revelation,' a term which, when it refers to writings, is often applied by Pahlavi writers to the Avesta only. Of these passages Chap. XLIV, 18-23 is from the Vendîdâd, Chap. XXI, 24-26 may be from the Kîdrast Nask, and six other quotations have not been identified. In other cases the quotations are merely prefaced by the phrase '*it is declared.*' And of these the passage in Chap. LVII, 24-28 appears to be derived from the Vendîdâd, and that in Chap. II, 155, 156 from the so-called Hâdôkht Nask, while eight other passages are unidentified. In this last class the quota-

tions seem to be rather paraphrases than accurate translations of the original texts.

Of the original Pahlavi text of the *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad* only two manuscripts are yet known to exist; one of these (K43) is contained in No. 43 of the Irânian manuscripts in the University Library at Copenhagen, and the other (TD2) belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria of Bombay.

The manuscript K43 is a small quarto volume of 178 folios, of which the *Dînâ* occupies fols. 2-37, written fifteen lines to the page. The first and second folios also contain the conclusion of the larger *Bundahis*, of which the first 129 folios are missing from this codex, as described in SBE, vol. v, introd. pp. xxxix-xli. And the latter part of the codex contains about one-fifth of the *Dinkard*, in several detached fragments, and four-fifths of the *Bahman Yast*. This manuscript was brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843¹, and the Pahlavi text of the *Dînâ*, which it contains, was published in facsimile by Andreas in 1882².

In this codex the text of the *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad* begins in the middle of Chap. I, 28; but, as the copyist has prefixed an introductory heading to this imperfect text, it is evident that he, or some predecessor of his, must have copied the work, in this imperfect state, from some manuscript whose first folio had been lost. Besides this deficiency, ten folios of the text have been lost from this particular codex; nine of these were occupied by Chaps. XIV, 1-XXVII, 49, and the tenth contained Chaps. XXXIX, 31-XL, 17. At the end of the work, Chap. LXIII is followed by a colophon to the following effect:—‘Completed in peace and pleasure and joy on the day *Shatvairô* of the month *Âvân* of the year 938 of *Yazdakard*, king of kings, [26th May 1569]. I, *Mitrô-âpân Anôshak-rûbân Rûstâm Shatrô-îyâr*, wrote *it* for my own possession. From the copy

¹ See *Zend-Avesta*, or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians, edited by N. L. Westergaard (Kopenhagen, 1852-54), vol. i, introd. p. 8, note 3.

² The Book of the *Mainyô-i-Khard*, also an old fragment of the *Bundehesh*, edited by F. C. Andreas (Kiel, 1882).

of Dastûr Gadman-pîrûg Aspendiyâr Gadman-pîrûg, and that from the copy of Dastûr Shatrô-aiyyâr Vêgan Khûsrôishah, and that, as regards these several sayings, was written from the copy of the heavenly-destined Mâh-vindâd Nare-mâhân *with* the righteous soul, and comes unto us from the realm of the Hindûs. May even our writing be in accordance with the will of the sacred beings.' In addition to the date, the chief matter of interest in this colophon is its acknowledgment of the fact that the work had come from India, where the original Pahlavi text appears to have since become extinct. We have, therefore, in this text, merely so much of the work as had reached India, on which the Pâzand-Sanskrit version of Nêryôsang, described below, was undoubtedly based; and the possibility of hereafter finding the latter part of the work in Persia should not be overlooked. It is, however, upon the text contained in K43, so far as it is preserved, that the translation of the Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad in this volume is founded.

Of the other Pahlavi manuscript, TD2, nothing further is known to the translator than a copy of the passages corresponding to those contained in the ten folios lost from K43, upon which copy the translation of those passages has been based.

Besides these manuscripts of the original Pahlavi text, there exist other copies, in which the text has been merely reproduced from the Pâzand version described below; and, of these copies, K22 (No. 22 in the University Library at Copenhagen) may be cited as a typical example. This manuscript is a large octavo volume of 56 folios of glazed Indian paper, probably about a century old, but without a date. The first 48 folios contain a corrupt Pahlavi text of the Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad, alternating with the usual Sanskrit version described below, written nineteen lines to the page, and extending as far as Chap. XXVII, 41. The corruptions in the text consist of misuse of Huzvâr equivalents, and errors in orthography which no old writer of Pahlavi would be likely to commit, such as writing *ko lâvist* for *harvist*, *nafsmanîdârik* for *khvêsinîdârih*, *barâ-gûmân* for a *vîgûmân*, *hamê* for *hamâi*, *avas* for *âbas*,

lâ and mâ for a/, denman instead of hanâ for Pâz. e, the constant use of the adjective suffix -îk for the abstract suffix -îh, and the frequent omission of the final k in such words as dâânâk, a vîstâk. It can be seen at once, by any one really acquainted with Pahlavi, that a text of this description is merely a modern transliteration of the Pâzand version by some one whose knowledge of Pahlavi was rather limited and artificial.

Most of the Indian manuscripts of this work contain only the Pâzand version written in short sentences, alternating with a word-for-word Sanskrit translation of each sentence; the Sanskrit being written upside down, for the sake of forming a continuous line with the reversely-written Avesta characters of the Pâzand. This Pâzand-Sanskrit version of the Mainyô-i Khard (as it is called in Pâzand) was compiled by Nêryôsang, son of Dhaval, a Parsi priest who is supposed to have lived some time in the fifteenth century, and evidently possessed a very good knowledge of Pahlavi, though not sufficient to avoid some few mistakes, especially in reading foreign names. His authorship is attested by a Sanskrit introduction, prefixed to most manuscripts of this version, to the following effect:—‘Through the name and almighty power and assistance of the lord Ahura-mazda, the greatly wise, may the achievement be auspicious, *and be* the progress and success of the good Mazda-worshipping religion, and energy in body and long life for all the good *and* right-minded. This Pahlavi heavenly wisdom, called the Mainyô-i Khard, is translated by me, Nêryôsang son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi language into the Sanskrit language, and written from the difficult Parsi letters¹ with the Avesta letters, for the joyful understanding of the good listeners to instruction, the true-minded. Salutation to the good, the pure-thinking, the true-speaking, the just-acting.’

Of this Pâzand-Sanskrit version the oldest manuscript that has been examined is L19, No. 19 of the Avesta and Pahlavi manuscripts in the India Office Library in London, one of the manuscripts brought from India by Dr. Samuel

¹ That is, from the ambiguous Pahlavi characters, used in all Persian writings before the Arab conquest.

Guise who was head surgeon of the general hospital at Surat from 1788 to 1795, and obtained several manuscripts from the widow of Dastūr Dārābji, the instructor of Anquetil Duperron. It is a small octavo volume, containing 148 folios of old Indian paper, of which the first 132 are occupied by the Pāzand-Sanskrit Mainyô-i Khard, written fifteen lines to the page. At the beginning of the text the folio containing Nêryôsang's Sanskrit introduction (described above) has been lost, but the text itself is complete. At the end of the work is a Pāzand-Sanskrit postscript which may be reasonably attributed to Nêryôsang himself, and can be translated as follows :—' Completed for the peace and pleasure, happiness and dominion of all the good who are virtuous. To him for whom *it is* written may it be well-resulting and well-omened, *and*, after a hundred and fifty years, may he be a transmitter *of it* to his own religious children's children, through the will of the sacred beings. Of whomsoever the best ability is not wisdom, that best ability of his is *even* then owing to it. Wisdom which is without learning is poor, and learning which is without wisdom is helpless.' After this postscript a Pahlavi colophon has been copied from some older manuscript to the following effect :—' Completed in peace, pleasure, and joy, and ended ; written by me, a servant of the religion, the priest Shatrô-âiyyâr, contemporary (?) of Nêryôsang.' And this is followed by a colophon in very corrupt Sanskrit, which states that this manuscript was completed, in the district of Nāga-mandala¹, at a date corresponding to Friday, the 19th October 1520, by the teacher Mihrvân, son of Mahyâr and grandson of Padama, for the priest Bahrâm, son of Pālhan. This manuscript of the Pāzand text is, therefore, nearly 49 years older than that of the original Pahlavi text (K43) upon which the present translation is based. It corresponds very closely with that Pahlavi text, and where it differs the variation is nearly always due to some mistake, or attempt at improvement, on the part of Nêryôsang. It must, however, be acknowledged that very few translators adhere so

¹ Probably an old name of Nausârî.

closely to their original texts as this learned Parsi priest has done to his.

Other manuscripts of the Pâzand-Sanskrit version are PA10 and PB6. The former is No. 10 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library at Paris, and was brought from Surat by Anquetil Duperron in 1761. It is an octavo volume, in which the Mainyô-i Khard occupies the first 211 folios, and commences with Nêryôsang's Sanskrit introduction, translated above, but does not contain the postscript. The date of its colophon appears to correspond to the 7th December 1649, new style. The latter manuscript, PB6, is No. 6 of the Burnouf Collection in the same library, and is probably about a century old.

The Pâzand version also occurs alternating with a Gugarâti translation in K23, No. 23 of the Irânian manuscripts in the University Library at Copenhagen. It is an octavo volume of 168 folios of glazed Indian paper, of which the first 162 contain the Pâzand-Gugarâti text, written fifteen lines to the page, and the remaining six folios contain an index stating the contents of each chapter. A colophon, at the end of the text, has a date corresponding to the 25th August 1663, new style; and another, at the end of the index, states that the manuscript was written by the priest Yazad-yâr, son of Vikaji, of Sangân, and finished at a date corresponding to the 17th October of the same year.

In another class of Pâzand manuscripts of the Mainyô-i Khard the Pâzand text is written in the Perso-Arabic character, and accompanied by a Persian translation, forming what may be conveniently termed a Pârsî-Persian version. One example of this version is contained in MH7, No. 7 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich, of which it occupies the first 70 folios, written fifteen lines to the page. Most of the Persian translation is written in sentences alternating with those of the Pârsî text, in which case the translation is merely a paraphrase of the Pârsî; but some of the translation is interlined, and this is much more literal, each Pârsî word having its Persian equivalent written below it. This manuscript contains several other texts, and from two colophons, one near the middle, and the other near

the end of the volume, it appears that it was written by Dârâshâh, son of Mihrbânji, and the first half of the volume was completed at a date corresponding to Wednesday the 9th August 1809.

Another example of the Pârsî-Persian version is found in No. 2769 of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library in London, in which manuscript it occupies 75 folios, written eleven lines to the page, and is not dated, though probably written early this century. In this copy the Pârsî text is tolerably complete, but long passages of the Persian translation are omitted; when given, the Persian is usually identical with that in MH7, though some instances of independent translation occur.

In addition to the Pahlavi, Pâzand, Sanskrit, Gugarâti, Pârsî, and Persian texts of the prose Dînâ-î Maînôg-i Khirad, the popularity of the work is further evinced by the existence of two versions in Persian verse. One of these was described by Professor Sachau in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, new series, vol. iv, pp. 229-283, from a manuscript in the library of that Society in London, written probably near the end of last century. The author of this metrical Persian paraphrase appears to have been a native of Râvar in Sindh, named Marzubân, who composed it from a Pârsî version of the original text, bequeathed to him by his teacher while he was studying the old traditions at Yazd; and the date of his composition seems to have been A.D. 1612. His verses contain only fifty-four questions and answers, but these contain the substance of the greater part of the Mînôkhirad, as the work is called in Persian, with some few additions from other sources.

A copy of the other metrical Persian Mînôkhirad occupied fols. 527-550 in the second volume of B29, a two-volume quarto Rivâyat, No. 29 in the Bombay University Library. It is doubtful whether the original number of folios were twenty-four or twenty-six, but only twenty-two now remain. These contain 497 couplets of introductory matter, 1060 representing the text of the work, and 190 of epilogue; and from 160 to 330 further couplets of the text are missing. According to statements in the introduction and

epilogue the verses appear to have been composed, from Nêryôsang's Pâzand-Sanskrit text, by the priest Hôrmazyâr and his son Dârâb, the latter being the actual writer, and the former being a son of Farâmrûz¹, son of Qavâmu-d-dîn, son of Kai-Qubâd, son of Hamkârapadam¹ of Sangân, of the family of the priest Nêryôsang Dhaval. The work was commenced on the 7th November 1676, new style, and completed in thirty-five days; and the copy in B29 was finished on the 21st November 1679, new style. The order of the subjects discussed in this metrical version differs, in some respects, from that followed in the prose texts, and the 1060 couplets of extant text represent only forty chapters of the work, though several of the others were, no doubt, represented in the missing couplets. Another copy of this later metrical version appears to exist in pp. 231-248 of No. 12 of Anquetil's Collection in the National Library at Paris.

Of the Pâzand text of the Mainyô-i Khard, Chaps. LVII, XXVII, LXII, I, 51-61, VII, 9-12 have been published, with German translations, by Professor Spiegel, in his 'Grammatik der pârsi Sprache,' pp. 128-155, 161-173, 185, 186, 188, 189. He has also published German translations of Chaps. II, 110-193, VIII, XXXVII, XLII in his 'Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen,' pp. 138-144, 147-150. And the complete Pâzand-Sanskrit texts, with an English translation, Pâzand glossary and grammar, were published by the present translator in 1871. Since that date the original Pahlavi text of the Dinâ-î Maînôg-î Khrad has been discovered, from which the present translation has been made.

In connection with this account of the various versions of the 'Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom,' it should be noticed that an abridgement of the work also exists in Persian prose, and is called the 'Other Mînôkhirad.' A copy of this abridgement is contained in fols. 71-78 of MH7 (described above), and consists of a very free Persian translation of the Pâzand texts of Chaps. I, 14-II, 64, III-VII, XIV, XV,

¹ A variation of this pedigree is quoted in p. xlii.

XXI, XXV, followed by a variety of short statements about thankfulness towards the sacred beings, the supreme heaven, male and female angels and demons, wealth and poverty, &c., and concluding with the names of the first sovereigns of the world, the descent of mankind from Gayômar, and of the 292¹ species of animals from the primeval ox. Another copy of this abridgement appears to be contained in fols. 80-84 of No. 15 of Anquetil's Collection in the National Library at Paris.

2. THE SIKAND-GÛMÂNÎK VIGÂR.

The term *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr*, 'doubt-dispelling explanation,' is the Pahlavi name applied to a controversial work by its author. The chief object of the work is to prove the correctness of the fundamental doctrine of the Mazda-worshipping religion, that good and evil do not proceed from the same source, and to show that other religions, while professing to believe in the unity of creation, can only account for the origin of evil, either by degrading the character of the sacred being, or by attributing evil to a corrupting influence which is really a second being. In other words, the author's object is to show that all people, who believe in an all-good and omnipotent creator, must logically admit the existence of an independent origin of evil, whatever they may say to the contrary. In the course of his arguments, he naturally finds it easier to attack the inconsistencies of other beliefs than to defend his own, and much of his attention is, therefore, given to pointing out apparent inconsistencies and seemingly delusive statements in the scriptures of the Muhammadans, Jews, Christians, and Mânichaeans.

The author's name was *Mardân-farukh*, son of *Aûhar-mazd-dâd* (Chap. I, 35), and his account of his enquiries (§§ 36, 37) bears much resemblance to what is said of the wise man's proceedings in *Mkh. I*, 34-36. He determines to

¹ Bd. X, 3, XIV, 13 mention 282 (or 272 in some copies).

write a treatise for removing religious doubt, and calls it the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* (Chap. I, 38). He is also careful in stating that he has selected many of his facts and arguments from older writings, such as those of *Âtûr-pâdiyâvand*¹, which he had found in the *Dînkard*² compiled by *Âtûr-frôbag*, son of *Farukh-zâd*. In this statement he must be referring to the first two books of the *Dînkard*, which have not yet been discovered, as the other seven books, which are extant, do not contain the matters to which he alludes. He also mentions the *Rôshan* manuscript compiled by *Rôshan*³, son of *Âtûr-frôbag*, a writer who is often quoted in the Pahlavi commentaries on the *Avesta*⁴. And he begins his religious discussion by replying to some difficulties that had been suggested to him, in a friendly manner, for solution by *Mitrô-aîyyâr*, son of *Mahmâd*, of *Ispahân*⁵.

His allusions to Muhammadanism are of a very guarded character, though sufficiently clear to leave no doubt as to the religion he means. Like all Pahlavi writers, he never mentions that religion by name, but when, in the position of a Zoroastrian in Persia, he states that he did not admire the religion that was then in supremacy⁶, there can be little doubt that he refers to Muhammadanism. And any such doubt would be dispelled, not only by such vague references to passages in the *Qur'ân* as occur in Chap. XI, 4, 5, 269-271, but also by the distinct quotation of a striking legend, from the same source, regarding the fallen angel in §§ 52-60, 248 of the same chapter, and by the use of the term *Mûtaزالik* (Ar. *mu'htazil*) with reference to a certain sect in § 280.

With regard, therefore, to the age of the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr*, we may be quite certain that it was written long after the Arab conquest of Persia; and from the names mentioned by the author, as stated above, it is evident that he lived after the time of *Rôshan*, son of *Âtûr-frôbag*, son of

¹ See Chaps. I, 38, IV, 106, IX, 2, X, 52.

² See Chaps. IV, 107, IX, 1, 4, X, 57.

³ See Chap. X, 53, 54.

⁴ See Chap. II, 1, 2.

⁵ See Sls. I, 4 n.

⁶ See Chap. X, 45.

Farukh-zâd. Now, according to a Pahlavi tale¹, the accursed Abâlis², the Zandîk, had a religious disputation with Âtûr-frôbag, son of Farukh-zâd, in the presence of the Khalîfah Al-Mâmûn who reigned A.D. 813-833; it is, therefore, hardly possible that Rôshan, son of Âtûr-frôbag, could have written his commentary before the middle of the ninth century. We also know, from the last chapter of the third book of the *Dînkard*, that Âtûr-frôbag was not the last editor of that work, but was succeeded by his son Zarâtûst, and, later still, by Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmid, who appears to have given the book its final revision. Of Âtûrpâd's work the author of the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* does not speak, and it is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that it had not been completed in his time. But, according to Bd. XXXIII, 10, 11, this Âtûrpâd was a contemporary of Zâd-spâram who was living in A.D. 881³, and his revision of the *Dînkard* was, therefore, probably in progress by the end of the ninth century. From these facts we may conclude that the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* was written after the middle, but before the end, of the ninth century; unless we were to suppose that, although its author consulted only the first two books of the *Dînkard* (as mentioned above), the remaining seven books may have existed as a separate work unknown to him. Considering, however, that Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmid, was so important a personage as 'the leader of those of the good religion' of his time, this supposition would not be very probable.

There is probably nothing new to defenders of Christianity in *Mardân-farukh's* attacks upon the apparent inconsistencies of their scriptures, with regard to the origin of evil and the existence of unity in trinity, subjects that are more usually admitted without investigation than seriously discussed. This is not, however, the mode in which such subjects are likely to be treated by outsiders, and missionaries will no doubt find among *Mardân-farukh's* arguments many that they must become accustomed to hear from educated

¹ A copy of which is contained in the very old codex No. 20 in the University Library at Copenhagen, fols. 148-152.

² The reading of this name is uncertain, but this is the Pâzand form.

³ See Ep. III, 2, 17, 21.

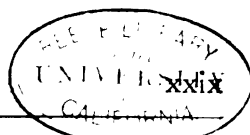
men of other faiths. And, if they engage in controversy, as they ought to do, they must expect to hear them stated in less considerate language than this author uses.

An interesting question, for any one who possesses special information on the subject, would be to ascertain from what version of the Old and New Testaments *Mardân-farukh* drew his quotations. There seems every probability that his translation of the passages, though it may not be altogether literal, is yet sufficiently so to admit of the particular version being identified, if its peculiarities of wording were carefully considered. The peculiar Pahlavi spelling of the name Isaac in Chap. XIV, 42, as deduced from its corruption in *Pâzand*, points to a Syriac version of one of the legendary works consulted by the author.

In his discussion of the tenets of the *Mânichæans* *Mardân-farukh* is dealing with a subject that is far less known than the other faiths he attacks, and the information he gives may be valuable. Unfortunately the latter part of this discussion is missing, although the loss of text is probably not very extensive.

The original Pahlavi text of the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* has not yet been discovered, although there are several existing copies of a Pahlavi version of the earlier part of the work, which are evidently reproductions from the *Pâzand* text. These pseudo-Pahlavi manuscripts usually end with the fifth chapter, and are certainly superior to the similiar reproductions of the *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad*, represented by K22 (see p. xix). Yet they generally use the adjective suffix *-îk* for the abstract suffix *-îh*, because both these suffixes become *-î* in *Pâzand*; they often have *kabed*, 'much,' for *afas*, 'and by him,' when the *Pâzand* has *vas* by mistake for *vas*; they also substitute the *Pâzand* misreading *aîná* for the true Pahlavi *a dînas*; besides adopting other occasional miswritings for which the *Pâzand* version alone is responsible. Such manuscripts could be of no critical value, unless they had descended from some family of *Pâzand* manuscripts which had left no surviving representatives in *Pâzand*, and this does not appear to be the case.

A specimen of these Pahlavi reproductions is contained



in the last 36 folios of L15, No. 15 of the Avesta and Pahlavi manuscripts in the India Office Library in London. It commences with the words 'all the angels' in Chap. I, 4, and ends with Chap. V, 71; the handwriting being the same as that in L26, a manuscript that contains a date corresponding to A. D. 1737.

In fols. 9-16 of BM. No. 22,378 of the Additional Oriental manuscripts in the British Museum Library, there is a modern fragment of this reproduced Pahlavi text, interlined with a transliteration in the Persian character, and alternating with a Persian paraphrase. This fragment contains only Chap. I, 1-31.

The reproduced Pahlavi text also occurs, in parallel columns with the usual Pâzand and Sanskrit versions and a Persian paraphrase, in R, an imperfect polyglot manuscript given to the late Mr. J. Romer by a Dastûr in Surat. Of this foolscap-folio manuscript Mr. Romer sent pp. 16-31 (with the first fifteen pages of a Pahlavi-Persian Bundahis) to the late Professor M. J. Müller, through Mr. Poley; he also sent pp. 32-63, 82-93 to the late Professor H. H. Wilson on 3rd December 1836, who afterwards transferred them to Professor Max Müller; and he gave pp. 64-81, 99-143 to the late Mr. Norris. The first of these fragments, together with that of the Bundahis now constitute No. 10 of the Müller Collection in the State Library at Munich; the next two fragments were presented to the India Office Library, and the two last mentioned were acquired by it, in 1876. It is most probable that the first fifteen pages of this polyglot manuscript were not given to Mr. Romer, but the first fifteen pages of the Bundahis were substituted for them. The portion extant (pp. 16-143) contains all four versions of Chaps. I, 28-V, 57, with the Sanskrit and Persian versions of Chap. I, 25-27, and the Pahlavi and Pâzand versions of Chap. V, 58-62; and the latter two versions are everywhere interlined with a transliteration in Persian characters. This manuscript is modern and of no particular critical value; but, as the combination of the four versions is rare, if not unique, it would be very desirable to discover the rest of the manuscript.

In another manuscript, No. 18 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library at Paris, the reproduced Pahlavi text has the usual Pâzand version written above it. This manuscript, which is in the form of a roll, begins at the same point as L15 (see p. xxix) and ends with Chap. V, 95, which is said to be the usual extent of other manuscripts of this class in India. A copy of this manuscript is No. 23 of the Müller Collection in the State Library at Munich.

An extension of the same reproduced Pahlavi text, with the Pâzand version written above it, and alternating with the Sanskrit version, is contained in K28, No. 28 of the Irânian manuscripts in the University Library at Copenhagen. It is an imperfect octavo manuscript, of which only 66 folios remain, written eleven lines to the page, and, in its present state, it is undated, but seems to be fully 150 years old. The portions of the text that it still contains are only Chaps. I, 1-II, 8; III, 1-25; III, 36-IV, 106; VIII, 103-IX, 16; IX, 30-X, 13; X, 71-XI, 28; XI, 55-61; so that more than half the text that ought to be included within its extreme limits is missing; but its original extent, within the same limits, was more than double the usual length of the reproduced Pahlavi text, as stated above. In this particular, of unusual length, only one other manuscript of that text seems to be known in India that resembles it, in addition to the imperfect copy next described. K28 contains Nêryôsang's usual Sanskrit introduction (see p. xxxiii), and differs from the oldest Pâzand manuscript AK in only two or three instances, and these variations can be explained as corrections made on the authority of the Sanskrit version.

An imperfect and modern copy of the Pahlavi-Pâzand-Sanskrit texts is also contained in twenty-two folios prefixed to AK (described below). This copy commences with Nêryôsang's Sanskrit introduction, and includes only Chaps. I, 1-IV, 100 and X, 71-XI, 47. Its writer has intended to give the three versions in successive sentences, but, after Chap. I, 23, the Pâzand and Sanskrit sentences are less and less frequently written, till they cease altogether after I, 43, with the exception of one or two isolated sections. In

several cases he has also substituted the correct abstract suffix -îh for the usual incorrect -îk, but this correction is generally confined to abstract nouns in common use.

As none of these Pahlavi manuscripts can be considered otherwise than as reproductions from the Pâzand, it is to the Pâzand-Sanskrit version of Nêryôsang that we must still look for the nearest approach to the original text of the work. It is in this version, too, that we find the greatest extent of text still extant, although the Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr seems to possess the peculiarity of wearying out all its copyists at some point or other, so that not only is there no complete copy of the work known, but also nearly every copyist has stopped his work at a different place.

The oldest known manuscript of the Pâzand-Sanskrit version belongs to Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji of Poona, and is called AK, because it is supposed to have been written by Âsadîn, son of Kâkâ. In its present state this manuscript consists of seventy-seven small quarto folios of very old, discoloured, Indian paper, written sixteen lines to the page, and containing the Pâzand version in short sentences, alternating with a word-for-word Sanskrit translation of each sentence; the Sanskrit being written upside down, for the sake of forming a continuous line with the reversely-written Avesta characters of the Pâzand. From other manuscripts it is known that this Pâzand-Sanskrit version was compiled by Nêryôsang, son of Dhaval, but in this manuscript his usual Sanskrit introduction is lost with the first three folios of the text, and the existing seventy-seven folios contain only Chaps. I, 16–XI, 145. As this extends only one folio beyond the middle of the whole of the text that is extant, it is supposed that this old manuscript was divided into two nearly equal moieties on the occasion of some division of property, of which the earlier moiety has been preserved, and the later one either lost, or destroyed, or buried in some inaccessible library.

In consequence of the imperfect state of this manuscript it bears no date, but an old Sanskrit colophon has been copied by the writer of JE (one of the more modern manuscripts that are evidently derived from AK through one or

more intermediate copies), and this may be fairly assumed to be the colophon of AK. This colophon may be translated as follows:—‘In the *Samvat* year 1625, in the current *Sāka year* 1490, on the present day (?), the fourth day *Shahrivar* of the eleventh month *Bahman*, in the district of *Nāga-maṇḍala*¹, in the royal reign of king *Sulṭān Muthaffar-shāh*, the book named *Sikand-gūmānik Vigār* is written, for the use of *Amalshāh Kāngashāh*², by the priest *Āsadīn*³, son of the priest *Kākā*. May it become auspicious! may it be beneficial!’

The date indicated by this colophon seems to correspond to the 23rd September 1568⁴, but it may, of course, be doubted whether it originally belonged to AK, because the text to which it is appended in JE is incomplete. If it were attached to AK, the text in that manuscript must either have been originally incomplete, or some of the later folios must have been lost, while the last one, containing the colophon, was still preserved. If it did not belong to AK, it must have belonged to some later manuscript, because there is no doubt that JE has descended from AK, and could not, therefore, contain the colophon of an older manuscript than AK, unless it had been written in AK itself, or obtained in an irregular manner from some unrecorded source. For these reasons there seems little doubt that AK was written either in 1568, or earlier; and the general appearance of its folios favours this assumption. So far as it extends this is the best manuscript of the *Sikand-gūmānik Vigār* that is known to exist, and the present translation has, therefore, been based upon its texts,

¹ Probably an old name of *Nausārī*.

² This *Kāngashāh* was probably a grandson of the *Kāngashāh* at whose instigation the Parsis in India carried on a correspondence with those in Persia in A.D. 1478–81, which is still preserved in the Persian *Rivāyats*. And his father may have been the *Mānekshāh Kāngashāh* who was the head of the Parsi laymen in *Nausārī* in 1531, when he was 70 years old, as appears from the *Hādesā Nāmu* (Bombay, 1831).

³ In a *Gugarāti* memorandum, recently appended to JE, it is stated that the colophon of a *Yasna Sādah*, written in A.D. 1572 or 1576, gives the pedigree of this copyist as follows:—*Āsadīn*, son of *Kākā*, son of *Dharpāl*, son of *Lakhmidar*, son of *Mōbad Kāmdīn*, son of *Zarātūst*, son of *Mōbad Hormazdyār*, son of *Rāmyār*.

⁴ Or it may be 1569, as the *Sāka* date has been altered from 1491 into 1490.

which are, no doubt, very nearly in the same state as when edited by Nêryôsang ; the Sanskrit version, especially, is far more correct than in the later copies. Many of the Pâzand sections in Chaps. V–VIII are written in Pahlavi only, or in Pahlavi with the Pâzand written above it ; but, in all cases, this Pahlavi is as corrupt as that of the reproduced Pahlavi manuscripts.

The most complete manuscripts of the Pâzand-Sanskrit version are JJ and JE, of which JJ is the oldest and best, but it has not yet been thoroughly examined. It is a small quarto volume of 182 folios of Indian paper, written fifteen to seventeen lines to the page, and belongs to Dastûr Khurshêdji Jamshêdji of Nausârî. From certain blunders and peculiarities, which its writer has copied, it is certain that this manuscript has descended from AK, and, also, that it has derived a few variations from some other source. Its Sanskrit text is not written inverted, as it is in AK, and it commences with Nêryôsang's usual Sanskrit introduction, as translated in p. xx, but with the clause containing the names altered to the following effect :—' This book, named Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, is translated by me, Nêryôsang son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi language into the Sanskrit language, and written from the difficult Parsi letters with the Avesta letters, for the joyful understanding of the good listeners to instruction, the true-minded.' The texts in JJ are of the same extent as the translation in this volume, and are followed by a colophon in Persian, Sanskrit, and imperfect Pahlavi, which states that the manuscript was written by Dastûr Jamshêd, son of Jâmâsp, son of Âsâ, son of Frêdûn, inhabitants of Nausârî, and completed on the day Srôsh of the month Vohûman, A.Y. 1137 (corresponding to the 28th August 1768).

The other manuscript, JE, which is as complete as the translation in this volume, is a foolscap-folio volume of 132 folios, written eighteen lines to the page, and belongs to Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji of Poona. It corresponds very closely with JJ, but its Sanskrit (which is not written inverted) is rather more corrupt ; and it contains the same indications of descent from AK as that manuscript does,

with the same variations derived from some other source. It commences with Nêryôsang's usual Sanskrit introduction, and at the end of the text it has the old Sanskrit colophon translated above, and supposed to belong to AK. And this is followed by a Persian colophon, written on the day Hôrmazd of the month Bahman, A. Y. 1211 (corresponding to the 26th July 1842), and stating that this manuscript was copied from that of Âsadîn, son of Kâkâ, in Bombay, by Jamshêd, son of Edalji, son of Bahmanji, son of the writer of JJ. From this it might be too hastily assumed that the old manuscript AK was still complete as recently as 1842 ; but, if such were the case, it would be difficult to understand why Dastûr Hôshangji could learn nothing about its missing moiety some twenty-five years afterwards, when he made searching enquiries on the subject ; and it would be still more difficult to explain the variations in JE, already mentioned as derived from some other source than AK. It is more probable that the writer of JE found the old colophon of AK copied at the end of a more recent manuscript, which led him to believe that the latter was written by Âsadîn, son of Kâkâ.

That the first folio of AK had already been lost, considerably more than a century ago, appears from PB₃, No. 3 of the Burnouf Collection in the National Library at Paris, which was evidently copied from a copy of AK, and is certainly more than a century old, judging from the general appearance of the paper on which it is written. This manuscript, which was given to Burnouf by Mr. Mânekji Khurshêdji of Bombay, is a small octavo volume of 125 folios of Indian paper, written twelve to sixteen lines to the page, and contains the Pâzand-Sanskrit text of Chaps. I, 5-53, and II, 5-X, 66: the Sanskrit being written upside down, as in AK. The loss of Nêryôsang's Sanskrit introduction and Chap. I, 1-4 of the text indicates that the first folio of AK was already missing when the original of PB₃ was copied, and several lacunae in the earlier folios, which have been filled up in red ink from some other source, indicate the torn condition of the earlier folios of AK. The loss of Chaps. I, 54-II, 4 is due to two folios

being absent between folios 11 and 12 of PB₃; and after Chap. X, 66 all further folios have been lost. In some sections in Chaps. VI and VIII, where the Pāzand text is written above its Pahlavi equivalent in AK, much confusion has been occasioned in PB₃ by reading the Pāzand and Pahlavi versions as two successive lines of text; and it is evident that this confusion originated in some manuscript intermediate between AK and PB₃, though it has been increased by further blundering on the part of the writer of PB₃ itself.

The Pāzand version of Nêryôsang also occurs in short sentences alternating with a Gugarâti translation in MH19, No. 19 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich. This manuscript, which was given to Haug by Dastûr Kai-Khusrô at Surat in 1864, is a small quarto of 124 folios of old Indian paper, of which the first 110 folios contain the Pāzand-Gugarâti version of Chaps. I, 1–XI, 201, written thirteen to nineteen lines to the page. Towards the latter end of the manuscript blank spaces are left for the Gugarâti version of many of the sections; and several of the passages that are written only in Pahlavi in AK are similarly written in MH19. From this and other peculiarities it is evident that MH19 has descended from AK, but probably through some intermediate manuscript that must have been written when AK was more complete than it is now. Judging from the appearance of the paper of MH19 it can hardly be less than 150 years old, but it contains no date or colophon of any description.

Another manuscript, which contains a large portion of the Pāzand version of Nêryôsang, without his Sanskrit translation, is L23, No. 23 in the India Office Library in London. It is an octavo volume of eighty folios of Indian paper, written ten to twelve lines to the page, in the same handwriting as L15 and L26 (see p. xxix), which last manuscript contains a date corresponding to A. D. 1737. L23 contains the Pāzand text of Chaps. I, 34–VIII, 23, and many of the passages written in Pahlavi in AK are similarly written in L23, which indicates the descent of the latter manuscript

from the former; an indication which is confirmed by the repetition of other peculiarities.

From this account of all the manuscripts of the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr*, that have been examined by the translator, it appears probable that no manuscript independent of AK has yet been discovered. The few variations which indicate another source can easily be explained as emendations by some later copyist, who had noticed, or imagined, some deficiencies in the text of that manuscript.

The *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* has not been hitherto translated into any European language, but an edition of its Pâzand and Pahlavi texts was prepared by Dastûr Hôshangji about fifteen years ago, and arrangements have been made for the publication of these texts, with the Sanskrit version, at an early date.

3. THE SAD DAR.

As its name implies the *Sad Dar* is a treatise on 'a hundred subjects' connected with the Zoroastrian religion. The word *dar*, literally 'door, or gate,' being also applied to the 'chapters' of a book, and to the 'matters, or subjects,' of which it treats. This work is not a Pahlavi text, being written in Persian with an admixture of about four per cent. of Arabic words; it is, however, more quoted than any other work by the Parsi compilers of the Persian *Rivâyats*, or religious 'traditions,' in the seventeenth century. In one of its recensions it is also found written in Avesta characters, and the Avesta-Persian sentences alternate with an old Gugarâti translation, in imitation of the Pâzand-Sanskrit versions of Pahlavi texts compiled by Nêryôsang. In consideration of the existence of this pseudo-Pâzand recension, together with the general acceptance of the work as an important authority, and its being a convenient summary of many of the religious customs handed down by Pahlavi writers, this work may be offered as a suitable appendix to the true Pahlavi texts, connecting them with

the Persian writings that are too modern to be accepted as authorities in religious matters.

The Sad Dar NaThr, or prose Sad Dar, which is here translated, appears to be first mentioned in the introduction to the Sad Dar-i Ba'hr-i Tavîl¹, or long-metre Sad Dar, in which the versifier states that the prose Sad Dar was compiled by three celebrated high-priests, named Mēdyômāh, Vardast, and Siyāvakhsh, near the time of the Arab conquest of Persia. This, however, really means little more than that the prose Sad Dar was considered a very old work at the time when the long-metre Sad Dar was composed from it. It appears, from Dastūr Jāmāspji's preface to his Gugarāti translation of the long-metre Sad Dar, that this metrical version was composed in A.D. 1531 by Mullā Rustam Isfendiyār of Khurāsān and Mullā Behzād Rustam². It may, therefore, be concluded that the prose Sad Dar had the reputation of being a very old work in the early part of the sixteenth century.

Another version of the work, called the Sad Dar NaThm, or metrical Sad Dar, had already been composed in Kirmān by Īrān-shāh³, son of Malik-shāh, as early as the 14th October, A. D. 1495. In his introduction he does not mention the source whence he drew his information, though he speaks of 'renovating the old mysteries,' but whether this phrase refers to the old prose Sad Dar, which he must undoubtedly have used, or to the original Pahlavi sources of that work, is uncertain. A Latin translation of this metrical Sad Dar was published by Hyde, in his History of the Religion of the Ancient Persians⁴.

The contents of the Sad Dar are of a very miscellaneous character, and are not very systematically arranged. They treat of a great variety of duties and customs, but all from a strictly religious point of view, though the work is evidently

¹ See Sad-dare Behere Tavîl, translated into Gugarāti by Dastūr Jāmāspji Minochiharji Jāmāsp-Āsā-nā; 2nd edition; Bombay, 1881.

² Possibly a son of the preceding Mullā. In the preface to his second edition Dastūr Jāmāspji calls him Rustam Behzād.

³ So stated in his introduction, but in his postscript (as printed by Hyde) he calls himself Mard-shah.

⁴ Historia religionis veterum Persarum (Oxon. 1700), p. 433.

intended rather for the guidance of the laity than for the information of the priesthood. The almost total absence of any reference to government or national life, other than complete submission to priestly control, seems to indicate a period of subjection to men of another faith, too dangerous, or too odious, to be mentioned, unless it were to forbid all voluntary social intercourse with them, as in Chap. XXXVIII. The allusions to the existing scarcity of priests in Chap. LVIII, 12, and to a rigorous levying of poll-tax in Chap. LX, 7, might also give some clue to the period when the work was compiled, if we were better acquainted with the minute details of Parsi history. Where temporal penalties for crimes are prescribed (as in Chaps. IX, LXIV) they were, no doubt, such as were recognised by the government of the time; and, in such matters, change of government has altered the law. Some other customs have also probably changed to some extent, but by far the greater part of the rules and duties prescribed in this work are still in force, though they may not be always very strictly attended to.

Of the numerous quotations from the sacred books, which the *Sad Dar* contains, only a few can be identified, and nearly all of these are in the form of translations which are merely paraphrases of the original texts. Avesta passages are quoted from the *Vendîdâd* and *Yasna* in Chap. XIV, 3, and from an unknown section of the *Hâdôkht Nask* in XL, 4. The commentary of the *Vendîdâd* is six times quoted by name, but only four of the passages¹ have been identified; and an unknown passage is quoted from the commentary of the *Hâdôkht* in Chap. XXII, 3, 4, and three others² from the commentary of the Avesta. Four statements are said to be 'declared in the good religion,' but have not been identified; and out of thirty quotations from 'revelation' only five have been identified, of which those in Chaps. LXXII, 2, 3, LXXXII, 2 belong to the *Vendîdâd*, and those in IV, 3-11, XVI, 3, XVIII, 3 belong to the *Spend Nask*, which is no longer extant. The large

¹ Chaps. XII, 3-5, LXVII, 3-6, LXXI, 2, 3, LXXXVI, 2.

² Chaps. XXVIII, 4, XCIV, 3, 4, XCVII, 3.

proportion of quotations that cannot be now identified, or are no longer extant, is a strong argument in favour of the work being several centuries older than the oldest manuscripts in which it is now found.

The translation of the prose *Sad Dar*, published in this volume, is based upon the text of *La*, the oldest manuscript of the work with which the translator is acquainted. This is No. 3043 of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library in London, which was presented to the East India Company's Library, on the 31st August 1837, by Mr. J. Romer, who had brought it from India, most probably from Surat. This manuscript is an octavo volume, containing 144 folios of light-brown Indian paper which may be as much as three centuries old. The volume was last bound and repaired some time subsequent to 1818, as several English foolscap fly-leaves bear that date as a water-mark. Its Persian text has the peculiarity of being written in Avesta characters, in short sentences alternating with an old Gugarâti translation in Devanâgarî characters which, for the sake of running in a continuous line with the reversely-written Avesta-Persian, is written upside down; each page containing generally thirteen lines. This Avesta-Persian is not Pâzand, either in verbal forms or syntactical arrangement, but its orthography is as irregular and uncertain as in most Pâzand texts written in Avesta characters. The text commences with a Sanskrit introduction, copied verbatim from that used by Nêryôsang as a preface to all his Pâzand-Sanskrit texts (see p. xx), with the clause containing the names altered as follows:—‘This book, named *Sad Dar*, is brought together by me, the priest Râma, son of Kanhaksha, *and* translated from the Parsi language into the Gugar language, and written from the difficult Parsi letters with the Avesta letters by his son, the priest Padama.’ And this preface is followed by the Pâzand invocation that commences the Persian introduction, as translated on p. 255; which introduction contains a passage (§ 6) probably interpolated in the prose *Sad Dar* after the composition of the metrical version.

The last chapter of the text in *La* is followed by two

Persian couplets in Avesta characters, with their translation in Gugarâti; and, after a few more verses in Sanskrit, the colophon concludes with Sanskrit to the following effect :—
 'In the *Samvat* year 1631, the ninth *day* in the light half of *the month Gyaishtha*, on Wednesday, the Uttarâ [Ashâdhâ?] lunar mansion; in the *Parsi Samvat* year 944, the 27th day Âsmân, the sixth month Shahrîvar [18th May 1575]¹, the Uzayêirina period (the afternoon), the book *Sad Dar* is completely written *by* an inhabitant of Bhrigu-kakkha². Brought together by the priest Râma, son of Kanhaksha, and written in the handwriting of the priest Padama, his son, the book *Sad Dar* is completed. Written, by another, for the purpose of reading *and* for the purpose of reciting by Hîrâka of the good religion, son of . . .³ of the good religion, and also by Âdaraka of the good religion, son of Gâyâ of the good religion; may it become auspicious and beneficial!' Followed by 'may it be healthful! may it be excellent! so may it be! *and* more so may it be!' in Pâzand.

It is possible that this colophon may have been copied from an older manuscript, but there are certainly some reasons for supposing that La is the original manuscript completed in 1575. In the first place, the appearance of the paper, on which it is written, favours such a supposition, and enquiries, made in Bombay, have not succeeded in discovering the existence of any other copy of this recension. Again, there are a few defects and inconsistencies in the Gugarâti translation which are best explained by supposing that the translation was made at the time this manuscript was written. Thus, the greater part of Chap. LXXIII, after having been written on one side of a folio, is repeated by mistake on the other side of the same folio with several variations, most of which are alterations in the Gugarâti translation, as if the writer were making the trans-

¹ As the manuscript was written in India, the calendar used would be the Rasmî one.

² The old name of Bhrôk.

³ This name, with one or two epithets, has to be extracted from the corrupt Sanskrit compound gnâtivyavyagihilââ.

lation at the time when he wrote it. Also, in Chap. LXXVII, a blank having been left for some illegible word in the Avesta-Persian text, a similar blank has been left in the Gugarâti translation, although it is hardly possible that any mere copyist would have found the same word illegible in both versions.

With regard to the source whence the Avesta-Persian text of La was derived, there can be little doubt that it was originally transliterated from a manuscript written in the Perso-Arabic character, as there are several blunders in La which can be best explained as owing to the mutual resemblance of certain letters in that character. Thus, the fact that the modern Persian letters b, n, t, y differ only in the number and position of certain dots, which are sometimes omitted or misplaced, accounts for such blunders as bâ and yâ for tâ, khâna for 'kâyah. While, owing to similar resemblances, the transliterator has written kustî for gêtî, muluk for balkih, guza for gôsh, and having been doubtful, in one place, whether to read rôz or zôr, he has written both words, one above the other.

Somewhat more recent than this Avesta-Persian manuscript is Lp, No. 2506 of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library in London, which was presented to the Library by Mr. J. Romer at the same time as La. This manuscript is a small octavo volume, in which the prose Sad Dar occupies the first forty-six folios of Indian paper, written generally fifteen lines to the page in the Perso-Arabic character. In its present state it contains no date, the last folio of the colophon being lost, but the paper is not much newer than that of La. The colophon is written in the Avesta character, and is to the following effect:—‘This book is the book Sad Dar, a Nask of the religion of Zarathustra, the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. *These* hundred questions of the proper and improper are extracted from this good *religion* of the Mazda-worshippers, and Îrân-shâh, son of Yazad-yâr, . . . ;’ the rest being lost.

Another important copy of the Persian text of the prose Sad Dar is contained in B29, a two-volume, quarto Rivâyat,

No. 29 in the Bombay University Library. In this Rivâyat, or miscellany of traditional lore, the prose Sad Dar occupies fourteen folios (17-30) in the first volume, each page containing twenty-one closely-written lines. The Persian colophon at the end of the last chapter is to the following effect:—‘This book of the prose Sad Dar is completed on the day Âstâd of the auspicious month Daî of the year 1048 of Yazdagard, the king of kings of happy Îrân, of the race of Sâsân. And the writer of the lines *am* I, the servant of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, the priestly-born priest Dârâb, son of the priest Hormazyâr, son of Qavâmu-d-dîn, son of Kaî-Qubâd, son of Hormazyâr¹ of the surname Sangânâ, of the family of the priest Nêryôsang Dhaval.’ The date mentioned in this colophon corresponds to the 28th September 1679, new style.

A third copy of the Persian text is contained in J15, a small quarto volume, No. 15 in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay. In this volume the prose Sad Dar occupies the last thirty-six folios, and is written thirteen lines to the page, but is not dated. This manuscript has been consulted in only a few passages, and usually where the other copies differ considerably.

Regarding the variations in the text of these manuscripts it will be noticed, on reference to the foot-notes to the translation, that there is usually considerable agreement among the three Persian manuscripts (Lp, B29, J15²) when they differ from the Avesta-Persian text of La. In a few cases the text of La is undoubtedly defective, and then Lp or B29 may perhaps supply the original reading which has come down to them through some collateral line of descent. But, in the great majority of instances, their variations (especially those of B29) seem to be intended either to make the text more intelligible, or to correct some statement that the copyist thought doubtful. That none of these three manuscripts is derived from La is proved by the fact that they all contain a passage (Chap. XIX, 4-6) which

¹ A variation of this pedigree has already been quoted in p. xxiv.

² Allowing for the fact that this last has been only occasionally used.

the writer of La has omitted by mistake. There is, however, more agreement with La to be found in Lp than in the other two manuscripts.

The arrangement of the chapters in La is confused by the accidental combination of a portion of Chap. XLVIII with a portion of Chap. L, while Chap. XLIX, omitted in its proper place, has been subsequently added at the end of the work. In Lp Chap. XLIX follows Chap. LIII, and, Chaps. L and LV being omitted, the full number of a hundred chapters is obtained by repeating Chaps. XLIX and C at the end of the work. As this confusion in Lp occurs in the same portion of the work as that in La, though it differs somewhat in its details, and as it has been shown above that Lp cannot have been derived from La, it is reasonable to suppose that La and Lp were both derived from some older manuscript, in which some portion of the middle of the work had been omitted or lost, and that the writers of La and Lp adopted different modes of supplying the deficiency from other manuscripts. This confusion does not occur in B29 and J15, which two manuscripts agree in arranging the chapters as they are placed in this volume; they must, therefore, be derived from the original prose Sad Dar through some collateral line of descent, independent of the manuscript in which the confusion originated.

In the metrical Sad Dar nine of the later chapters are scattered about among the earlier ones, thus the 82nd chapter occurs next after the 16th, the 83rd after the 23rd, the 84th after the 24th, the 85th after the 27th, the 86th after the 57th, the 87th after the 58th, the 88th after the 70th, the 89th after the 72nd, and the 90th after the 73rd. And, besides this variation, a chapter about the advantage of daily ceremonies in honour of the guardian spirits follows the 65th chapter, a very long chapter about the season festivals is substituted for the 93rd chapter, and the 100th chapter is omitted.

So far as five of the scattered chapters (85-89) are concerned, the reason for their change of position was probably to bring them into closer connection with other chapters treating of similar subjects; but this explanation will not

apply to the remaining four chapters (82–84, 90). It might be argued that the more methodical arrangement of the five chapters (85–89) favours the supposition that the metrical Sad Dar may be older than the prose one, but, independent of the fact that this argument does not apply to the four other chapters, it is quite as reasonable to suppose that the later editor would endeavour to improve the arrangement of his text, and to remedy whatever he thought defective. The pre-existence of the prose Sad Dar may be fairly assumed on the positive evidence afforded by the statement of the long-metre Sad Dar, mentioned in p. xxxvii, in default of any clear statement by the author of the metrical Sad Dar as to the originality of his work.

Since the above was written, the translator has had an opportunity of examining a Persian text of the prose Sad Dar, written in Persia by Rustam Gustâsp Ardashîr, and completed on the 19th July 1706. In this manuscript, the introductory chapter is practically the same as in La, with a few variations. Thus, the invocation in § 1 is as follows:—‘In the name of the sacred being, administering justice. The beginning of the book Sad Dar; may it be a good gift!’ And § 6 runs as follows:—‘On this occasion I, Bahman, a servant of the religion, *am* confirmed by the book of the môbad of môbads Îrân-shâh, son of Yazad-yâr, son of Tistar-yâr, son of Âdar-bâd, so that every one who reads *it* and orders duty *to be done* brings a reward to the souls of those *persons*.’ The arrangement of the chapters is the same as in the metrical Sad Dar¹, and the text differs from La in many more small details than in B29; it often inserts additional sentences, and is generally more diffuse, without giving more information to the reader. The Avesta of the passage quoted in Chapter XL, 4 is omitted, and only the first three words of that quoted in Chapter XIV, 3 are given. Notwithstanding their numerous variations, the resemblance of Bahman’s text to that of La is too great

¹ As far as the long chapter about the season festivals (see p. xliii), but this is subdivided into six chapters (one for each festival) which conclude the work. The same arrangement also occurs in the Gugarâti translation of the long-metre Sad Dar.

to permit the assumption that they are two different prose versions of Îrân-shâh's metrical Sad Dar. It seems more probable that Bahman merely collated the prose Sad Dar with the metrical version, and made many alterations in the former to bring it into closer correspondence with the latter. This manuscript, therefore, throws no fresh light upon the origin of the prose version in La, but, as it confirms the fact that the Îrân-shâh whose name occurs in the introductory chapter was a son of Yazad-yâr, it raises a doubt whether this was the same person as the Îrân-shâh, son of Malik-shâh (or Mard-shah), who composed the metrical version.

In conclusion, it is desirable to notice that another Persian work exists, similar in form and character to the Sad Dar, but entirely distinct in its details, which is usually called the Sad Dar Bundahis. A complete copy of it is contained in Anquetil's Old Rivâyat in the National Library in Paris, and it is frequently quoted in the Bombay Rivâyat (B29) mentioned in p. xli. In this latter manuscript its name is written صد در بند هوش twenty-five times, صد در بند هوش eighteen times, and صد در بند هُش thrice. And the only plausible reading applicable to all these three forms is Sad Darband-i Hush (or Hûsh), 'the hundred door-bolts of the understanding,' a very possible name for a book. The Sad Dar Bundahis is, therefore, most probably a misnomer.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Acc. for accusative case; A.D. for Anno Domini; Âf. for Âfrîngân; AK for Âsadîn Kâkâ's MS. of Sg.; Aog. for Aogemadaêâ, ed. Geiger; app. for appendix; Ar. for Arabic; AV. for the Book of Arzâ-Vîrâf, ed. Hôshangji and Haug; Av. for Avesta; A.Y. for Anno Yazdagardi; B29 for Persian Rivâyat MS. No. 29 of the Bombay University Library; Bd. and Byt. for Bundahis and Bahman Yast, as translated in vol. v of this series; BM. for No. 22,378 additional Oriental MS. in the British Museum; Chap. for chapter; Dan. for Daniel; Dd. for Dâzistân-i Dînîk, as translated in vol. xviii of this series; Deut. for Deuteronomy; ed. for edition or edited by; Ep. for Epistles of Mânusêihar, as translated in vol. xviii of this series; Ex. for Exodus; Eze. for Ezekiel; fol. for folio; Gen. for Genesis; Gesch. Pers. Sas. for Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden; Gôt. gel. Anz. for Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen; Haug's Essays for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by M. Haug, 2nd ed.; Heb. for Hebrew; Hn. for Hâzôkht Nask, as published with AV.; Huz. for Huzvâris; introd. for introduction; Is. for Isaiah; J15 for Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji's MS. No. 15 of Sd.; JE for Jamshêdji Edalji's MS. of Sg.; JJ for Jamshêdji Jâmâspji's MS. of Sg.; Jos. for Joshua; J. R. A. S. for Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; K22, K23, K28, K43 for Iranian MSS. Nos. 22, 23, 28, 43 in the University Library at Copenhagen; L15, L19, L23, L26 for Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. Nos. 15, 19, 23, 26 in the India Office Library in London; La, Lp for Persian MSS. Nos. 3043 and 2506 in the same library; Mat. for Matthew; MH7, MH10, MH19 for MSS. Nos. 7, 10, 19 of the Haug Collection in the State Library in Munich; Mkh. for Maînôg-i Khirad, as translated in this volume; MS. for manuscript; n. for foot-note; Na. for Nahum; Nêr. for Nêryôsang; Num. for Numbers; Ost. Kul. for Ostîrânische Kultur im Altertum, von W. Geiger; p. for page; PA10 for MS. No. 10 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library in Paris; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; PB3, PB6 for MSS. Nos. 3, 6 of the Burnouf Collection in the National Library at Paris; Pers. for Persian; Ps. for Psalms; R. for Mr. Romer's polyglot MS. of Sg. (see p. 116); Rev. for Revela-

tion; Rom. for Romans; Sam. for Samuel; Sans. for Sanskrit; Sd. for Sad Dar, as translated in this volume; Sg. for Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, as translated in this volume; Sîr. for Sîrôzah; Sls. for Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, as translated in vol. v of this series; Syr. for Syriac; TD₂ for Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji's MS. of Pahl. Mkh.; Vend. for Vendîdâd; vol. for volume; Yas. for Yasna; Yt. for Yast; Zarat. for Zaratûst; Zor. Stud. for Zoroastrische Studien, von Windischmann.

DÎNÂ-Î MAÎNÔG-Î KHIRAD,

OR

OPINIONS

OF THE

SPIRIT OF WISDOM.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The division into chapters corresponds with the beginnings of the questions, and the sections are divided according to the alternating Pâzand-Sanskrit text of Nêryôsang.

2. Italics are used for any English words that are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Italics occurring in Oriental words, or names, represent certain peculiar Oriental letters (see the 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets' at the end of this volume). The italic *d*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *s* like *sh*, and *z* like French *j*.

4. In Pahlavi words the only vowels expressed in the original text are those circumflexed, initial *a*, and the letter *ö*; italic *d* is written like *t*, *r* and *l* like *n* or the Avesta *o*, *v* and *z* like *g*, and *zd* like *â* in the Pahlavi character.

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. For the meanings of the abbreviations used in the notes, see the end of the Introduction.

7. The manuscripts mentioned are:—

K43 (written A. D. 1569) Pahlavi, No. 43 in the University Library at Kopenhagen; upon the text of which, so far as it extends, this translation is based.

L19 (written A. D. 1520) Pâz.-Sans., No. 19 in the India Office Library at London.

MH7 (written A. D. 1809) Pârsî-Pers., No. 7 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

MH10, a Persian Rivâyat, No. 10 of the same Collection.

PA10 (written A. D. 1649) Pâz.-Sans., No. 10 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library at Paris.

PB6, Pâz.-Sans., No. 6 of the Burnouf Collection in the same library.

TD2, Pahlavi, belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay; upon a copy of which this translation chiefly relies in the passages (XIV, 1-XXVII, 49 and XXXIX, 31-XL, 17) missing from K43.



DÎNÂ-Î MAÎNÔG-Î KHIRAD.

THROUGH the name and power and assistance of the creator Aûharmazd, the archangels *who are* good rulers and good performers, and all the angels of the spiritual and the angels of the worldly *existences*, by a happy dispensation (dahisn) and well-omened we write the Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom through the will of the sacred beings¹.

CHAPTER I².

[1. In the name and *for* the propitiation of the all-benefiting creator Aûharmazd, (2) of all the angels of the spiritual and worldly creations, (3) *and* of the learning of learnings, the Mazda-worshipping

¹ This heading is prefixed to the original Pahlavi text in K43, a facsimile of which was published by Andreas in 1882; as, however, the text which follows it, in that codex, begins in the middle of Chap. I, 28, this heading must have been composed by some copyist, after the first folio of the text had been lost from some previous copy. It is, therefore, doubtful whether the name he gives to the work, 'Opinions (or decisions) of the Spirit of Wisdom,' be the original title, or not; but it is, at any rate, preferable to the modern appellation, 'the Spirit of Wisdom.' In Pâzand this title is Mainyô-i Khard; but regarding the Pahlavi word maînôg, see the Introduction.

² The beginning of this chapter, enclosed in brackets, as far as § 28 (being lost from the Pahlavi text of K43, and no copy of it from TD2 being available) is here taken from the Pâzand version contained in L19. The division into sections, adopted throughout, is that of the alternating Pâz.-Sans. text of Nêryôsang.

religion, (4) forth from which this, *which* is such a source of wisdom, is a selector¹. 5. Through the glory and will of the creator Aûharmazd—who is promoting the prosperity of the two existences²—(6) and of all the greatly powerful angels, (7) and *through* the completely calm repose of the sacred beings, the princely³, purpose-fulfilling sages, (8) presentations of various novelties for the appropriation of wisdom, (9) through largely acquiring reasoning thought⁴, are most wholesome for the body and soul *in* the two existences.

10. As in the pure marvel of marvels, the unquestionable and well-betokened good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, by the words of the creator, Aûharmazd, and Zaratûst the Spîtamân⁵, it is in

¹ That is, this work is a selection of wisdom from the religion. The Pâz. *vas* is a misreading of Pahl. *agas*, 'from it,' which is identical in form with Pahl. *afas*, the correct equivalent of Pâz. *vas*.

² This world and the next.

³ The angels are here compared to the *vâspûharakân*, the highest class of Sasanian nobles, called *barbêtân*, 'sons of the house,' in Huzvârîs (see Nöldeke's *Gesch. Pers. Sas.* pp. 71, 501). As these nobles ranked next to the royal house, so do the archangels and angels rank next to Aûharmazd. The title *vâspûhar* is evidently connected with the ancient Pers. equivalent of Av. *vîsô* *puthra*, 'son of the village or town,' which, as Darmesteter points out (*Études Iraniennes*, II, p. 140), is used in Vend. VII, 114 as the title of a person who has to pay the same medical fees as the *zantu-paiti*, 'tribe-ruler,' mentioned in the earlier § 108, and who must, therefore, have been a man of equal rank.

⁴ Reading *vîrmat*, both here and in § 13, instead of the Pâz. *nîrmað*, which is a misreading of the same letters.

⁵ Av. Zarathustra Spitama, the great apostle of the Mazda-worshippers, whose conversations with Ahura Mazda (Pahl. Aûharmazd) constitute a considerable portion of the Avesta, or scripture of the Mazda-worshippers.

many places decided, (11) that he, who is the all-good creator, created these creatures through wisdom, (12) and his maintenance of the invisible revolutions¹ is through wisdom; (13) and the imperishable and undisturbed *state*, in that which is immortality *for* ever and everlasting, he reserves for himself by means of the most deliberative² means of wisdom. 14. For the same reason *it* is declared, (15) that *there* was a sage who said, (16) that 'if this be known, that the religion of the sacred beings (*yazdân*) is truth, and *its* law is virtue, and *it* is desirous of welfare and compassionate as regards the creatures, (17) wherefore are *there* mostly many sects, many beliefs, and many original evolutions³ of mankind? 18. And, especially, that which is a sect, law, and belief, causing harm to the property (*khêl*) of the sacred beings⁴, and is not good? 19, 20⁵. And this, too, *one has* to consider, that, in order to become a chooser in this matter, trouble is to be undergone; (21) and it is necessary to become acquainted with this matter, (22) because, in the end, the body is mingled with the dust, and reliance is on the soul. 23. And every one is to undergo trouble for the soul, (24) and is to become acquainted with duty and good works; (25) because that good work which a man does unwittingly is little of a good work, (26) and that sin which a man

¹ Of the spheres, or firmaments, which are supposed to carry along the heavenly bodies.

² Reading *vîrmat-hômandtûm*.

³ Reading *bûn gast* (see Sg. IV, 73 n).

⁴ It may be questioned whether this allusion to a heterodox religion injuring the property of the orthodox faith is sufficient to identify the former with Muhammadanism.

⁵ These two sections are improperly separated by *Nêryôsang*.

commits unwittingly amounts to a sin in *its* origin¹. 27. And *it* is declared by the Avesta² (28) thus:]
³“Nothing *was* taken by him by whom the soul *was* not taken (29) hitherto, and he takes nothing who does not take the soul (30) henceforward likewise⁴; (31) because the spiritual and worldly *existences* are such-like as⁵ two strongholds, (32) one *it* is declared certain that they shall capture, and one it is not possible to capture.”’

33. After *being* replete *with* those good actions *of*⁶ which *it* is declared certain that it is not possible to capture, (34) and when he⁷ surveyed the incitement for this, (35) he started forth (*fravaftō*), in search of wisdom, into the various countries and various districts of this world; (36) and of the many⁸ religions and beliefs of those people who are superior in their wisdom he thought and enquired, and he investigated and came upon *their* origin⁹. 37. And when he saw that they are so mutually afflicting (*hanbêshin*) and inimical among

¹ The original text was, no doubt, *vinâs pavan bûn va/ yehe-vûnêd*, which would be *gunâh pa bun ô bahôd* in Pâzand; but L19 has omitted the *p* in *pa*, and Nêr. has mistaken the preposition *va/* for the pronoun *valman*, which blunders have misled the writers of later MSS. into a variety of inconsistent readings.

² The sacred literature of the Parsis in its original language.

³ The extant Pahlavi text of K43 commences at this point.

⁴ By this division of §§ 28–30 Nêr. found himself compelled to add another Sanskrit clause in explanation, which would have been unnecessary if he had separated them as here pointed.

⁵ K43 omits ‘as.’

⁶ L19 has ‘after those good actions of a store.’

⁷ The sage mentioned in § 15.

⁸ L19 has ‘every.’

⁹ L19 omits ‘origin,’ having merely *vagôst*, ‘investigated,’ instead of *bun gûstō*, ‘investigated the origin.’

one another, (38) he then knew that these religions and beliefs and diverse customs, which are so mutually afflicting among one another in this world, are not worthy to be from the appointment of the sacred beings; (39) because the religion of the sacred beings is truth, and *its* law is virtue. 40. And through this he became without doubt that, *as to* whatever¹ is not in this pure religion, *there* is then doubtfulness for them in everything, (41) and in every cause they see distraction.

42. After that he became more diligent in the enquiry and practice of religion; (43) and he enquired of the high-priests who have become wiser in² this religion and more acquainted *with* the religion, (44) thus: 'For the maintenance of the body *and* preservation of the soul what thing³ is good and more perfect?'

45. And they [spoke⁴], through the statement [from revelation, (46) thus: 'Of the⁵ benefit which happens to men] wisdom is good; (47) because it is possible to manage the worldly *existence* through wisdom⁶, (48) and it is possible to provide also the spiritual *existence* for oneself through the power of wisdom. 49. And this, too, is declared, that Aûhar-mazd has produced these creatures and creation, which are in the worldly *existence*, through innate

¹ L19 has 'every one who,' having read koîâ mûn instead of koîâ maman. The meaning, however, is that all details of foreign faiths that are not found in the Mazda-worshipping religion are doubtful.

² K43 has 'of,' by omitting pavan, 'in.'

³ L19 has 'what one thing.'

⁴ K43 omits the words in brackets, by mistake.

⁵ Sans. has 'this.'

⁶ L19 has 'through the power of wisdom.'

wisdom¹; (50) and the management of the worldly and spiritual *existences* is also through wisdom.'

51. And when, in that manner, he saw the great advantage and preciousness of wisdom, he became more thankful unto Aûharmazd, the lord, and the archangels of² the spirit of wisdom; (52) and he took³ the spirit of wisdom as a protection. 53. For the spirit of wisdom *one* is to perform more homage and service than *for* the remaining archangels. 54. And this, too, he knew, that it is possible to do for oneself every duty and good work and proper action through the power of wisdom; (55) and it is necessary to be diligent for the satisfaction of the spirit of wisdom. 56. And, thenceforward, he became more diligent in performing⁴ the ceremonial of the spirit of wisdom.

57. After that the spirit of wisdom, on account of the thoughts and wishes of that sage, displayed *his* person unto him. 58. And he spoke to him (59) thus: 'O friend *and* glorifier! good from perfect righteousness! (60) seek advancement from me, the spirit of wisdom, (61) that I may become thy guide to the satisfaction of the sacred beings and

¹ The âsnô khiraðô (Av. âsnô khratus) is 'the durable or innate wisdom' supposed to be implanted in one's nature, as distinguished from the Av. gaoshô-srûtô khratus, 'the ear-heard or acquired wisdom,' obtained by experience.

² That is, 'produced by' this spirit, as mentioned in § 49 regarding the world, and here extended to the archangels. L19 omits the particle î, so as to convert this spirit into the wisdom of Aûharmazd and the archangels. It is very probable, however, that we ought to read 'and the spirit of wisdom.'

³ L19 has 'made;,' these two verbs being written alike in Huzvâris.

⁴ L19 has 'to perform,' by omitting 'in.'

the good¹, and *to* the maintenance of the body in the worldly *existence* and the preservation of the soul in the spiritual *one*.'

CHAPTER II.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How is it possible to seek the maintenance and prosperity of the body [without injury of the soul, and the preservation of the soul without injury of the body²]?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Him who is less than thee consider as an equal, and an equal as a superior, (5) and a greater than him as a chieftain³, and a chieftain as a ruler. 6. And among rulers *one* is to be acquiescent, obedient, and true-speaking; (7) *and* among accusers⁴ be submissive, mild, and kindly regardful.

8. 'Commit no slander; (9) so that infamy and wickedness *may* not happen unto thee. 10. For it is said (11) that slander is more grievous than witchcraft; (12) and in hell the rush of every fiend⁵ is to the front, *but* the rush of the fiend of slander, on account of the grievous sinfulness, is to the rear.

13. 'Form no covetous desire; (14) so that the

¹ Meaning, specially, the priests.

² The passage in brackets is omitted by K43, and is here supplied from L19.

³ In L19 the text is corrupt, but has nearly the same meaning.

⁴ L19 has 'associates,' which seems equally appropriate; the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.

⁵ The word *drûg*, 'fiend,' is usually supposed to mean a female demon, and is often understood so in the Avesta, perhaps because it is a feminine noun. It is usually an impersonation of some evil passion (see Chap. XLI, 11).

demon of greediness *may* not deceive thee, (15) and the treasure of the world *may* not be tasteless to thee, and that of the spirit unperceived.

16. 'Indulge in no wrathfulness; (17) for a man, when he indulges in wrath, becomes then forgetful of his duty and good works, of prayer and the service of the sacred beings, (18) and sin and crime of every kind occur unto his mind, and¹ until the subsiding of the wrath (19) he² is said *to be* just like Aharman³.

20. 'Suffer no anxiety; (21) for he who is a sufferer of anxiety becomes regardless of enjoyment of the world and the spirit, (22) and contraction happens to his body and soul.

23. 'Commit no lustfulness; (24) so that harm and regret *may* not reach thee from thine own actions.

25. 'Bear no improper envy; (26) so that thy life *may* not become tasteless.

27. 'Commit no sin on account of [disgrace]⁴; (28) because happiness and adornment⁵, celebrity (khanîdîh) and dominion, skill and suitability are not through the will and action of men, but through the appointment, destiny, and will of the sacred beings.

29. 'Practise no sloth; (30) so that the duty and good work, which it is necessary for thee to do, *may* not remain undone.

31. 'Choose a wife who is of character; (32)

¹ L19 omits 'and.'

² L19 has 'wrath;' making § 19 a separate sentence.

³ The evil spirit, Av. angra mainyu.

⁴ K43 omits 'disgrace,' by mistake.

⁵ L19 omits 'adornment.'

because that *one* is good who in the end is more respected.

33. 'Commit no unseasonable chatter¹; (34) so that grievous distress *may* not happen unto Horvadað and Amerodað, the archangels², through thee.

35. 'Commit no running about uncovered³; (36) so that harm *may* not come upon thy bipeds and quadrupeds, and ruin upon *thy* children.

37. 'Walk not with one boot⁴; (38) so that grievous distress *may* not happen to thy soul.

¹ A free translation of the name of the sin which is usually called drâyân-gûyisnîh, 'eagerness for chattering'; here, however, K₄₃ omits the latter y, so that the name may be read drâyân-gaîsnîh, 'chatteringly devouring,' and a similar phrase is used in AV. XXIII, 6. The sin consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a murmured prayer (vâg) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out; the protective spell of the prayer being broken by such talking. If the prayer be not taken inwardly when it ought to be, the same sin is incurred (see Sls. V, 2, Dd. LXXIX, 8).

² Instead of amahrâspend, 'the archangel,' L₁₉ has Mâr-spend, the angel of the 'righteous liturgy;' but this is probably a misreading, due to the fact that, when the chattering interrupts prayer, the angel of the liturgy would be as much distressed as the archangels Horvadað and Amerodað, who protect water and vegetation (see Sls. XV, 25-29), would be when it interrupts eating and drinking. These archangels are personifications of Av. haurvatâð, 'completeness or health,' and ameretâð, 'immortality.'

³ That is, moving about without being girded with the Kustî or sacred thread-girdle, which must not be separated from the skin by more than one thin garment, the sacred shirt (see Sls. IV, 7, 8).

⁴ We should probably read 'without a boot,' as aê-mûkô and amûkô are much alike in Pahlavi; otherwise we must suppose that walking with only a single covering for the feet, and without outer boots, is meant. At any rate, walking or standing on unconsecrated ground with bare feet is a serious sin for a Parsi, on account of the risk of pollution (see Sls. IV, 12, X, 12).

39. 'Perform no discharge of urine (pêšâr-vâr) *standing* on foot¹; (40) so that thou mayst not become a captive by a habit of the demons, (41) and the demons may not drag thee to hell on account of that sin.

42. 'Thou shouldst be (yehevûnes) diligent and moderate, (43) and eat of thine own regular industry, (44) and provide the share of the sacred beings and the good; (45) and, thus, the practice of this, in thy occupation, is the greatest good work.

46. 'Do not extort from the wealth of others; (47) so that thine own regular industry *may* not become unheeded. 48. For it is said (49) that: "He who eats anything, not from his own regular industry, but from another, is such-like as *one* who holds a human head in *his* hand, and eats human brains."

50. 'Thou shouldst be an abstainer from the wives of others; (51) because all these three would become disregarded by thee, alike wealth, alike² body, and alike² soul.

52. 'With enemies fight with equity. 53. With a friend proceed with the approval of friends. 54. With a malicious³ man carry on no conflict, (55) and do not molest him in any way whatever. 56. With a greedy man thou shouldst not be a partner, (57) and do not trust him with the leadership. 58. With

¹ Whereby an unnecessary space of ground is polluted; hence the sin.

² K43 has hômanam, 'I am,' the Huzvâris of am, used by mistake for ham, 'alike,' which is written exactly like am in Pahlavi.

³ K43 has kîkvar, instead of kênvâr, but this is doubtless a miswriting.

a slanderous man do not go to the door of kings. 59. With an ill-famed man form no connection. 60. With an ignorant man thou shouldst not become a confederate and associate. 61. With a foolish man make no dispute. 62. With a drunken man do not walk on the road. 63. From an ill-natured man take no loan.

64. 'In thanksgiving unto the sacred beings, and worship, praise, ceremonies, invocation, and performing the learning of knowledge thou shouldst be energetic and life-expending. 65. For it is said (66) that: "In aid of the contingencies (*gahisnō*)¹ among men wisdom is good; (67) in seeking renown and preserving the soul liberality is good; (68) in the advancement of business and justice complete mindfulness is good; (69) and in the statements of those who confess (*khūstivân*)², with a bearing on the custom of the law³, truth is good. 70. In the progress of business energy is good, (71) for⁴ every one to become confident therein steadfastness is good, (72) and for the coming of benefit thereto thankfulness is good. 73. In keeping oneself untroubled (*anaṭrang*)⁵ the discreet speaking which is in the path of⁶ truth is good; (74) and in keeping away the disturbance of the destroyer⁷ from oneself employment is good. 75.

¹ L19 has *zahisn*, 'issue, proceedings.'

² L19 has read *aṭstikân*, 'the steadfast,' by mistake.

³ Reading *dâđō-khûk-barisnōihâ*. L19 has 'conveying intercession (*gâdaṅgô=dâđō-gôk*);' this small difference in reading may be a clerical error in K43. The Sans. version omits the phrase altogether.

⁴ L19 omits *pavan*, 'for.'

⁵ Nêr. has 'unblemished.'

⁶ L19 omits 'path of;' and it may possibly be superfluous.

⁷ Or it may be 'the destroyer and adversary,' as in L19; the last word being defective in K43.

Before rulers and kings discreet speaking is good, and in¹ an assembly good recital; (76) among friends repose and rational friends² are good; (77) and with an associate to one's own deeds the giving of advantage (sûkō) is good. 78. Among those greater than one (agas masân) mildness and humility are good, (79) and among those less than one flattery³ and civility are good. 80. Among doers of deeds speaking of thanks and performance of generosity are good; (81) and among those of the same race the formation of friendship (hûmânōh)⁴ is good. 82. For bodily health moderate eating and keeping the body in action are good; (83) and among the skilled in thanksgiving performance is good. 84. Among chieftains unanimity and seeking advantage are good; (85) among those in unison and servants good behaviour and an exhibition of awe are good; (86) and for having little trouble in oneself contentment is good. 87. In chieftainship to understand thoroughly the good in *their* goodness and the vile in *their* vileness is good; *and* to make the vile unseen, through retribution⁵, is good. 88. In every place and time to restrain oneself from sin and to be diligent in meritorious work are good; (89) and every day to consider *and* keep in remembrance Aûharmazd, as regards creativeness, and Aharman, as regards destructiveness, is good. 90. *And* for dishonour not to come unto one a knowledge of oneself is good." 91. All these are proper

¹ L19 omits pavan, 'in.'

² L19 has 'friendship.'

³ Or 'adaptation.'

⁴ L19 has humatî, 'good intention.'

⁵ L19 has 'to cause the reward of the good and the punishment of the vile.'

and true and of the same description, (92) but occupation and guarding the tongue (pâd-hûzvânîh)¹ above everything.

93. 'Abstain far from the service of idols² and demon-worship. 94. Because *it* is declared (95) that: "If Kaî-Khûsrôî³ should not have extirpated the idol-temples (aûgdês-kêâr) which *were* on the lake of Kêkasta⁴, then in these three millenniums of Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns⁵—of whom one of them comes separately at the end of each millennium, who arranges again all⁶ the affairs of the world, and utterly destroys the breakers of promises and servers of idols who are in the realm—the adversary⁷ would have become so much more violent, that it would not have been possible to produce the resurrection and future existence."

96. 'In forming a store⁸ of good works thou

¹ L19 has 'preserving pure language.'

² More correctly 'temple-worship,' as aûgdês means 'an erection.'

³ Av. Kavi Husravangh, the third of the Kayân kings, who reigned sixty years, and was the grandson of his predecessor, Kâî-Ûs, and son of Sîyâvakhsh (see Bd. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7).

⁴ The present Lake Urumiyah according to Bd. XXII, 2. This feat of Kaî-Khûsrôî is also mentioned in Bd. XVII, 7, and his exploits in the same neighbourhood are stated in Âbân Yt. 49, 50, Gôs Yt. 18, 21, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 41, 42; but it is possible that the Avesta name, Kêkasta, may have been transferred to Lake Urumiyah in later times.

⁵ The three future apostles who are supposed to be sons of Zaratûst, whose births have been deferred till later times (see Bd. XXXII, 8). Their Avesta names are Ukhshyad-ereta, Ukhshyad-nemangh, and Saoshyâs.

⁶ L19 omits 'all.'

⁷ The evil spirit.

⁸ L19 has 'in always doing;' having read hamvâr, 'always,' instead of ambâr, 'a store.'

shouldst be diligent, (97) so that it *may* come to *thy*¹ assistance among the spirits.

98. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through any happiness of the world; (99) for the happiness of the world is such-like as a cloud that comes on a rainy day, which one does not ward off by any hill.

100. 'Thou shouldst not be *too* much arranging the world; (101) for the world-arranging man becomes spirit-destroying.

102. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through much treasure and wealth; (103) for in the end it is necessary for thee to leave all.

104. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through predominance; (105) for in the end it is necessary for thee to become non-predominant.

106. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through respect and reverence; (107) for respectfulness does not assist in the spiritual *existence*.

108. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through great connections and race; (109) for in the end thy² trust is on thine own deeds.

110. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through life; (111) for death comes upon thee³ *at* last, (112) the dog and the bird lacerate the corpse⁴, (113) and the perishable *part* (*segīnakō*)⁵ falls to the ground. 114. During three days⁶ and nights

¹ K43 omits 'thy.'

² L19 omits 'thy.'

³ L19 omits 'thee.'

⁴ Referring to the mode of disposing of the dead adopted by the Parsis (see Sls. II, 6n, Dd. XV, 5, XVII, 17, XVIII, 2-4).

⁵ L19 has *ast*, 'bone.'

⁶ Including the day of death. The fate of the soul after death, as detailed in §§ 114-194, is also described in Vend. XIX, 90-112, Hn. II, III, Aog. 8-19, AV. IV-XI, XVII.

the soul sits at the crown of the head of the body¹. 115. And the fourth day, in the light of dawn—with the co-operation of Srôsh the righteous, Vâê the good, and Vâhrâm the strong², the opposition of Astô-vîdâd³, Vâê the bad⁴, Frazîstô the demon, and Nizîstô the demon⁵, and the evil-designing action of Aeshm⁶, the evil-doer, the impetuous assailant—

¹ Reciting a passage from the Gâthas or sacred hymns (see Hn. II, 4, 5, III, 3, 4, AV. IV, 9-11, XVII, 6, 7).

² These three angels are personifications of Av. sraosha, 'listening, obedience,' vaya or vayu, 'the upper air (uncontaminated by the evil spirit),' and verethraghna, 'victorious, triumphant;' the last is more literally 'demon-smiting,' that is, 'smiting Verethra (the demon),' Sans. *vritrahan*.

³ Av. Astô-vîdhôtu, 'the bone-dislocator,' or demon of death who binds the parting soul (see Vend. V, 25, 31); in later writings, such as the Book of Dâdâr bin Dâd-dukht, he is said to throw a noose over the neck of the soul to drag it to hell, but if its good works have exceeded its sins, it throws off the noose and goes to heaven; and this noose is also mentioned in Bd. III, 22, Dd. XXIII, 3. In Bd. XXVIII, 35 this demon is said to be the same as the bad Vâê, but all other authorities consider them as distinct beings. It may be noted that a different demon of death is usually mentioned when the soul is wicked (see § 161).

⁴ Av. vaya or vayu, 'the lower air (vitiated by the evil spirit).' Just as the wind (*vâd*) may be either an angel or a demon, according as its strength makes it a refreshing breeze or a violent hurricane, so may the air be a good or evil being, according as it retains its original purity or has been vitiated by the evil spirit. That the angel Vâê is the upper air appears from its epithet uparô-kairya, 'working aloft,' in the Râm Yt.; and that it is only the lower air that is vitiated by the evil spirit is in accordance with the division of the sky into three thirds, of which the uppermost is inaccessible to the evil spirit (see Dd. XXXVII, 24-31). But this distinction between a good and bad Vâê is not made in Vend. V, 25, 31, where we are told that Vayô conveys the soul when bound by Astô-vîdhôtu.

⁵ These two demons have not been recognised elsewhere.

⁶ The demon of wrath, Av. Aêshmô daêva, appears to be the Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit.

[it goes]¹ up to the awful, lofty *Kīndvar*² bridge, to which every one, righteous and wicked, is coming³. 116. And many opponents have watched there, (117) with the desire of evil of Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, and of *Astô-vtdâd* who devours creatures of every kind and knows no satiety, (118) and the mediation of *Mitrô*⁴ and *Srôsh* and *Rashnû*, (119) and the weighing of *Rashnû*, the just, (120) with the balance⁵ of the spirits, which renders no favour (*hû-girâi*) on any side⁶, neither for the righteous nor yet the wicked, neither for the lords nor yet the monarchs. 121. As much as a hair's breadth it will not turn, and has no partiality; (122) and he who is a lord and monarch⁷ it considers equally, in *its* decision, with him who is the least of mankind.

123. 'And when a soul of the righteous passes upon that bridge, the width of the bridge becomes as it were a league (*parasang*)⁸, (124) and the

¹ K43 omits this verb.

² Or, perhaps, *Kīngvar*, a partial translation of Av. *Kīnvad* (*gv* being a mispronunciation of *v* or *w*, as in *gvâd* for *vâd*, 'wind;' and Pers. *var* translating Av. *vad*). The Pâzand writers have *Kandôr*. It is the bridge of ever-varying breadth which leads to heaven (see Vend. XIX, 100, 101, AV. III, 1, IV, 7, V, 1, 2, XVII, 1, Bd. XII, 7, Dd. XX, XXI), but it is not mentioned in Hn.

³ Literally, 'is a comer.'

⁴ The angel of the sun's light; being a personification of friendship and good faith he is specially concerned in calling the soul to account (see Dd. XIV, 3).

⁵ In which the actions of men are weighed by *Rashnû*, the angel of justice, to ascertain whether the good or the evil preponderate.

⁶ L19 has 'who makes no unjust balance of the spirits on either side.'

⁷ K43 adds *rad*, 'master,' but this is evidently an abortive beginning of the next word, *levatman*, which has been left unerased.

⁸ Nine spears (about 126 English feet) in AV. V, 1, Dd. XXI, 5.

righteous soul passes over with the co-operation of Srôsh the righteous. 125. And his own deeds of a virtuous kind¹ come to meet him in the form of a maiden, (126) who is handsomer and better than every maiden in the world.

127. 'And the righteous soul speaks (128) thus: "Who mayst thou be², that a maiden who is handsomer and better than thee *was* never seen by me in the worldly *existence*?"

129. 'In reply that maiden form responds (130) thus: "I am no maiden, but I am thy virtuous deeds, *thou* youth who *art* well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, *and* of good religion! 131. For when thou sawest in the world *him* who performed demon-worship, then thou hast sat down, and thy performance *was* the worship of the sacred beings. 132. And when *it was* seen by thee that *there was* any one who caused oppression and plunder, and distressed *or* scorned a good person, and acquired wealth by crime, then thou keptest back from the creatures their own *risk of* oppression and plunder; (133) the good person *was* also thought of by thee, and lodging and entertainment provided; and alms *were* given by thee *to him* (134) who came forth from near and *him*, too, who *was* from afar; and wealth which *was* due to honesty *was* acquired by thee. 135. And when thou sawest *him* who practised

The parasang is probably used here as an equivalent for Av. hâthra, 'a mile.'

¹ L19 has 'his own virtuous deeds.' The conscience of the soul meets it in the form of a damsel, beautiful in proportion to the goodness of its deeds. In AV. IV, 18-36, Dd. XXIV, 5, XXV, 5 the conscience meets the soul before it attempts the bridge.

² More literally, 'what may be thou?' as the verb is in the third person here, though not so in the similar phrase in § 169.

false justice and taking of bribes, and false evidence *was* given by him, then thou hast sat down, and the recitation of truth and virtue¹ *was* uttered by thee. 136. I am this of thine, the good thoughts, the good words, and the good deeds which *were* thought and spoken and done by thee. 137. For when I have become commendable, I am then made altogether more commendable by thee; (138) when I have become precious, I am then made altogether still more precious by thee; (139) and when I have become glorious, I am then made altogether² still more glorious by thee."

140. 'And when he walks onwards from there, a sweet-scented breeze comes then to meet him, which is more fragrant than all perfume. 141. The soul of the righteous enquires of Srôsh (142) thus: "What breeze is this, that never in the world so fragrant a breeze came into contact with me?"

143. 'Then Srôsh, the righteous, replies to that righteous soul (144) thus: "This breeze is from heaven, which is so fragrant."

145. 'Afterwards, on *his* march, the first step is set³ on *the place of* good thoughts, the second on *that of* good words, the third on *that of* good deeds⁴, (146) and the fourth step reaches up unto the endless light⁵ which is all-radiant. 147. And angels

¹ Meaning probably the recitation of the Avesta texts.

² K43 omits *barâ*, 'quite, altogether,' in this third clause.

³ L19 has 'afterwards, he rests the first step;' but *awar ârâ-med*, 'he rests,' is a misreading of *madam khârâm dâd*, 'on the march is set.'

⁴ These are the three lowermost grades of heaven, *hûmat*, *hûkht*, and *hûvarst* (see Chap. VII, 12).

⁵ The highest grade of heaven, where *Aûharmazd* and the angels are supposed to dwell (see Chap. VII, 11).

and archangels of every description come to meet him, (148) and ask tidings from him (149) thus: "How hast thou come, from that which is a perishable, fearful, *and* very miserable existence, to this which is an imperishable existence that is undisturbed, *thou* youth who *art* well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, *and* of good religion?"

150. 'Then Aûharmazd, the lord, speaks (151) thus: "Ask ye from him no tidings; for *he has* parted from that which *was* a precious body, and has come by that which is a fearful road. 152. And bring ye unto him the most agreeable of eatables, that which is the midspring butter¹, (153) so that he *may* rest his soul from that bridge of the three nights, unto which he came from Astô-vidâd and the remaining demons²; (154) and seat him upon an all-embellished throne."

155. 'As *it is* declared (156) that: "Unto³ the righteous man⁴ and woman, after passing away⁵, they bring food⁶ of the most agreeable of eatables—

¹ The Maidhyô-zarm rôghan, which is explained in Dd. XXXI, 14 as the spiritual representative of butter made during the Maidhyô-zaremaya, 'mid-verdure,' festival, which was considered the best of the year. This festival is held on the forty-fifth day of the Parsi year, which was about 4th May when the year was fixed to begin at the vernal equinox as described in Bd. XXV, 3-7, 20. The heavenly food which goes by this name is not to be confounded with the Hûsh which is expected to be prepared at the resurrection, from the fat of the ox Hadhayôš and the white Hôm, for the purpose of making mankind immortal (see Bd. XXX, 25); although some such confusion appears to exist in AV. X, 5. K43 has rûbân, 'soul,' instead of rôghan, 'butter.'

² See §§ 114-123.

³ K43 omits 'unto.'

⁴ Literally, 'male.'

⁵ L19 adds 'from the body and consciousness.'

⁶ Reading kazag, instead of kazad, both here and in the next clause of the sentence. L19 has 'the angels of the spiritual exist-

the food of the angels of the spiritual *existences*—that which is the midspring butter¹; and they seat them down on an all-embellished throne. 157. For ever and everlasting they remain in all glory with the angels of the spiritual *existences* everlastingly.”

158. ‘And when he who is wicked dies, his soul then rushes *about for* three days and nights in the vicinity of the head of that wicked *one*, and sobs² (159) thus: “Whither do I go, and now what do I make³ as a refuge?” 160. And the sin and crime of every kind, that *were* committed by him in the worldly *existence*, he sees with *his* eyes in those three days and nights. 161. The fourth day Vîzaresh⁴, the demon, comes and binds the soul of the wicked with the very evil noose⁵; (162) and with the opposition of Srôsh, the righteous, he leads *it* up to the Kîndvar bridge⁶. 163. Then Rashnû⁷, the just, detects that soul of the wicked through *its* wickedness.

164. ‘Afterwards, Vîzaresh, the demon, takes that

ences bring the most agreeable of eatables,’ by omitting the first kazag, and misreading the second one.

¹ K43 has rûbân again, as in § 152, for rôghan. Although this sentence resembles Hn. II, 38, 39, it is evidently quoted from some other source, as its difference is more striking than its resemblance.

² This verb is Huz. bekhûnêd=Pâz. giryêd, but Nêr. has read bângînêd, ‘laments,’ and has written vâgined.

³ Or it may be ‘take,’ as these two verbs are written alike in Huzvâris. This exclamation is a quotation from the Gâthas or sacred hymns, being the first line of Yas. XLV, 1.

⁴ The Av. Vîzaresha of Vend. XIX, 94, who carries off the souls of the wicked; he is also mentioned in Bd. XXVIII, 18, Dd. XXXII, 4, 7, XXXVII, 44.

⁵ Reading saryâtar sû/an. L19 has vad band, ‘an evil tie.’

⁶ See § 115.

⁷ See §§ 119, 120.

soul of the wicked, and mercilessly and maliciously beats *and* maltreats *it*. 165. And that soul of the wicked weeps with a loud voice, is fundamentally horrified¹, implores with many supplicating² entreaties, and makes many struggles for life disconnectedly³. 166. Whom⁴—when his struggling and supplication are of no avail whatever, and no one comes to his assistance from the divinities (bagân)⁵, nor yet from the demons—moreover, Vîzaresh, the demon, drags miserably⁶ to the inevitable⁷ hell.

167. 'And then a maiden who is not like unto maidens comes to meet him. 168. And that soul of the wicked speaks to that evil maiden (169) thus: "Who mayst thou be, that never in the worldly *existence* was an evil maiden seen by me, who *was* viler and more hideous than thee?"

170. 'And she⁸ speaks in reply to him (171) thus: "I *am* not a maiden, but I am thy deeds⁹, *thou* monster who *art* evil-thinking, evil-speaking, evil-doing, *and* of evil religion! 172. For even when thou sawest¹⁰ *him* who performed the worship of the sacred beings, still then thou hast sat down, and demon-worship *was* performed by thee, (173) and the demons and fiends *were* served. 174. And also when thou sawest *him* who provided lodging and

¹ Instead of burz-vângîhâ bekhûnêd, bun râmêd, L19 has burzâvandîhâ vâgîned u vârâmêd, 'loudly shrieks and weeps.'

² Reading lâpakö-karîhâ.

³ Instead of apadvandîhâ, L19 has apatûihâ, 'fruitlessly.'

⁴ L19 has 'and.'

⁵ L19 has vehâ, 'the good.'

⁶ Instead of âk-hômandîhâ, L19 has anaomediâ, 'hopelessly.'

⁷ Reading nagirz, but this is uncertain; L19 has azer, 'lower.'

⁸ L19 has 'that evil maiden.'

⁹ L19 has 'evil deeds.'

¹⁰ L19 adds 'in the world.'

entertainment, and gave alms, *for* a good person who came forth from near and *him*, too, who *was* from afar¹, (175) then thou actedst scornfully and disrespectfully *to* the good person, and gave no alms, and even shut up the door. 176. And when thou sawest *him* who practised true justice, took no bribe, gave true evidence, and uttered virtuous recitation, (177) even then thou hast sat down, and false justice *was* practised by thee, evidence *was* given by thee with falsehood, and vicious recitation *was* uttered by thee. 178. I am this of thine, the evil thoughts, the evil words, and the evil deeds which *were* thought and spoken and done by thee. 179. For when I have become uncommendable, I am then made altogether still more uncommendable by thee; (180) when I have become unrespected, I am then made altogether still more unrespected by thee; (181) and when I have sat in an eye-offending² position, I am then made altogether still more really eye-offending (*kashm-kah-îkêtar-îkê*) by thee."

182. 'Afterwards he enters³, the first step on *the place of* evil thoughts, the second on *that of* evil words, the third step on *that of* evil deeds⁴, (183) and the fourth step rushes into the presence of the

¹ In L19 the words 'near' and 'afar' change places.

² Literally, 'eye-consuming,' the reading adopted by Nêr., but, though it gives a satisfactory meaning, it is not quite certain that it represents the Pahlavi text correctly.

³ For *dên vazlûnêd*, 'he goes in,' L19 has *andar zrôved*, indicating that the first letter, *va*, of *vazlûnêd* had been omitted in the Pahl. MS. used by Nêr., which misled him into reading the remaining letters as a new Pâz. verb *zrôved*, as already remarked by Nöldeke in Göt. gel. Anz. 1882, p. 975.

⁴ These are the three uppermost grades of hell, *dûs-hûmat*, *dûs-hûkht*, and *dûs-hûvarst* (see Chap. VII, 20).

wicked evil spirit and the other demons¹. 184. And the demons make ridicule and mockery of him (185) thus: "What was thy trouble and complaint, as regards Aôharmazd, the lord, and the archangels, and the fragrant and joyful heaven, when thou approachedst for a sight of Aharman and the demons and gloomy hell, (186) although we cause thee misery therein and do not pity, and thou shalt see misery of long duration?"

187. 'And the evil spirit shouts to the demons (188) thus: "Ask ye no tidings from him (189) who is parted *from*² that which *was* a precious body, and has come on by that which is a very bad road. 190. But bring ye unto him the foulest and vilest of eatables, the food which is nurtured in hell."

191. 'They bring the poison and venom of³ the snake and scorpion and other noxious creatures that are in hell, (192) and give him to eat. 193. And until the resurrection and future existence he must be in hell, in much misery and punishment of various kinds⁴. 194. Especially that it is possible to eat food there only as though by similitude⁵.'

195. The spirit of innate wisdom spoke to the sage (196) thus: 'This which *was* asked by thee, as to the maintenance of the body *and* concerning the preservation of the soul, is also spoken about by me, and thou art admonished. 197. Be virtuously

¹ In the lowermost grade of hell (see Chap. VII, 21).

² L19 has 'for *he* has parted from,' as in § 151.

³ L19 has 'and.'

⁴ L19 has 'he is in much misery and punishment of kinds worthy of hell.'

⁵ So that starvation is one of the punishments of hell. L19 has 'and especially that the food there can be only like putrid blood.'

assiduous about it, and keep *it* in practice ; (198) for this is thy chief way for the maintenance of the body *and* preservation of the soul.'

CHAPTER III.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is liberality good, or truth¹, (3) or gratitude², or wisdom, (4) or complete mindfulness³, or contentment ?'

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus : 'As to the soul *it is* liberality, as to all the world *it is* truth, (7) unto the sacred beings *it is* gratitude, as to a man's self⁴ *it is* wisdom, (8) as to all business *it is* complete mindfulness, and as to the comfort of the body and the vanquishing of Aharman and the demons contentment is good.'

CHAPTER IV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is a good work *that is* great and good ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'The greatest good work is liberality, and the second is truth and next-of-kin marriage⁵. 5. The third is

¹ K43 has 'or thy truth.' ² L19 has 'or is gratitude good.'

³ L19 has 'or is complete mindfulness good.'

⁴ Literally, 'the body of a man.'

⁵ This was the meaning of the term *khvêtûk-das* when this work was written, but some centuries ago such marriages were discontinued, and the term was then confined to marriages between first cousins, as at present (see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xviii, app. III).

keeping the season festivals¹, and the fourth is *celebrating* all the religious rites². 6. The fifth is the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and the providing of lodging for traders³. 7. The sixth is the wishing of happiness for every one. 8. *And* the seventh is a kind regard for the good⁴.

CHAPTER V.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which land is the happier⁵ ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'That land is the happier, in which a righteous man, who is true-speaking, makes his abode. 5. The second,

¹ Of which there are six, each held for five days. These Gâsân-bârs or Gâhambârs end, respectively, on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year; and when that year was fixed to begin at the vernal equinox, they celebrated the periods of midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring (see Sls. XVIII, 3). In modern times they have been supposed to commemorate the several creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man; but this idea must have been borrowed from a foreign source.

² The periodical ceremonies which are obligatory for all Parsis (see Dd. XLIV, 2 n).

³ Literally, 'for the producers of business.'

⁴ That is, for the priests. The Parsi-Persian version divides these good works into nine items, by counting 'next-of-kin marriage' as the third, and 'providing of lodging' as the seventh. For a fuller detail of good works, see Chap. XXXVII.

⁵ This chapter is an imitation of Vend. III, 1-20, where it is stated that the five most pleasing spots on the earth are, first, where a righteous man performs ceremonies; second, where he has built his house and keeps his fire, cattle, family, and retainers; third, where the land is best cultivated; fourth, where most oxen and sheep are produced; and fifth, that which is most manured by oxen and sheep.

in which they make the abode of fires. 6. The third, when oxen and sheep repose upon it. 7. The fourth is uncultivated and uninhabited land when they bring *it* back to cultivation and habitableness. 8. The fifth, from which they extirpate the burrows of noxious creatures. 9. The sixth, on which exist the ceremonies and coming of the sacred beings, and the sitting of the good¹. 10. The seventh, when they make populous that which *was* desolate. 11. The eighth, when from the possession of the bad it comes into the possession of the good. 12. The ninth, when of the produce and yield (*bêdö*) which arise from it they provide the share of the sacred beings, the good, and the worthy. 13. *And* the tenth, in which they provide holy-water and ceremonies.'

CHAPTER VI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which land is the unhappier² ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'That land is the more afflicted, in which hell is formed³. 5. The second, when they slay in it a righteous man who is innocent. 6. The third, for whose sake⁴

¹ That is, the ceremonial precinct where the priests sit to conduct the ceremonies.

² This chapter is an imitation of Vend. III, 21-37, where it is stated that the five most displeasing spots on the earth are, first, the ridge of Azeûra, on which the demons congregate from the pit of the fiend; second, where most dead dogs and men lie buried; third, where most depositories for the dead are constructed; fourth, where there are most burrows of the creatures of the evil spirit; and fifth, where the family of a righteous man is driven into captivity.

³ Bd. III, 27 states that 'hell is in the middle of the earth.'

⁴ Reading *mûn . . . rûnô-î paḍas*. Instead of *drûgân rûnô*,

the demons and fiends work. 7. The fourth, in which they construct an idol-temple. 8. The fifth, when a wicked man, who is an evil-doer, makes an abode in it. 9. The sixth, when the interment of a corpse is performed below¹. 10. The seventh, in which a noxious creature has a burrow. 11. The eighth, when from the possession of the good it comes into the possession of the bad. 12. The ninth, when they make desolate that which *was* populous. 13. *And* the tenth, in which they make lamentation and weeping².

CHAPTER VII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How is heaven, and how many? 3. How are the ever-stationary (*hamîstân*), and how many? 4. And how is hell, and how many? 5. What is the decision *about* the righteous in heaven, and from what is *their* happiness? 6. What are the misery and affliction of the wicked in hell? 7. And what and how is the decision *about* those who are among the ever-stationary?'

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus : 'Heaven is, first, from the star station unto the

Nêr. has read *drûg hanrûnô*, and assumed the last word to be equivalent to Av. *handvarena*, 'concourse;' so as to obtain the meaning, 'in which the demons and the fiend form a congress.' But Av. *handvarena* is Pahl. *ham-dûbârisnîh* (see Pahl. Vend. VII, 137).

¹ Or 'when much interment of corpses is performed,' as it is doubtful whether we ought to read *avîr*, 'much,' or *azîr*, 'below.'

² That is, for the dead. Such outward manifestations of mourning being considered sinful by the Parsis, as they ought to be by all unselfish people who believe in a future existence of happiness.

moon station ; (10) second, from the moon station unto the sun ; (11) *and*, third, from the sun station unto the supreme heaven (garôdmânô), whereon the creator Aûharmazd is seated. 12. Of heaven the first *part* is *that of* good thoughts (hûmatô), the second is *that of* good words (hûkhtô), and the third is *that of* good deeds (hûvarstô).

13. 'The righteous in heaven are undecaying and immortal, unalarmed, undistressed, and undisturbed. 14. And, everywhere¹, they are full of glory, fragrant, and joyful, full of delight and full of happiness. 15. And, *at* all times, a fragrant breeze and a scent which is like sweet basil come to meet *them*, which are more pleasant than every pleasure, and more fragrant than every fragrance. 16. For them, also, there is no satiety owing to the existence in heaven. 17. And their sitting and walking, perception and enjoyment are with the angels and archangels and the righteous for ever and everlasting.

18. 'Regarding the ever-stationary *it* is declared, that *they are* from the earth unto the star station ; (19) and its affliction for them is then² nothing whatever except cold and heat.

20. 'Of hell the first *part* is *that of* evil thoughts (dûs-hûmatô), the second is *that of* evil words (dûs-hûkhtô), and the third is *that of* evil deeds

¹ Nêr. has 'at all times,' which may be correct, as gâs means both 'time' and 'place.' It should be noticed, however, that the word used in § 15 is damân, which means 'time' only.

² Nêr. has 'their affliction is otherwise,' by mistaking Huz. adînas-sân, 'then its . . . for them,' for a supposed Pâz. ainâsâ, 'otherwise their,' which seems to have no real existence, as wherever he reads ainâ, 'otherwise,' the Pahl. text has adînas, 'then its.'

(dûs-hûvarstô)¹. 21. *With* the fourth step the wicked person arrives at that which is the darkest hell; (22) and they lead him forwards to the vicinity of Aharman, the wicked. 23. And Aharman and the demons, thereupon, make ridicule and mockery of him (24) thus²: "What was thy trouble and complaint, as regards Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the fragrant and joyful heaven, when thou approachedst for a sight of us and gloomy hell, (25) although we cause thee misery therein and do not pity, and thou shalt see misery of long duration?" 26. And, afterwards, they execute punishment and torment of various kinds upon him.

27. 'There is a place³ where, as to cold, *it* is such as that of the coldest frozen⁴ snow. 28. There is a place where, as to heat, *it* is such as that of the hottest and most blazing fire. 29. There is a place where noxious creatures are gnawing them, just as a dog *does* the bones. 30. There is a place where, as to stench, *it* is such that they stagger about (barâ larzênd)⁵ and fall down. 31. And the dark-

¹ These names, as here written, mean literally 'evil good thoughts, evil good words, and evil good deeds,' as if they implied that these places are for those whose best thoughts, words, and deeds are evil; but it is not quite certain that the Pahlavi names are spelt correctly.

² As already stated in Chap. II, 183-186.

³ L19 has 'he is experienced' in §§ 27-30, owing to Nêr. having read dânâk, 'knowing, experienced,' instead of dîvâk, 'a place.'

⁴ Literally, 'stone-possessing, stony' if we read sang-dâr, as seems most plausible; but we might read sôkhâr and consider Pers. khasâr or khasar, 'ice,' as a corruption of it, by transposition. L19 has 'ice (yah) and snow.'

⁵ L19 has *be resend*, 'they vomit up,' which is evidently a misreading.

ness is always such-like as though it is possible for them to seize upon *it* with the hand¹.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How and in what manner *has* Aûharmazd created these creatures and creation? 3. And how and in what manner *were* the archangels and the spirit of wisdom formed and created by him? 4. And how are the demons and fiends [and also the remaining corrupted *ones*]² of Aharman, the wicked, miscreated? [5. How do every good and evil happen which *occur* to mankind and also the remaining creatures?] 6. And is it possible to alter anything which is destined, or not?'

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus : 'The creator, Aûharmazd, produced these creatures and creation, the archangels and the spirit of wisdom from that which is his own splendour, and with the blessing of unlimited time (zôrvân). 9. For this reason, because unlimited time is undecaying and immortal, painless and hungerless, thirstless and undisturbed; and for ever and everlasting no one is able to seize upon *it*, or to make *it* non-predominant as regards his own affairs.

10. 'And Aharman, the wicked, miscreated the demons and fiends, and also the remaining corrupted

¹ 'Even darkness *which* may be felt' (Ex. x. 21).

² K₄₃ omits the phrase in brackets, as well as § 5; but these passages are supplied from L₁₉, merely substituting *yahidakân*, 'corrupted ones,' as in § 10, for the *vashûdagâ*, 'miscreations,' of L₁₉.

*ones*¹, by his own unnatural intercourse. 11. A treaty of nine thousand winters² in unlimited time (*damân*) *was* also made by him with *Aûharmazd*; (12) and, until it *has* become fully completed, no one is able to alter *it* and to act otherwise. 13. And when the nine thousand years *have* become completed, Aharman is quite impotent; (14) and *Srôsh*³, the righteous, will smite *Aeshm*³, (15) *and* *Mitrô*⁴ and unlimited time and the spirit of justice⁵, who deceives no one in anything, and destiny and divine providence⁶ will smite the creatures and creation of Aharman of every kind, and, in the end, even *Âzô*⁷, the demon. 16. And every creature and creation of *Aûharmazd* becomes again as undisturbed as those which *were* produced and created by him in the beginning.

¹ Reading *yahizakân*, but it may be *yâtukân*, 'wizards,' though the word requires an additional long vowel to represent either term correctly. L19 has *vashûdagâ*, 'miscreations.'

² According to the *Bundahis*, time consists of twelve thousand years (see Bd. XXXIV, 1). In the beginning *Aûharmazd* created the spiritual prototypes (Bd. I, 8) who remained undisturbed for the first three thousand years, when Aharman appeared and agreed to a conflict for the remaining nine thousand years (Bd. I, 18), during the first three of which *Aûharmazd's* will was undisputed, while during the next three Aharman is active in interference, and during the last three his influence will diminish till, in the end, it will disappear (Bd. I, 20). The nine thousand years of the conflict were supposed to extend from about B.C. 5400 to A.D. 3600 (see Byt. III, 11 n, 44 n).

³ See Chap. II, 115.

⁴ See Chap. II, 118.

⁵ Probably the angel *Rashnû* (see Chap. II, 118, 119).

⁶ Assuming that the *vâgô-bakhtô* of K43 is equivalent to the *baghô-bakht*, 'divine appointment,' of L19.

⁷ Av. *âzi* of Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 22, Vend. XVIII, 45, 50, *Âstâd* Yt. 1, *âzu* of Yas. LII, 7, and the demon of 'greediness' in Chap. II, 13, 14, XVIII, 5, &c., Bd. XXVIII, 27, and modern Persian, who seems to be a being distinct from Av. *azi*, 'serpent.'

17. 'Every good and the reverse¹ which happen to mankind, and also the other creatures, happen through the seven *planets* and the twelve *constellations*². 18. And those twelve constellations are such as in revelation are³ the twelve chieftains who are on the side of Aûharmazd, (19) *and* those seven planets are called the seven chieftains who are on the side of Aharman. 20. Those seven planets pervert every creature and creation, and deliver *them* up to death and every evil. 21. And, as *it were*, those twelve constellations and seven planets⁴ are organizing and managing the world.

22. 'Aûharmazd' is wishing good, and never approves nor contemplates evil. 23. Aharman is wishing evil, and does not meditate nor approve anything good whatever. 24. Aûharmazd, when he wishes it, is able to alter as regards the creatures of Aharman; and Aharman, too, it is, who, when [he wishes]⁵ it, *can do so* as regards the creatures of Aûharmazd, (25) but *he is only* able to alter so that in the final effect *there may* be no injury of Aûharmazd, (26) because the final victory is Aûharmazd's own. 27. For it is declared, that "the Yim⁶ and

¹ L19 has 'evil.'

² The zodiacal signs.

³ L19 has 'are called in revelation.' The authority, here quoted, was not the Bundahis, because that book speaks of seven chieftains of the constellations opposed to the seven planets (see Bd. V, 1).

⁴ L19 omits 'and seven planets,' but has a blank space at this place in both texts, Pâzand and Sanskrit.

⁵ K43 omits the words in brackets, which may, perhaps, be superfluous in the Pahlavi text.

⁶ Av. Yima or Yima khshaêta of Vend. II, the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmah, some of whose deeds are mentioned in Chap. XXVII, 24-33, Yas. IX, 13-20. He was the third of the Pêrdâd dynasty, and is said to have been perverted by Aharman in his old

Frêdûn¹ and Kâi-Ûs² of Aûharmazd are created immortal, (28) and Aharman so altered *them* as is known. 29. *And* Aharman so contemplated that Bêvarâsp³ and Frâsîyâk⁴ and Alexander⁵ *should* be immortal, (30) *but* Aûharmazd, for great advantage, so altered *them* as that which is declared.”’

CHAPTER IX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus :
‘Is it possible to go from region to region⁶, or not ?

age, when he lost the royal glory (see Dd. XXXIX, 16, 17), and was overthrown by the foreign dynasty of Az-î Dahâk.

¹ Av. Thraêtaona, who conquered Az-î Dahâk (see Chap. XXVII, 38-40, Yas. IX, 24-27). He was misled by Aharman into dividing his empire between his three sons, two of whom revolted and slew the third (see Chaps. XXI, 25, XXVII, 42).

² Av. Kava Usan or Kavi Usadhan, the Kâi-Kâvûs of the Shâhnâmah, misread Kahôs in Pâzand. He was the second monarch of the Kayân dynasty, and made an unsuccessful attempt to reach heaven, mentioned in Bd. XXXIV, 7, to which he may be supposed to have been instigated by Aharman, but he was also unfortunate in many other enterprises.

³ A title of Az-î Dahâk in the Shâhnâmah, literally, ‘with a myriad horses.’ This king, or dynasty, is said to have conquered Yim and reigned for a thousand years, but was overthrown by Frêdûn. In the Avesta (Yas. IX, 25, Âbân Yt. 34, Âf. Zarat. 3) Az-î Dahâk, ‘the destructive serpent,’ is described as hazangra-yaokhsti, ‘with a thousand perceptions,’ a term analogous to baêvare-spasana, ‘with a myriad glances,’ which is usually applied to Mithra, the angel of the sun. From this latter, if used for the former, bêvarâsp might easily be corrupted.

⁴ Av. Frangrasyan, the Afrâsiyâb of the Shâhnâmah, a Tûrânian king who conquered the Irânians for twelve years during the reign of Mânûskîhar (see Bd. XXXIV, 6).

⁵ Alexander the Great, misread Arasaṅgar by Nêr.

⁶ The earth is supposed to be divided into seven regions, of which the central one is as large as the other six united; two of

3. From what substance is the sky made? 4. And how and in what manner is the mingling of the water in the earth?’

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus: ‘Without the permission of the sacred beings, or the permission of the demons, it is then¹ not possible for one to go from region to region².

7. ‘The sky is made from the substance of the blood-stone³, such as they also call diamond (al-mâst).

8. ‘And the mingling of the water in the earth is just like the blood in the body of man.’

CHAPTER X.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Can *there* be any peace and affection whatever of Aharman, the wicked, and his demons and miscreations, with Aûharmazd and the archangels, one with the other, or not?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘*There* cannot be, on any account whatever; (5) because Aharman meditates evil falsehood and its deeds, wrath and malice and discord, (6) and Aûharmazd meditates righteousness and its deeds, good works

the six lie to the north, two to the south, one to the east, and one to the west; and they are said to be separated by seas or mountains, difficult to cross (see Bd. XI). For their names, see Chaps. XVI, 10, XXVII, 40.

¹ Instead of adînas, ‘then for one,’ Nêr. has manufactured a word ainâ, ‘otherwise’ (see also Chap. VII, 19 n).

² This information is derived from Pahl. Vend. I, 4 a.

³ Or ‘ruby,’ referring to the rosy tints of dawn and sunset. The same statement is made in Bd. XII, 6. Nêr. has ‘steel,’ and the word can be translated ‘blood-metal.’

and goodness and truth. 7. And everything can change, except good and bad nature. 8. A good nature cannot change to evil by any means whatever, and a bad nature to goodness in any manner. 9. Aûharmazd, on account of a good nature, approves no evil and falsehood ; (10) and Aharman, on account of a bad nature, accepts no goodness and truth ; (11) and, on this account, *there* cannot be for them any peace and affection whatever, one with the other.'

CHAPTER XI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is wisdom good, or skill, or goodness¹ ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Wisdom with which *there* is no goodness, is not to be considered as wisdom ; (5) and skill with which *there* is no wisdom, is not to be considered as skill.'

CHAPTER XII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore is *it* when the treasure of the spiritual *existence* is allotted so truly, *and* that of the worldly *existence* so falsely ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'The treasure of the worldly *existence* was² allotted as truly, in the original creation, as that of the spiritual *existence*. 5. And the creator, Aûharmazd, provided the

¹ L19 omits the last two words, but they are evidently referred to in the reply.

² Literally, 'is.'

happiness of every kind, that is in these creatures and creation, for the use (bûn) of the sun¹ and moon and those twelve constellations which are called the twelve chieftains² by revelation; (6) and they, too, accepted *it* in order to allot *it* truly and deservedly.

7. 'And, afterwards, Aharman produced those seven planets, such as are called the seven chieftains of Aharman, for dissipating³ *and* carrying off that happiness from the creatures of Aûharmazd, in opposition to the sun and moon and those twelve constellations. 8. And *as to* every happiness which those constellations bestow on the creatures of Aûharmazd, (9) those planets take away as much of it as *it* is possible for them (the constellations) to give⁴, (10) and give *it* up to the power of the demons⁵ and fiends and the bad.

11. 'And the treasure of the spiritual *existence* is so true on this account, because Aûharmazd, the lord, with all the angels *and* archangels, is⁶ undisturbed, (12) and they make the struggle with Aharman and the demons, and also the account of the souls of men, with justice. 13. And the place of *him* whose good work is more is in heaven, (14) the place of *him* whose good work and sin are equal is among the ever-stationary⁷, (15) and when the crime is more, his path is then to hell.'

¹ Literally, 'Mitrô,' the angel of the sun.

² See Chap. VIII, 17-21.

³ By omitting one letter K43 has 'miscreating.'

⁴ By omitting this verb L19 has 'possible for them (the planets).'

⁵ So understood by Nêr., but all the best MSS. omit the relative particle, as if 'the powerful demons' were meant.

⁶ Literally, 'are.'

⁷ See Chap. VII, 18.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore is *it* when oxen and sheep, birds, flying creatures, and fish are, each one, properly learned in that which is their own knowledge, (3) and men, so long as they bring no instruction unto them, and they do not perform much toil and trouble (*angīnō*)¹ about it, are not able to obtain and know the learning of the human race?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'Men have been so wise, in the original creation, that, *as to* the good works and crime which *were* performed by them, the recompense of the good works and the punishment of the crime *were* then seen by them with their own eyes, (6) and no crime whatever proceeded from men. 7. *But*, afterwards, Aharman, the wicked, concealed the recompense of good works and the punishment of sin. 8. And on this account, moreover, it is said in revelation (9) that: "[These]² four [things are worse and more grievous] than every evil which the accursed evil *one*, the wicked, committed upon the creatures of Aûharmazd, (10) [that is, when the reward of good works and] punishment [of sin], the thoughts of men, and the consequence of actions *were* quite concealed [by him]³."

¹ Nêr. has read *khvazînak*, and taken it as equivalent to Pers. *khazînah*, 'treasury,' in the sense of 'expenditure;' but this is very doubtful.

² The words in brackets, in §§ 9, 10, are taken from the Pâzand version, as the passage containing them has been omitted by mistake in K43.

³ The Pandnâmah of Buzurg-Mihir states 'this, too, is declared, that the evil spirit committed even this very grievous thing upon

11. 'And, for the same reason, he made many devotions and improper creeds current in the world. 12. And, on account of men's not knowing of duty and good works, every one believes that most, and considers *it* as good, which his teaching in devotion has included. 13. And that devotion, in particular, is more powerful¹, with which sovereignty exists. 14. But that one is the lordship and sovereignty of Vistâsp², the king of kings, (15) by whom, on account of knowing *it* unquestionably and certainly (aêva-rîhâ), the perfect and true religion, which is in the word of the creator Aûharmazd, was received from the unique Zarâtûst, the Spîtamân³, (16) who has manifested clearly, explicitly, and unquestionably the treasure of the worldly and spiritual *existences*, of every kind, from the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 17. There is then⁴ no *other* creed, through which it is possible for one to obtain and know the treasure of the worldly and spiritual *existences* so explicitly and clearly, (18) but, on account of much controversy⁵, they are so cut up (âgtstakö)

the creatures of Aûharmazd, when the reward of good works and punishment of sin *were* quite concealed by him, in the thoughts of men, as the consequence of actions.'

¹ Nêr. has 'purer,' by connecting pâdîyâvandtar with pâdîyâz, 'ablution;' but this is hardly possible, whereas the former word can be readily traced to Av. paiti+yâ+vant, with the meaning 'resistant, stubborn, strong;' compare Pers. pâyâb, 'power.'

² Av. Vîstâspa, Pers. Gustâsp, the fifth king of the Kayân dynasty, who adopted the religion of Zarâtûst in the thirtieth year of his reign, and is said to have reigned 120 years (see Bd. XXXIV, 7).

³ See Chap. I, 10 n.

⁴ Instead of 'then for one,' Nêr. has 'otherwise,' as in Chap. IX, 6.

⁵ Reading vigûftakîh. Nêr. has 'by much contemplation,'

and entangled, that the statements of their beginning are much unlike to the middle, and the middle to the end.'

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of¹ [wisdom (2) thus : 'Which protection is the more defensive? 3. Which friend² (4) and which supporter of fame are good? 5. Which helper of enjoyment is good? 6. Which wealth is the pleasanter? 7. And which is the supremest pleasure of all pleasures³?'

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus : 'The sacred being is the more defensive protection. 10. A virtuous brother is a good friend. 11. A child, who is virtuous and an upholder of religion, is a good supporter of fame. 12. A virtuous wife, who is well-disposed, is a good helper of enjoyment. 13. That wealth is better and pleasanter which is collected by honesty, *and one* consumes *and* maintains with duties and good works. 14. *And* the pleasures which are superior to all pleasures are health of body, freedom from fear, good repute, *and* righteousness⁴.'

having read vênastakîh. Both words are very uncommon, and it is doubtful which of them is the more appropriate to the context.

¹ From this point to Chap. XXVII, 49 the Pahlavi text of K₄₃ is missing, owing to the loss of nine folios in that MS., but a copy of the missing passage, made by Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji from TD₂, has been consulted for the purpose of controlling the Pâz. version of L₁₉.

² L₁₉ inserts 'is good?'

³ TD₂ has 'which is the friend who is the supremest of friends;,' but this does not correspond well with the reply in § 14.

⁴ TD₂ adds '*and* are good.'

CHAPTER XV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus :
'Is poverty good, or opulence¹ ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus :
'Poverty which is through honesty is better than opulence which is from the treasure of others. 5. For it is stated (6) thus : "*As to him who is the poorest and most secluded (armêsttûm)*² person, whenever he keeps his thoughts, words, *and* deeds honest, and in duty to the sacred beings, for him even *there* is lawfully a share of all the duties and good works which mankind shall do in the world³. 7. *As to him, too, who is opulent, who is a man of much wealth, when the wealth is not produced by honesty, though he takes trouble (angînakö)*⁴ in⁴ duties and good works and righteous gifts, his good work is then not his own, (8) because the good work is his from whom *the wealth* is abstracted⁵."

¹ L19 adds 'or sovereignty,' to account for §§ 12-39.

² Av. armaêsta, applied to water, means 'most stationary, stagnant;' Pahl. armêst (Av. airima) is applied to the place of 'seclusion' for impure men and women, and in Sls. VI, 1 it seems to refer to 'helpless' idiots or lunatics; Nêr. explains it in Sanskrit as 'lame, crippled, immobility,' but 'secluded, immured, helpless' are terms better adapted to the context, whether the word be applied to persons, as it is here and in Chaps. XXXVII, 36, XXXIX, 40, or to learning and character, as in Chap. LI, 7.

³ Persons who are wholly unable to perform good works are supposed to be entitled to a share of any supererogatory good works performed by others (see Sls. VI, 1, 2), but the allotment of such imputed good works seems to be at the discretion of the angels who keep them in store (see Sls. VIII, 4).

⁴ Nêr. has 'makes expenditure on,' by reading khvazînak, as in Chap. XIII, 3.

⁵ § 8 does not occur in L19, but is found in TD2, PA10, and MH7.

9. 'And *as to* that much wealth which is collected by proper exertion, and *one* consumes and maintains with duties and good works and pleasure, even that is no better thereby, (10) because it is necessary to consider that as perfect. 11. But *as to* him who is a man of much wealth, whose wealth is collected by proper exertion, and he consumes and maintains *it* with duties and good works and pleasure, he is great and good and more perfect¹.

12. 'And regarding even that which is sovereignty they state (13) thus: "What is² good government in a village is better than what is² bad government in a realm. 14. Because the creator Aûhar Mazda produced good government for effecting the protection of the creatures, (15) and Aharman, the wicked, has produced bad government as the adversary of good government."

16. 'Good government is that which maintains *and* directs a province flourishing, the poor untroubled, *and* the law *and* custom true, (17) *and* sets aside improper laws and customs. 18. It well *maintains* water and fire by law³, (19) *and* keeps in progress the ceremonial of the sacred beings, duties, and good works. 20. It causes friendliness

¹ That is, the proper use of wealth does not make the wealth itself any better, but only the rightful possessor of it. This is, however, probably only an emendation of Nêr., as the copy of TD2 gives merely the following, for §§ 9-11: 'But *as to* him who is a man of much wealth, by whose proper exertion it is collected, *and* he consumes *and* maintains *it* with duties, good works, and pleasure, he is no better thereby, because it is necessary to consider him as perfect.'

² L19 omits 'what is' in both places.

³ TD2 omits 'maintains,' as it is sufficiently expressed by the same Pahl. verb 'keeps' in § 19; and L19 omits 'by law.'

and pleading¹ for the poor, (21) and delivers up itself, *and* even that which is its own life, for the sake of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 22. And if there be any one who desists from the way of the sacred beings, then it orders *some one* to effect his restoration thereto; (23) it also makes him a prisoner, *and* brings *him* back to the way of the sacred beings; (24) it allots, out of the wealth that is his, the share of the sacred beings *and* the worthy, of good works *and* the poor; (25) and delivers up the body for the sake of the soul². 26. A good king, who³ is of that kind, is called equal to the angels and archangels.

27. 'Bad government is that (28) which destroys the true and proper law and custom, (29) and brings⁴ oppression, plunder, and injudiciousness into practice. 30. It dissipates the treasure of the spiritual *existence*, (31) *and* considers duty and good works a vexation, through greediness⁵. 32. It keeps back a person performing good works from doing good works, (33) and he thereby becomes a doer of harm. (34) Its disbursement⁶, too, of every kind is for its own self, (35) the administration of⁷ the treasure

¹ Reading dâdǝ-gôbîh, 'pronouncing the law,' or 'speaking of gifts,' instead of Pâz. gâdangôî, a misreading of Nêr. for Pahl. yêdatô-gôbîh, 'speaking of the sacred being.'

² The usual way of treating nonconformists in all ages and all sects, when party spirit is strong. TD₂ has 'delivers *him* up for the sake of body and soul.'

³ TD₂ has 'good government which.'

⁴ TD₂ has 'keeps;' but the two verbs are much alike in Huzvâris.

⁵ Because nearly all such works entail expenditure.

⁶ Nêr. has 'accumulation,' but this is the meaning of andôzîsn, rather than of the andâzîsn in the text.

⁷ So in TD₂.

of the worldly existence, (36) the celebrity¹ *and* exaltation of the vile, (37) the destruction *and* neglect of the good, (38) *and* the annihilation of the poor. 39. A bad king, who² is of that kind, is called equal to Aharman and the demons.'

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Of the food which men eat, and the clothing which men put on, which are the more valuable and good?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of the food which men eat, the milk of goats is produced good. 5. Because, *as to* men and quadrupeds, who are born from a mother, until the *time* when food is eaten by them, their growth *and* nourishment are then from milk, (6) *and* on milk they can well live. 7. And if men, when they withdraw from the milk of the mother, make thorough experience of the milk of goats, (8) then bread is not necessary for use among them. 9. Since it is declared, (10) that "the food of mankind, who are in Arzah and Savah, Fradaḏafsh and Vīdaḏafsh, Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst³, is the milk of goats and cows; (11) other food they do not eat." 12. *And* he who is a milk-consuming man is healthier and stronger, and even the procreation of children becomes more harmless.

¹ Reading *khanīdīh* as in TD2 and Chap. II, 28.

² TD2 has 'bad government which.'

³ The six outermost regions of the earth, of which Arzah lies to the west, Savah to the east, Fradaḏafsh and Vīdaḏafsh to the south, and Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst to the north of the central region (see Bd. V, 8, XI, 3).

13. 'Of grains wheat is called great and good, (14) because it is the chief of grains¹, (15) *and* even by the Avesta its name is then specified in the chieftainship of grains².

16. 'And of fruit the date *and* grape are called great and good. 17. When bread has not come, it is necessary to consecrate the sacred cake by means of fruit³; (18) when the fruit to consecrate is the date or grape, it is allowable to eat every fruit; (19) *and* when those have not come, it is necessary to eat that fruit which is consecrated⁴.

20. 'Regarding wine *it* is evident, that it is possible *for* good *and* bad temper to come to manifestation through wine⁵. 21. The goodness of a man is manifested in anger, the wisdom of a man in irregular desire⁶. 22. For *he* whom anger hurries on (aûs-

¹ It is called 'the chief of large-seeded grains' in Bd. XXIV, 19.

² Possibly in the Pâzag Nask, part of which was 'about the thirty-three first chieftainships of the existences around, that is, how many of which are spiritual *and* how many worldly *existences*, and which is the second, and which the third of the spiritual *and* worldly *existences*;' as stated in the eighth book of the Dînkard.

³ That is, when a cake cannot be made, fruit can be substituted for it in the ceremony of consecrating the sacred cakes. The sacred cake, or drôn, is a small, round, flexible pancake of unleavened wheaten bread, about the size of the palm of the hand, which, after consecration, is tasted by all those present at the ceremony (see Sls. III, 32 n).

⁴ Fruit and wine are usually consecrated and eaten, in the Âfrîngân ceremony, after the completion of the Drôn ceremony, but sometimes the Âfrîngân is celebrated alone. Both ceremonies are performed in honour of some angel, or the guardian spirit of some deceased person (see Haug's Essays, pp. 407-409).

⁵ TD₂ has 'through the nature of wine;' but âs, 'wine,' is written mas.

⁶ TD₂ has 'the good of a man is in anger, and the wisdom of a man in lust exciting viciousness.'

tâvêd) is able to recover himself from it¹ through goodness, (23) *he* whom lust hurries on is able to recover himself from it through wisdom, (24) *and he* whom wine hurries on is able to recover himself from it through temper.

25. 'It is not requisite for investigation, (26) because he who is a good-tempered man, when he drinks wine, is such-like as a gold *or* silver cup which, however much more they burn *it*, becomes purer and brighter. 27. It also keeps *his* thoughts, words, *and* deeds more virtuous; (28) and he becomes gentler and pleasanter unto wife and child, companions and friends², (29) and is more diligent in every duty and good work.

30. 'And he who is a bad-tempered man, when he drinks wine, thinks *and* considers himself more than ordinary. 31. He carries on a quarrel with companions, displays insolence, makes ridicule and mockery, (32) *and* acts arrogantly *to* a good person. 33. He distresses his own wife and child³, slave and servant; (34) and dissipates the joy of the good, (35) carries off peace, *and* brings in discord.

36. 'But every one must be cautious as to⁴ the moderate drinking of wine. 37. Because, from the moderate drinking of wine, thus much benefit happens to him: (38) since it digests the food, (39) kindles the *vital* fire⁵, (40) increases the understanding and intellect, semen and blood, (41) removes vexation, (42) *and* inflames the complexion.

¹ Reading *agas*, instead of *afas* (Pâz. *vas*); these two words being written alike in Pahlavi.

² TD2 has 'he becomes more friendly, gentler, and pleasanter unto wife and child and companions.' It also omits § 29.

³ TD2 inserts 'hireling.'

⁴ Or 'must become intelligent through.'

⁵ The animal heat, called the *Vohu-fryân* fire in Bd. XVII, 1.

43. It causes recollection of things forgotten, (44) *and* goodness takes a place in the mind. (45) It likewise increases the sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue; (46) *and* work, which it is necessary to do *and* expedite, becomes more progressive. 47. He *also* sleeps pleasantly in the sleeping place¹, *and* rises light. 48. And, on account of these contingencies, good repute for the body, righteousness for the soul, and also the approbation of the good² come upon him.

49. 'And in him who drinks wine more than moderately, thus much defect becomes manifest, (50) since it diminishes his wisdom, understanding and intellect, semen and blood; (51) it injures the liver³ and accumulates disease, (52) it alters the complexion, (53) and diminishes the strength and vigour. 54. The homage *and* glorification of the sacred beings become forgotten. 55. The sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue become less. 56. He distresses Horvada⁴ and Amerodad⁴ (57) *and* entertains a desire of lethargy⁵. 58. That, also, which it is necessary for him to say and do, remains undone; (59) *and* he sleeps in uneasiness, *and* rises uncomfortably. 60. *And*, on account of these contingencies, himself⁶,

¹ Nêr. has 'at sleeping time,' and the word gâs means either 'time' or 'place,' but usually the latter. TD2 has bâsn gâs, probably for bâlîsn gâs, 'bed place.'

² Nêr. inserts the words 'greatly increase' in the Sanskrit version, but they do not occur in TD2.

³ These four words occur only in TD2.

⁴ The two archangels who are supposed to be injured by improper eating and drinking (see Chap. II, 34 n).

⁵ Bûshâsp (Av. Bûshyâsta), the fiend of slothful sleep.

⁶ Or it can be translated 'his own body.'

wife, and child, friend *and* kindred are distressed *and* unhappy, (61) and the superintendent of troubles¹ and the enemy are glad. 62. The sacred beings, also, are not pleased with him; (63) and infamy comes to his body, and even wickedness to *his* soul.

64. 'Of the dress which people possess *and* put on², silk is good for the body, and cotton for the soul. 65. For this reason, because silk arises from a noxious creature³, (66) and the nourishment of cotton is from water, and *its* growth from earth⁴; and as a treasure of the soul it is called great and good and more valuable.'

CHAPTER XVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which is that pleasure which is worse than unhappiness?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Whoever has acquired wealth by crime, and he becomes glad of it thereby⁵, then that pleasure is worse for him than unhappiness.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore do people consider these very little,

¹ Meaning probably the evil spirit.

² The Sanskrit version omits the former verb, and TD2 the latter.

³ Caterpillars are creatures of Aharman, because they eat and injure vegetation which is under the special protection of the arch-angel Amerodaz.

⁴ Water and earth, being both personified as angels, would impart somewhat of their sacred character to the cotton arising from them.

⁵ 'Glad of the crime on account of the wealth' is probably meant.

these four things which it is necessary for them to consider more, as warnings (*dakhshak*), (3) the changeableness of the things of the worldly *existence*, the death of the body, the account of the soul¹, and the fear of hell?’

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: ‘On account of the delusiveness (*nīyâzânih*) of the demon of greediness², and of discontent.’

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Is living in fear *and* falsehood worse, or death?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘To live in fear and falsehood is worse than death. 5. Because every one’s life is necessary for the enjoyment *and* pleasure of the worldly *existence*, (6) and when the enjoyment *and* pleasure of the worldly *existence* are not his, and fear and even falsehood³ are with him, it is called worse than death.’

CHAPTER XX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘*For* kings which is the one thing more advantageous, and which the more injurious?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘For kings conversation with the wise *and* good is the

¹ That is, the account to be rendered by the soul after death.

² See Chap. VIII, 15 n.

³ These being considered as fiends; the latter, *mîrôkht*, being the first demon produced by the evil spirit (see Bd. I, 24, XXVIII, 14, 16).

one thing more advantageous, (5) and speaking *and* conversation with slanderers *and* double-dealers are the more injurious for them.'

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is the end of the world-arranging *and* spirit-destroying man? 3. What is the end of him who is a scoffing man? 4-6. What is the end of the idle, the malicious, and the lazy man? 7. What is the end of a false-hearted *one*, (8) and the end of an arrogant *one*¹?'

9. The spirit of wisdom answered (10) thus : 'He who is a world-arranging *and* spirit-destroying man is as injured, in the punishment of the three *nights*², as a raging fire when water comes upon it.

11³. 'Of him who is a scoffing man *there* is no glory in body and soul; (12) *and* every time when he opens *his* mouth his wickedness then increases. 13. All the fiends, too, become so lodged in his body, that they leave no goodness whatever for his body; (14) and he makes mockery of the good, and glorification of the vile. 15. Also in the worldly *existence* his body is infamous, and *in* the spiritual *existence* his soul is wicked. 16. And, for effecting *his* punishment in hell, they deliver him over to

¹ L19 has 'What is the end of him who is an idle man?' in § 4, and repeats the same formula in each of the §§ 5-8.

² Referring to the three days and nights of final punishment, reserved for those specially wicked, at the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 12-16).

³ In TD2 the remaining sections are arranged in the following order:—§§ 18, 27-33, 19-26, 34-44, 11-17.

the scoffing fiend; (17) *and* that fiend inflicts a ridicule and a mockery upon him with every single punishment.

18. 'As to him who is an idle man, yet devoid of wickedness, mostly when¹ death comes on in the worldly *existence*, he thereupon (agas) begets pleasantly for the sake of another.

19. 'The bridge² which is for the soul of him who is a malicious man is more difficult than *for* the other wicked who are in hell. 20. For this reason, because malice proceeds by lineage; (21) *and* it is possible to manage every sin better than malice, (22) because malice will abide in a lineage. 23. There are *instances* when it adheres³ until the renovation *of the universe*; (24) for *it* is clearly declared by the pure revelation, (25) that the origin of the estrangement (anîrânîh) of the Arûmans, *and* even the Tûrânians, *from* the Irânians, was owing to that malice which *was* generated by them through the slaughter of Aîrîk⁴; (26) *and it* always adheres until the renovation.

¹ L19 inserts 'misery and.'

² The Kîndvar bridge (see Chap. II, 115, 162), which is supposed to resemble a beam with many unequal sides, the side turned uppermost being narrower in proportion as the soul, intending to pass along it, is more wicked; so that the difficulty of the transit increases with the sin of the soul (see Dd. XXI, 3-5).

³ Or 'continues.'

⁴ Pâz. Erâz, one of the three sons of Frêdûn, the Pêsdâd sovereign, who divided his empire among them, giving the Arûman provinces to Salm, the Tûrânian to Tûg, and the Irânian to Aîrîk. The last was slain by his two brothers, and his death was subsequently avenged by his descendant Mânûskîhar (see Chap. XXVII, 41-43, Bd. XXXI, 9-12). Though these sons are not mentioned in the Avesta now extant, their history appears to have been related in the Kîdâst Nask (see Sls. X, 28 n).

27. 'He who is a lazy man is said *to be* the most unworthy of men. 28. Because *it* is declared by revelation, (29) that the creator Aûharmazd produced no corn for him who is a lazy man; (30) for him who is a lazy man *there* is then no giving of anything in gifts and charity¹; (31) and lodging and entertainment are not to be provided for him. 32. For this reason, because that food which a lazy man eats, he eats through impropriety and injustice; (33) and, on account of his laziness and unjust eating, his body then becomes infamous and the soul wicked.

34. 'He who is a false-hearted man is as dubious in good *things* as in bad; (35) *he* is dubious as to the treasure of the spiritual and worldly *existences*, and also as to the ceremonial, invocation, *and* service of the sacred beings. 36. And, on account of these circumstances, the angels *and* archangels shall accept little of the ceremonial *and* invocations which he performs, (37) and give unto him little of the gain, too, which he seeks. 38. And in the mouth of the good *man* *he* is always infamous, (39) and his soul becomes wicked.

40. 'The friends of him who is an arrogant man are few, and his enemies many. 41. And even of the gifts which he gives to any one, *and* the ceremonial, too, which he performs for the sacred beings, they shall accept little, on account of *his* arrogance, (42) and give little of the gain, too, which he seeks. 43. And in hell they deliver him to the fiend of arrogance, in order to inflict punishment upon *his* soul; (44) and the fiend of arrogance inflicts punishment of various kinds upon it, *and* is not pacified.'

¹ L19 has 'he then gives nothing *as* his living, which is through gifts and charity.'

CHAPTER XXII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is it possible to provide, for one's own hand, the treasure *and* wealth of the worldly *existence* through exertion, or not ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'It is not possible to provide for one's self, through exertion, that benefit which is not ordained ; (5) but a morsel (kazd) of that which is ordained comes on by means of exertion. 6. Yet the exertion, when it is fruitless in the worldly *existence*, through the sacred beings not *being* with it¹, still comes, afterwards, to *one's* assistance in the spiritual *existence*, *and* outweighs in the balance².'

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is it possible to contend with destiny through wisdom *and* knowledge, or not ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Even with the might and powerfulness of wisdom *and* knowledge, even then it is not possible to contend with destiny. 5. Because, when predestination as to virtue, or as to the reverse³, comes forth, the wise becomes wanting (nîyâzân) in duty, and the astute in evil *becomes* intelligent ; (6) the faint-hearted *becomes* braver, and the braver *becomes* faint-hearted ;

¹ TD₂ has 'time not *being* with it.'

² The balance in which men's actions are weighed by the angel Rashnû (see Chap. II, 119-122).

³ L₁₉ has 'vileness.'

(7) the diligent *becomes* lazy, and the lazy acts diligently¹. (8) Just as is predestined as to the matter, the cause enters into it, (9) *and* thrusts out everything else.'

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'On account of the begging of favours, and the practice and worthiness of good works, do the sacred beings also grant anything to men otherwise², or not?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'They grant; (5) for *there are* such as they call thus: "Destiny *and* divine providence." 6. Destiny is that which is ordained from the beginning, (7) *and* divine providence is that which they also grant otherwise. 8. But the sacred beings provide and manifest in the spiritual *existence* little of that grant, on this account, because Aharman, the wicked³, through the power of the seven planets extorts wealth, *and* also every other benefit of the worldly *existence*, from the good *and* worthy, *and* grants *them* more fully to the bad *and* unworthy.'

CHAPTER XXV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Of the rich who is the poorer, and of the poor who is the richer?'

¹ LI9 has 'becomes diligent.'

² That is, otherwise than by destiny, as mentioned in the previous chapter, and in consequence of prayer and merit.

³ TD2 inserts 'through that cause.'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of the rich he is the poorer who is not content with that which is his, (5) and suffers anxiety for the increase of anything.

6. 'And of the poor he is the richer who is content with that which has come, (7) and cares not for the increase of anything.'

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is a blind eye worse, or a blind mind (dīl)? 3. Is the ill-informed worse, or the bad-tempered?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'He who is blind-eyed, when he has understanding in anything, *and* accomplishes learning, is to be considered as sound-eyed. 6. *And* he who is sound-eyed, when he has no knowledge *and* understanding¹, and even that which they teach him he does not accept, then that is worse than even a blind eye.

7. 'The ill-tempered is less evil² than the ill-informed ; (8) because the ill-tempered, except by a decree, is not able to seize anything away from any one ; (9) and *as to* the ill-informed man, his desire of every kind is then³ for oppression and plunder. 10. Concerning him who is ill-informed *it* is declared that, apart from predestination, he is born *free* from fresh understanding⁴.'

¹ L19 has 'when he has no knowledge of anything.'

² L19 has 'is better.'

³ That is, when he has a decree in his favour.

⁴ § 10 is found only in TD2. It probably means that an ill-informed man is not likely to acquire any knowledge beyond that which is unavoidable.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore have the people who *were* from Gâyô-mard¹, and those, too, who *were* lords and monarchs, from Hôshâng², the Pêsdâd, even unto Vistâsp³, the king of kings, been such doers of *their own* wills?

3. Much benefit *was* also obtained by them from the sacred beings, (4) *and* they have been mostly those who *were* ungrateful unto the sacred beings, (5) and there are *some* even who have been very ungrateful, promise-breaking, *and* sinful. 6. For what benefit then have they *been* severally created, (7) and what result and advantage proceeded from them?'

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus: 'That which thou askest concerning them, *as to* benefit, or as to the reverse⁴, thou shouldst become aware of and fully understand. 10. Because the affairs of the world of every kind proceed through destiny and time and the supreme decree of the self-existent eternity (zôrvân), the king and long-continuing lord. 11. Since, at various periods, it happens unto every one, for whom it is allotted, just as that which is necessary to happen. 12. As even from the mutual connection of those ancients, who are passed

¹ Av. Gâya-maretan, the primeval man from whom the whole human race is supposed to have sprung, and who lived for thirty years after the advent of the evil spirit (see Bd. III, 22, XXXIV, 2).

² Av. Haoshyangha, the first monarch of the Irânian world, and founder of the Pêsdâd (Av. paradhâta, 'early law') dynasty. He was the great-grandson of Mâshya, the first earthly man that sprang from Gâyômarð, and is said to have reigned for forty years (see Bd. XV, 21-28, XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 4).

³ See Chap. XIII, 14 n.

⁴ L19 has 'evil.'

away, it is manifest (13) that, ultimately, that benefit arose which was necessary to come from them to the creatures of Aûharmazd.

14. 'Because the advantage from Gâyômarð was this, (15) first, the slaying of Ârzûr¹, and making delivery of his own body, with great judiciousness, to Aharman². 16. *And* the second advantage was this, (17) that mankind and all the guardian spirits of the producers of the renovation of the universe, males³ and females⁴, were produced from his body. 18. *And*, thirdly, this⁵, that even the metals were produced and formed⁶ from his body⁷.

19. 'And the advantage from Hôshâng, the Pêsdâd, was this, (20) that, of three parts, he slew two parts of the demons of Mâzendar⁸, who were destroyers of the world.

21. 'The advantage from Tâkhmorup⁹, the well-

¹ Written Aîrzûr in TD2. It has been suggested by Windischmann (Zor. Stud. p. 5) that this was the name of a demon, afterwards applied to the Arezûr ridge at the gate of hell (see Bd. XII, 8), but this requires confirmation. Regarding this ridge the following explanation occurs in the Pahlavi Rivâyât which precedes Dd. in many MSS. :—'They say that hell is the ridge (pûstô) of Arekzûr; and hell is not the ridge of Arekzûr, but that place where the gate of hell exists is a ridge (grîvakô) such as the ridge named Arekzûr, and owing to that they assert that it is the ridge (pûstô) of Arekzûr.' The explainer appears to mean that the ridge at the gate of hell was named after the other Mount Arezûr, in Arûm (see Bd. XII, 16).

² Compare Bd. III, 21-23.

³ L19 has 'righteous males.'

⁴ Fifteen of each, as stated in Bd. XXX, 17.

⁵ L19 has 'this advantage.' ⁶ L19 omits the former verb.

⁷ See Zs. X, 2, Dd. LXIV, 7.

⁸ See Dd. LXV, 5, referring probably to the demon-worshippers of Mâzendarân, south of the Caspian.

⁹ Av. Takhmô-urupa, the Tahnûras of the Shâhnâmah; he

grown, was this, (22) that the accursed evil *one*, the wicked, *was* kept by him thirty years as a charger¹. 23. *And* the writing of penmanship of seven kinds, which that wicked *one* kept in concealment, he brought out to publicity.

24. 'The advantage from the well-flocked Yim-shêd², son of Vîvangha, was this, (25) that an immortality of six hundred years, six months, and sixteen days³ is provided by him for the creatures and creation, of every kind, of the creator Aûhar-mazd; (26) *and* they are made unsuffering, undecaying, *and* undisturbed⁴. (27) Secondly, this⁵, that the enclosure formed by Yim⁶ *was* made by him; (28) *and* when that rain of Malkôs⁷ occurs—since *it* is declared in revelation that mankind and

is said to have been a great-grandson of Hôshâng, whom he succeeded on the throne, and to have reigned thirty years (see Bd. XXXI, 2, XXXIV, 4). Written Takhmôrîdô in TD₂.

¹ See Râm Yt. 12, Zamyâd Yt. 29.

² Av. Yima khshaêta, 'Yim the splendid,' he was a brother of his predecessor, Tâkhmorup, and the Bundahîs states that he reigned six hundred and sixteen years and six months in glory, and one hundred years in concealment (see Chap. VIII, 27, Bd. XXXI, 3, XXXIV, 4).

³ TD₂ has only 'three hundred years,' by the accidental omission of a cipher; it also omits the months and days.

⁴ See Vend. II, 16, Râm Yt. 16, Zamyâd Yt. 33.

⁵ L19 has 'this advantage.'

⁶ See Chap. LXII, 15-19. The formation of this enclosure is ordered by Aûhar-mazd in Vend. II, 61-92, for the preservation of mankind, animals, and plants from the effects of a glacial epoch which he foretells, and which is here represented as the rain of Malkôs.

⁷ This term for 'deluging rain' may be traced either to Chald. ܡܠܟܐ 'autumnal rain,' or to Av. mahrkûsô, the title of a demon regarding whom nothing is yet known (see Dd. XXXVII, 94 n and SBE, vol. xviii, p. 479).

the other creatures and creations of Aûharmazd, the lord, are mostly those which shall perish¹—(29) *one* shall afterwards open the gate of that enclosure formed by Yim, (30) *and* the people *and* cattle, and other creatures and creations of the creator Aûharmazd, shall come out from that enclosure, (31) and arrange the world again. 32. Thirdly, (33) when² he brought back the proportion of the worldly *existences*, which that evil-producing wicked *one*³ had swallowed, from his belly⁴. Fourthly, when a goat (gôspend) *was* not given by him to the demons in the character of an old man⁵.

34. 'And the advantage from Az-î Dahâk, the

¹ L19 has merely 'shall mostly perish,' in place of these last six words.

² L19 has 'thirdly, this advantage, that.'

³ L19 adds 'who is Aharman.'

⁴ According to a legend preserved in the Persian Rivâyats (see MH10, fol. 52) Aharman, while kept as a charger by Tâkhmorup, induced the wife of the latter to ascertain from her husband whether he ever felt fear while riding the fiend, and, acting upon the information thus obtained, he threw the king from his back while descending from the Alburz mountains, and swallowed him. Information of this event was conveyed to Yim by the angel Srôsh, who advised him to seek the fiend and propitiate him. Yim, accordingly, went into the wilderness singing, to attract Aharman, and, when the fiend appeared, Yim ingratiated himself into his favour and, taking advantage of an unguarded moment, he dragged Tâkhmorup out of the fiend's entrails, and placed the corpse in a depository for the dead. In consequence of this feat his hand was attacked with leprosy, from which he suffered greatly until it was accidentally washed in bull's urine, which healed it. This legend is related for the purpose of recommending the use of bull's urine for purification of the body.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'as a substitute for an old man.' This fourth advantage is found only in TD2, where the text is as follows:—*'Kahârûm, amatar gôspend pavan gôharîk-î pîr va/ sêdân lâ yehabûntô.'*

Bêvarâsp¹, and the accursed Frâstyâk of Tûr¹ was this, (35) that, if the dominion should not have come to Bêvarâsp *and* Frâstyâk, the accursed evil spirit would then have given that dominion unto Aeshm²; (36) and when it would have come unto Aeshm, it would not have been possible to take *it* away from him till the resurrection *and* future existence, (37) for this reason, because he has no bodily existence³.

38. 'And the advantage from Frêdûn⁴ was this, (39) such as the vanquishing *and* binding of Azî Dahâk, the Bêvarâsp⁵, who *was* so grievously sinful. 40. And, again too, many demons of Mâzendar⁶ were smitten by him, and expelled from the region of Khvanîras⁷.

41. 'And the advantage from Mânûskîhar⁸ was this, (42, 43) that, in revenge for Aîrîk, who was his grandfather, Salm and Tûg *were* kept back by him from disturbing the world⁹. 44. From the land of

¹ See Chap. VIII, 29.

² The demon of wrath (see Chap. II, 115).

³ And would, therefore, have continued to live and reign till the resurrection.

⁴ See Chap. VIII, 27. He is said to have reigned for five hundred years (see Bd. XXXIV, 6), but this period includes the lives of ten generations of his descendants who did not reign (see Bd. XXXI, 14).

⁵ He is said to have been confined in Mount Dimâvand (see Bd. XXIX, 9).

⁶ See § 20.

⁷ The central region of the earth, containing all the countries best known to the Irânians, and supposed to be as large as the six outer regions united (see Bd. XI, 2-6).

⁸ The successor of Frêdûn, who reigned one hundred and twenty years (see Bd. XXXIV, 6). He was a descendant, in the tenth generation, from Aîrîk, one of the sons of Frêdûn, who had been slain by his brothers Salm and Tûg (see Bd. XXXI, 9-14).

⁹ Lîg has 'that he slew Salm and Tûg, who were his great-

Padashkhvârgar¹ unto the beginning of Dûgakô², such as Frâsîyâk³ had taken, by treaty (*padmânô*)⁴ he seized back from Frâsîyâk, *and* brought *it* into the possession of the countries of Irân. *And as to* the enlargement of the sea of Kânsâi⁵, such as Frâsîyâk supplied, he also expelled the water from it.

45. 'And the advantage from Kaî-Kavâd⁶ was

uncles, in revenge for Aîrîk, *and* kept *them* back from disturbing the world.'

¹ The mountainous region in Taparistân and Gilân, south of the Caspian (see Bd. XII, 17).

² L19 has 'hell.' This Dûgakô may possibly be meant for the Duzakô of Vend. I, 34, of which Vaêkereta was the chief settlement, and this latter is identified with Kâzûl (Kâbul) by the Pahlavi translators. The name can also be read Gangakô, which might be identified with Canzaca, but this would not correspond so well with the legend, alluded to in the text, which relates how Mânûsîhar, having shut himself up in the impregnable fortress of Âmul in Taparistân, could not be conquered by Frâsîyâk, who was compelled to come to terms, whereby all the country within an arrow-shot east of Mount Dimâvand should remain subject to Mânûsîhar. The arrow was shot and kept on its flight from dawn till noon, when it fell on the bank of the Oxus, which river was thenceforward considered the frontier of the Irânians. This frontier would fully include all the territory between Taparistân and Kâbul mentioned in the text. In Bd. XXXI, 21 the success of Mânûsîhar is attributed to some dispute between Frâsîyâk and his brother, Aghrêrad.

³ See Chap. VIII, 29 n.

⁴ L19 has 'such as was made the portion (*padmânô*) of Frâsîyâk.'

⁵ Called Kyânsîh in Bd. XIII, 16, XX, 34, where it is stated that it was formerly fresh, but latterly salt, and that Frâsîyâk diverted many rivers and streams into it. It is the brackish lake and swamp now called Hâmûn, 'the desert,' or Zarah, 'the sea,' in Sistân. In the Avesta it is called Kâsu, and the future apostles of the Mazda-worshipping faith are expected to be born on its shores.

⁶ Av. Kavi Kavâta, the Kaî-Qubâd of the Shâhnâmah. He

this, (46) that he became a thanksgiver unto the sacred beings. 47. Dominion, also, *was* well exercised by him, (48) *and* the family and race of the Kayâns proceeded again from him.

49. 'And the advantage from Sâhm¹ was [this], (50) that the serpent Srôvar² and the wolf Kapûd³, which they also call Pêhñô⁴, the watery demon Gandarep⁵, the bird Kamak⁶, and the deluding demon *were* slain by him. 51. And he also performed many other great and valuable actions, (52) and kept back much disturbance from the world, (53) *as to* which, when one of those disturbances, in particular, should have remained behind, it would not have been possible to produce the resurrection and future existence.

54. 'And the advantage from Kât-Ûs⁷ was this,

was the founder of the Kayân dynasty, and reigned fifteen years (see Bd. XXXI, 24, 25, XXXIV, 7).

¹ The brackets indicate the end of the passage taken from TDz and the Pâzand version, in consequence of the nine folios containing Chaps. XIV, 1-XXVII, 49 being lost from K43. From this point the translation follows the text of K43. Sâhm (Av. Sâma) was the family name of the hero Keresâsp (see Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136), who was a son of Thrîta the Sâman (see Yas. IX, 30, 31). For the legends relating to him, see SBE, vol. xviii, pp. 369-382. His name is written Sâm in Pâzand.

² Av. *azi srvara* (see Yas. IX, 34-39, Zamyâd Yt. 40).

³ Or 'the blue wolf;' not yet identified in the Avesta.

⁴ Darmesteter (SBE, vol. xxiii, p. 295, note 4) identifies this name with Pathana of Zamyâd Yt. 41, which seems to mean 'highwayman;' but this identification appears to depend merely on similarity of sound.

⁵ Av. *Gandarewa* of Âbân Yt. 38, Râm Yt. 28, Zamyâd Yt. 41.

⁶ A gigantic bird mentioned in the Persian Rivâyats as overshadowing the earth and keeping off the rain, while it ate up men and animals like grains of corn, until Keresâsp killed it with arrows shot continuously for seven days and nights.

⁷ See Chap. VIII, 27 n. He was a grandson of Kaî-Kavâd,

(55) as *Siyâvakhsh*¹ was produced from his body.
56. Many other actions also proceeded from him.

57. 'And the advantage from *Siyâvakhsh* was this, (58) such as the begetting of *Kaî-Khûsrôî*², and the formation of *Kangdez*³.

59. 'And the advantage from *Kaî-Khûsrôî* was this, (60) such as the slaying of *Frâstyâk*⁴, (61) the extirpation of the idol-temples which *were* on the lake of *Kêkêst*⁵, (62) and the management of *Kangdez*. 63. And *he* is able to do good through his assistance of the raising of the dead⁶ *by* the restorer of the dead, the triumphant *Sôshâns*⁷, which is in the future existence.

64. 'And the advantage from *Kaî-Lôharâsp*⁸ was

whom he succeeded, and is said to have reigned a hundred and fifty years (see Bd. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7), but perhaps this period may have included the reign of his father, whom tradition has nearly forgotten.

¹ Av. *Syâvarshân*, the *Siyâvush* of the *Shâhnâmâh*. Though both his father and son were kings, he did not reign himself. L19 has *Kaî-Syâvash*.

² See Chap. II, 95.

³ Av. *Kangha*. A fortified settlement said to have been 'in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed of the wide-formed ocean towards that side,' and on the frontier of *Afrân-vêg* (see Chap. LXII, 13, Bd. XXIX, 10).

⁴ See Chap. VIII, 29. This name must have been applied rather to a dynasty than to a single individual, as he reigned in *Irân* in the time of *Mânûskîhar*, nearly two hundred years earlier.

⁵ See Chap. II, 95.

⁶ He is expected to assist in the renovation of the universe at the resurrection, together with *Keresâsp* and other heroes (see Chap. LVII, 7, Dd. XXXVI, 3).

⁷ See Chap. II, 95.

⁸ Av. *Kavi* and *Aurvadaśpa*. He was a descendant of *Kaî-Kavâd* in the fifth generation, being a second cousin once removed of his predecessor, *Kaî-Khûsrôî*, and reigned a hundred and twenty years (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28, XXXIV, 7).

this, (65) that dominion was well exercised by him, (66) and he became a thanksgiver unto the sacred beings. 67. He demolished the Jerusalem of the Jews¹, and made the Jews dispersed *and* scattered; *and* the acceptor of the religion, Kai-Vistâsp², *was* produced from his body.

68. 'And the advantage from Vistâsp was this, (69) such as the acceptance and solemnization of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, (70) through the divine voice (*bakân aêvâz*) of the Ahunavar³, the word of the creator Aûhar Mazda; (71) the annihilation and destruction of the bodies of the demons and fiends; (72) and the pleasure and comfort of water and fire and all the angels and spirits of the worldly existences⁴. 73. And *he was* full of the hope of the good and worthy, (74) through a virtuous desire for his own determination, (75) the compensation (*nôs dasnô*)⁵ and gratification of Aûhar Mazda, with the archangels, (76) and the affliction and destruction of Aharman and the⁶ miscreations.'

¹ Aûrisalêmi Yahûdânô. The first fourteen words of § 67 do not occur in the Pâz.-Sans. version, but a corresponding statement is found in a Persian metrical version, described by Sachau in his Contributions to the Knowledge of Parsee Literature (J.R.A.S., New Series, vol. iv, pp. 229-283), also in the works of several Arab writers of the tenth century (see Nöldeke, Göt. gel. Anz. 1882, p. 964).

² See Chap. XIII, 14 n.

³ The most sacred formula of the Mazda-worshippers, consisting of twenty-one words, forming three metrical lines of sixteen syllables each, beginning with *yathâ ahû vairyô*, 'as a patron spirit is desirable.' It is supposed to have been uttered by Aûhar Mazda, for the discomfiture of Aharman, on the first appearance of that evil spirit in the universe (see Bd. I, 21).

⁴ L19 has 'all the angels of the spiritual and worldly existences.'

⁵ L19 has *u shnâisn*, 'and the propitiation.'

⁶ L19 has 'his.'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Who is the more forgiving (vakhshayânîktar) ? 3. What is the more in strength ? 4. What is the swifter¹ ? 5. What is the happier ? 6. What is the more miserable² ?'

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus : 'Aû-harmazd, the lord, is the more forgiving. 9. He saw³ the nine thousand years' mischief⁴ among his own creatures, owing to Aharman, yet afterwards, through justice and forgiveness, he does not then smite him *for* it⁵.

10. 'And the *celestial* sphere is the more in strength. 11. The intellect⁶ of mankind is the swifter. 12. The souls of the righteous are the happier. 13. *And* those of the wicked are the more penitent⁷.'

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is it necessary to keep with more regard and more protection ?'

¹ Or 'sharper.'

² L19 adds 'what is the more hopeless ?'

³ L19 has 'who sees.'

⁴ The period appointed for the conflict between the good and evil spirits (see Chap. VIII, 11).

⁵ Reading êdînasas, which Nêr. has misread ainâs, 'otherwise him.' L19 has 'yet then, except with justice and patience, he does not smite him otherwise.' It is also possible to read 'he does not smite him without listening (agûshas).'

⁶ L19 has 'the thought.'

⁷ L19 has 'the more miserable and more hopeless.'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'It is necessary to keep a young serving-boy (*rasîk*)¹, a wife, a beast *of burden*, and a fire with more protection and more regard.'

CHAPTER XXX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which of any living *existence* (*ztvêndag-i*) is the worse? 3. And in wisdom who is the more unforeseeing²?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'A life of him is the worse, who lives in fear and falsehood³. 6. And in wisdom he is the more unforeseeing, who does not provide for⁴ the spiritual *existence*, and attends to the worldly *one*.'

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'What is the business of the priests, warriors, and husbandmen⁵, each separately?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The business of the priests is to maintain the religion properly; (5) and to perform the ceremonial and invocation of the sacred beings well *and* with atten-

¹ L19 has 'a young boy (redak).'

² Literally, 'more unknowing (*apasdânîktar*). L19 has 'more unapprovable (*apasandasnîtar*).'

³ See Chap. XIX, 6.

⁴ L19 has 'does not believe in.'

⁵ The three classes which are often mentioned in the Avesta as constituting the *Mazda*-worshipping community. For their vices, see Chap. LIX.

tion, (6) and¹ the decrees, decisions², custom, and control³, as revealed by the pure, good religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers. 7. To make people aware of the goodness of good works⁴; (8) and to show the way to heaven, and the danger and avoidance of hell.

9. 'The business of the warriors is to defeat the enemy; (10) and to keep their own country and land (bûm)⁵ unalarmed and tranquil.

11. 'And the business of the husbandmen is to perform tillage and cultivation; (12) and, to the extent of *their* ability, to keep the world invigorated and populous.'

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'What is the business of the well-endeavouring⁶, the artisans?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The business of the artisans is this, (5) that *as to* that work which they do not understand, they do not bring a hand to it; (6) and that which they well⁷

¹ L19 inserts 'to keep true.'

² K43 has *dâd dâdistân*, 'decisions of the law;' but the repetition of the syllable *dâd* is probably a clerical blunder.

³ L19 omits *va band*, 'and control.'

⁴ L19 has 'aware of good works and sin.'

⁵ L19 has *vîmand*, 'frontier.'

⁶ The *hûtûkhshân* (Av. *hûiti*) are the fourth class of the community, and are very rarely mentioned in the Avesta, possibly because they were originally enslaved outcasts or aborigines, as in other ancient communities. The passage where they are specially mentioned (Yas. XIX, 46) is probably taken from the Bagh Nask (see Sls. X, 26 n; XIII, 1 n, 9 n).

⁷ L19 omits 'well.'

understand (*hû-dânend*), they perform well *and* with attention; (7) and they demand wages lawfully. (8). For *as to him* who persists in doing that work which¹ he does not understand, it is *he* *by* whom that work is spoiled and becomes useless; and when, moreover, he is a man whose work makes himself satisfied, it then becomes even an origin of sin for him.'

CHAPTER XXXIII.



1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: '*As to* a ruler², (3) a chieftain, (4) a friend, (5) a kinsman, (6) a wife, (7) a child, (8) and a country, which is the worse?'

9. The spirit of wisdom answered (10) thus: 'That ruler is the worse, that is not able to keep the country unalarmed, and the people untroubled.

11. That chieftain is the worse, who is defective in ability, unthankful unto agents (*karḍârân*), and no helper and interceder for a servant (*asâk*)³.

12. That friend is the worse, who is not fit to be relied upon. 13. That kinsman is the worse, who is no helper in illness (*khastânak*)⁴. 14. That wife is the worse, with whom it is not possible to live with pleasure. 15. That child is the worse, who is no bringer of renown. 16. And that country is the worse, in which it is not possible to live in happiness, fearlessness, and permanence.'

¹ L19 omits 'work,' and K43 omits 'which.'

² L19 makes §§ 2-7 each a separate question, by adding 'which is the worse' to each, as in § 8.

³ L19 has *asâgardân*, 'disciples.'

⁴ Or, 'in accident (*hastânak*).'

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Has the creator Aûharmazd produced the creation of anything whatever for the worldly *existence*¹, unto which Aharman is not able to bring disturbance ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'To him who is a wise and contented man it is *but* little possible to bring disturbance.'

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How many are those people whom it is necessary to consider as rich, and how many are those who are poor ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'These are the people it is necessary to consider as rich :— (5) one is he who is perfect in wisdom ; (6) the second, whose body is healthy, and he lives fearlessly ; (7) the third, who is content with that which has come ; (8) the fourth, he whose destiny is a helper in virtue ; (9) the fifth, who is well-famed in the eyes of the sacred beings, and *by* the tongues of the good ; (10) the sixth, whose trust is on this one, pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers ; (11) *and* the seventh, whose wealth is from honesty.

12. 'And these are the people to be considered as poor :—(13) one is he *with* whom there is no wisdom ; (14) the second, whose body is not healthy ; (15) the third, who lives in his fear, terror², and falsehood ; (16) the fourth, who is not ruling in his

¹ L19 omits these four words.

² L19 omits 'terror.'

own body ; (17) the fifth, whose destiny is no helper ; (18) the sixth, who is infamous in the eyes of the sacred beings, and *on* the tongues of the good ; (19) *and* the seventh, who is old, *and* no child and kindred exist.'

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which sin is the more heinous?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of the sin which people commit, unnatural intercourse is the more heinous. 5. The second is *he* who *has* suffered *or* performed intercourse with men. 6. The third, who slays a righteous man. 7. The fourth, who breaks off a next-of-kin marriage¹. 8. The fifth, who destroys the arrangement of an adopted son (satôr)². 9. The sixth, who smites the fire of Varahrâm³. 10. The seventh, who kills a water-beaver⁴. 11. The eighth, who worships an idol.

¹ See Chap. IV, 4 n.

² If a man has not appointed an adopted son during his lifetime, and leaves property producing an income of eighty-four rūpīs or more, but no privileged wife, or child, or domesticated brother, fit for the duty of guardianship, then an adopted son must be appointed by his nearest relations after his death (see Dd. LVI-LX).

³ The sacred fire, named after the angel Varahrâm or Vâhrâm (see Chap. II, 115).

⁴ The baprakō-î âvîk is the Av. bawris upâpô, with whose skins Ardvîsûra, the angel of water, is said to be clothed (Âbân Yt. 129). It is said to have been 'created in opposition to the demon which is in the water' (see Bd. XIX, 29). Whether it is the same as the Av. udra upâpa, 'water-otter,' is not quite certain ; but killing the latter was considered (for some reason not clearly ascertained) a very heinous sin, for which the proper atonement is fully detailed in Vend. XIV.

12. The ninth, who believes and wishes to worship in every religion. 13. The tenth, who consumes anything which is received into his custody, and becomes an embezzler. 14. The eleventh is he who, through sinfulness, provides support for wickedness¹. 15. The twelfth, who does no work, but eats unthankfully and unlawfully. 16. The thirteenth, who commits heresy (zandîkîh)². 17. The fourteenth, who commits witchcraft. 18. The fifteenth, who commits apostasy (aharmôkîh)³. 19. The sixteenth, who *commits*⁴ demon-worship. 20. The seventeenth, who *commits* theft, or abetting (avâgîdîh) of thieves. 21. The eighteenth, who *commits* promise-breaking⁵. 22. The nineteenth, who *commits* maliciousness. 23. The twentieth, who commits oppression to make the things of others his own. 24. The twenty-first, who dis-

¹ L19 has 'falsehood.'

² The term zandîk, according to Mas'aûdî (chap. xxiv), was first applied to the Manicheans, and afterwards to all others who followed the commentary (zand) in preference to the Avesta; finally, however, the Arabs applied the term to the Persians, probably with its acquired meaning of 'heretic' or 'infidel.' A different explanation of the term is given in Pahl. Yas. LX, 11, where it is stated that 'Zand is the apostle of the wizards, and through Zand it is possible to perform witchcraft.' The Sanskrit version here adds, 'that is, he thinks well of Aharman and the demons;' and in PA10 it continues thus: 'the atheist's religion, the wicked way *that* there is no creator, there is no heaven, there is no hell, there is no resurrection, and so on; such is the meaning.'

³ From Av. ashemaogha, 'disturbing righteousness.' Nêr. adds in Sanskrit, 'that is, having thoroughly known the meaning of the Avesta, he becomes deceived.'

⁴ As the verb in § 23 can apply, in Pahlavi, to any number of preceding sections, it is omitted by K43 in §§ 19-22. The verb is also omitted by K43 in § 25 for a similar reason.

⁵ Or 'breach of contract.'

tresses a righteous man. 25. The twenty-second, who *commits* slander. 26. The twenty-third, who commits arrogance. 27. The twenty-fourth, who goes to a professional courtesan¹. 28. The twenty-fifth, who commits ingratitude. 29. The twenty-sixth, who speaks false and untrue². 30. The twenty-seventh, who causes discontent as to the affairs of those who are departed³. 31. The twenty-eighth, whose pleasure is from viciousness *and* harassing the good. 32. The twenty-ninth, who considers sin as to be urged on, and a good work as a day's delay⁴. 33. *And* the thirtieth, who becomes grieved by that happiness which is provided by him for any one.'

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Through how many ways and motives of good works do people arrive most at heaven?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The first good work is liberality⁵. 5. The second, truth. 6. The third, thankfulness. 7. The fourth, contentment. 8. The fifth, wanting to produce welfare for the good, and becoming a friend to every one. 9. The sixth, being without doubt as to this, that the

¹ Such appears to be the meaning of zan-ô-i kârân. L19 has zan-i kasân, 'the wives of others.'

² Or 'irreverent,' according as we read arâstô or anâstô.

³ L19 has 'secluded and departed,' similar to Chap. XXXVII, 23.

⁴ It is doubtful whether sîpang, 'a halting-place,' or sîpôg, 'setting aside,' should be read; but the meaning is practically the same.

⁵ Compare Chap. IV, which divides good works into seven classes.

sky and earth and every benefit of the worldly and spiritual *existences* are owing to the creator Aûhar-mazd. 10. The seventh, *being so* as to the unquestionableness of this¹, that all misery and affliction are owing to Aharman the wicked, who is accursed. 11. The eighth, freedom from doubt as to the resurrection and future existence. 12. The ninth, who for love of the soul effects² a next-of-kin marriage. 13. The tenth, who arranges adoption³. 14. The eleventh, who practises regular industry. 15. The twelfth, who is without doubt in this pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 16. The thirteenth, who is kindly regardful as to the ability and means of every one. 17. The fourteenth, who perceives⁴ the kind regard of the good, and becomes himself, also, kindly regardful as to the goodness which *one* wants among the good. 18. The fifteenth, who seeks the affection of the good. 19. The sixteenth, who keeps malice and uncharitableness far from *his* mind. 20. The seventeenth, who bears no improper envy. 21. The eighteenth, who forms no desire of lust. 22. The nineteenth, who produces no discord with any one. 23. The twentieth, who brings no distress into the affairs of a departed and unassisted *one* (*avigîd*)⁵. 24. The twenty-first, who

¹ By the transposition of two words L19 has 'freedom from doubt as to this.'

² Whether for himself, or for another, is uncertain (see Chap. IV, 4n).

³ Nêr. explains in Sanskrit, thus: 'that is, whoever becomes a spirit childless, maintains any man, with his wealth, for his fame and his lineage, then thus the soul, too, is for an increase of good works.'

⁴ L19 transposes the two verbs, 'perceives' and 'wants.'

⁵ Nêr. reads *hvazîd*, which he identifies with Pers. *hazîd*, 'con-

lets¹ no wrath into *his* body. 25. The twenty-second, who commits no sin on account of disgrace². 26. The twenty-third, who forms no desire of lethargy on account of laziness. 27. The twenty-fourth, who is without doubt as to the sacred beings. 28. The twenty-fifth, who is without doubt as to the existence of heaven and hell, and the account which is *to be rendered* by the soul, the glory which is in heaven, and the misery which is in hell. 29. The twenty-sixth, who abstains³ from slander and envious looks. 30. The twenty-seventh, who causes the happiness of himself, and gives happy advancement also to others. 31. The twenty-eighth, who becomes the help⁴ of the good, and accuser of the bad. 32. The twenty-ninth, who restrains himself from deceit and evil (*dûstî*)⁵. 33. The thirtieth, who does not speak false and untrue⁶. 34. The thirty-first, who restrains himself firmly from promise-breaking. 35. The thirty-second, who, for the sake of seeking his own benefit and happiness, causes the abstinence of others from evil. 36. *And* the thirty-third, who provides lodging accommodation for the sick and secluded⁷ and traders.'

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when they do not allot the happiness

ceased, secluded;' and which might also be taken in the sense of one who has 'crawled,' meaning a young child; but the identification is doubtful.

¹ L19 has 'keeps.'

² That is, 'for fear of disgrace.'

³ L19 has 'restrains himself.'

⁴ L19 has 'helper.'

⁵ L19 has *hva d-dôshî*, 'self-conceit.'

⁶ See Chap. XXXVI, 29 n.

⁷ See Chap. XV, 6 n.

of the worldly *existence* according to worthiness, and they make the soul a seizer upon the spiritual *existences* by worthiness of action ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'On account of the compassion of Aûharmazd, the lord, as regards the creatures, he allots all happiness alike among the good and alike among the bad. 5. But when it does not always come upon them, *it is* on account of the oppression of Aharman and the demons, and the extortion of those seven planets ¹.

6. 'And they make *one* ² a seizer upon the spiritual *existences*, by worthiness of action, on this account, because the wickedness of any ³ one arises through the performance of his own actions.'

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which power is the more seemly? 3. In wisdom who is the more complete? 4. And in disposition who is the more faithful? 5. Whose speech is the more proper? 6. In whose mind is the goodness little ⁴? 7. And as a friend who is the worse? 8. In whose mind is the pleasure little? 9. In heart who is the more seemly? 10. In endurance who is the more approvable? 11. Who is not to be considered as faithful? 12. What is that which is worth keeping with every one? 13. And what

¹ Which are supposed to be agents of Aharman for causing misfortune to the creatures (see Chaps. VIII, 19, 20; XII, 7-10).

² L19 has 'the soul.'

³ L19 has 'every.'

⁴ L19 has 'much the more,' to correspond with a different reply in § 26.

is that which is not to be kept with any one? 14. What is to be preserved in conversation? 15. Who is he that is not to be accepted as a witness? 16. And unto whom is it necessary to be obedient? 17. What is it more necessary to mind and to keep praising? 18. What is that which is not to be made unrespected in any way? 19. What is he who, in his own degree, is said *to be* such as Aôtharmazd and the archangels? 20. And what is he who, in his own degree, is¹ such as Aharman and the demons?’

21. The spirit of wisdom answered (22) thus: ‘In power he is the more seemly who, when he indulges his wrath, is able to allay the wrath, and not commit sin and gratify himself. 23. And in wisdom he is the more complete who is able to preserve his own soul. 24. In disposition he is the more faithful, in whom there is nothing whatever *of* deceit and pretence. 25. The speech of him is the more proper who speaks more true. 26. Goodness is little in the mind of a man of wrath². 27. As a friend, a malicious man who is a fighter is worse. 28. And pleasure is little in the mind of him who is an envious man. 29. In heart he is the more seemly who abandons the worldly *existence* and seizes the spiritual *one*; (30) and by his own will accepts righteousness as a yoke (*val kavarmān*)³. 31. And in endurance he is the more approvable who⁴,

¹ L19 has ‘is said *to be*.’

² L19 has ‘goodness is more in an humble-minded man,’ so as to correspond with the difference in its question in § 6.

³ Literally, ‘for the neck.’ Nêr. has misread *val-i-k valman* (Pâz. ô-ka ôi), and has ‘by his own will for it, also accepts righteousness.’

⁴ From this point to Chap. XL, 17, the Pahlavi text of K43 is missing, owing to the loss of one folio in that MS. The copy of

[contentedly and with a will, accepts, as a yoke¹,] the misery and affliction which [come upon] him [from Aharman and the demons and the vile; (32) *and* it, in no way, harasses his own soul. 33. He is not to be considered as faithful who has no fear of the sacred beings, *nor* shame as to mankind. 34. Those which are worth keeping with every one are peace and affection. 35. And those which are not to be kept with any one whatever are malice *and* discord. 36. All² these three are to be preserved in conversation: good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds in one's own thinking, speaking, *and* doing. 37. These three are not to be accepted as a witness: a woman³, a young serving-boy⁴, and a man-slave. 38. These are such as must be personally obedient *and* do service: (39) the wife unto the husband, (40) and the child unto the father and mother, the chieftain⁵ and high-priest, the teacher⁶, the adopted son⁷, and secluded⁸ kindred. 41. *And* unto rulers, chieftains, *and* teachers *one* is also to be obedient. 42. The sacred beings it is more necessary to mind and to keep praising. 43. And one's own soul is not to be made⁹ unrespected in any mode, (44) *and* is always to be kept

TD2 is, therefore, followed, and its translation is enclosed in brackets.

¹ See § 30 n.

² L19 omits 'all.'

³ Or 'a wife,' as both meanings are expressed by the same word, and, in fact, every woman is expected to become a wife.

⁴ L19 has 'a young boy,' as in Chap. XXIX, 4.

⁵ The word *sardâr* (Pâz. *sâlâr*) also means 'guardian.'

⁶ L19 inserts 'and fire.'

⁷ See Chap. XXXVI, 8 n. As the adopted son takes the place of the deceased father, he must be obeyed accordingly by the whole family.

⁸ See Chap. XV, 6 n.

⁹ L19 has 'considered.'

in remembrance. 45. The judge who exercises true justice, *and* takes no bribe, is¹, in his own degree, such as Aûharmazd and the archangels. 46. And he who exercises false justice is said *to be*, in his own degree, such as Aharman and the demons.'

CHAPTER XL.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is the colder and what is the warmer? 3. What is the brighter and what is the darker? 4. What is the fuller and what is the emptier²? 5. What end is the more fruitless³? 6. What is that thing of which no superfluity arises *for* any one? 7. What is that which no one is able to deprive *one of*? 8. What is that thing which it is not possible to buy at a price? 9. What is that thing with which every one is always⁴ satisfied? 10. What is that with which no one⁵ whatever is satisfied? 11. What is that one wish that Aûharmazd, the lord, *contemplates*⁶ as regards men? 12. What is that one wish that Aharman, the wicked, contemplates as regards men? 13. What is the end of the worldly *existence* and what is the end of⁷ the spiritual *one*?'

14. The spirit of wisdom answered (15) thus : 'The heart of the righteous is the warmer, and that

¹ L19 has 'is said *to be*.'

² Reading tôhîktar, both here and in § 17; L19 has tangîtar, as if for tangtar, 'narrower,' in both places.

³ TD2 has 'fearless,' but this does not correspond with § 18.

⁴ L19 omits 'always.'

⁵ L19 has 'nothing.'

⁶ The verb in § 12 is sufficient in Pahlavi for this section also.

⁷ L19 omits these five words.

of the wicked the colder. 16. Righteousness is the brighter, and wickedness the darker. 17. The hope and protection which *pertain* to the sacred beings]¹ are the fuller, and those which *pertain* to the demons are the emptier². 18. The end of the world-arranging and spirit-destroying man is the more fruitless. 19. It is knowledge of which no one knows a superfluity. 20. It is learning and skill which no one is able to deprive *one of*. 21. It is understanding and intellect which it is not possible to buy at a price. 22. It is wisdom with which every one and one's own self are untroubled and satisfied. 23. It is stupidity and ignorance with which every one and even one's own self are troubled and not satisfied.

24. 'That one wish which Aûharmazd, the lord, contemplates as regards men is this, (25) that "ye shall fully understand me; for every *one* who fully understands me, comes after me and strives for my satisfaction." 26. And that one wish which Aharman contemplates as regards men is this, (27) that "ye shall not understand me;" for he knows that whoever fully understands that wicked *one*, does not go after his evil deeds³, (28) and nothing whatever of power and help for him arises⁴ from that man.

29. 'And *as to* that which is asked by thee concerning the spiritual and worldly *existences*, the worldly *existence* is, in the end, death and disappearance, (30) and of the spiritual *existence*, in the end,

¹ From this point the translation again follows the Pahlavi text of K43.

² See § 4 n.

³ L19 has 'for whoever fully understands me *as* wicked, *his* deeds do not go after me.'

⁴ L19 has 'nothing whatever of advantage and help comes to me.'

that of a soul of the righteous is undecaying, immortal, and undisturbed, full of glory and full of enjoyment, for ever and everlasting, with the angels and archangels and the guardian spirits¹ of the righteous. 31. And the bridge² and destruction³ and punishment of the wicked in hell are for ever and everlasting⁴. 32. And the wicked soul, apart from the punishment, contemplates the existence, and even the appearance⁵, with the demons and fiends just as, in the worldly *existence*, a healthy man *does that* with him who is very grievously sick.'

CHAPTER XLI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which man is the mightier? 3. Which road is the more dreadful? 4. Which account is the more

¹ The guardian spirits are the spiritual representatives of each individual being and thing of the good creation, which are supposed to have been all created by Aôharmazd in the beginning (see Chap. XLIX, 23, Bd. I, 8).

² That is the investigation into the character of the soul at the Kindvar bridge (see Chap. II, 115, 162). L19 omits this mention of the bridge.

³ Reading drûs, as in L19, but this is doubtful.

⁴ This phrase can be used either with reference to time or to eternity. Time which lasts for ever must end at the resurrection, as in this case (see Chap. II, 193), because time then ceases to exist. But eternity which lasts for ever can never end. If this phrase had the same meaning here as in § 30, it would contradict all the other statements regarding the fate of the wicked, which are to be found in Pahlavi literature, including those of the author himself.

⁵ L19 has 'the wicked soul contemplates being apart from the punishment, and also apart from appearance.'

perplexing? 5. Which tie¹ is the pleasanter? 6. Which work is the more regrettable? 7. And which gift is the more unprofitable?’

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus: ‘That man is the mightier who is able to struggle with his own fiends²; (10) and, in particular, *he* who keeps these five fiends far from *his* person, (11) which are such as greediness, wrath, lust, disgrace, and discontent. 12. The road in passing over the *Kîndvar* bridge³ is the more dreadful. 13. The account for a soul of the wicked is the more perplexing. 14. The tie of children is the pleasanter and more desirable. 15. That work is the more regrettable which they do for the ungrateful. 16. *And* that gift is the more unprofitable which they give to the unworthy⁴.’

CHAPTER XLII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘How many kinds of man are *there*?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘*There* are three kinds of man, (5) one is man, one is demi-man, and one is demi-demon.

6. ‘A man is he who is without doubt as to the creativeness of *Aûharmazd*, the destructiveness of *Aharman*, and the existence of the resurrection and future existence; and also *as regards* every other happiness and misery, in the worldly and spiritual

¹ K43 has bôî, ‘scent,’ which is distinguished from band, ‘tie,’ only by diacritical marks in Pahlavi.

² His own passions and failings personified as fiends.

³ See Chap. II, 115, 162.

⁴ L19 has ‘to the ungrateful and unworthy.’

existences, (7) that *its* origin is from both of those *beings*, from Aûharmazd and Aharman. 8. And his belief is in this one pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers; (9) and he does not believe in, and does not hearken unto, any heterodoxy.

10. 'A demi-man is he who performs the affairs of the worldly and spiritual *existences* according to his own opinion, self-conceitedly and obstinately; (11) be they duties and good works by the will of Aûharmazd, or be they by the will of Aharman, they proceed from him.

12. 'A demi-demon is he in whom *there* is only as *it were* the name of man¹ and the human race, *but* in his doing of every action *he* is then like unto a two-legged demon. 13. He understands no worldly and no spiritual *existence*, (14) he understands no good work and no sin, (15) he understands no heaven and no hell, (16) and even the account which is *to be rendered* by the soul he does not think of.'

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How is it possible to make Aûharmazd, the archangels, and the fragrant, well-pleasing heaven more fully for oneself? 3. And how is it possible to make Aharman, the wicked, and the demons confounded, and to escape from hell, the depreciated² and dark?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'To make Aûharmazd, the lord, and the archangels, and

¹ L19 has 'humanity.'

² Reading dûs-vahâk. Nêr. has misread the word dus-gand, 'evil-smelling,' both here and in §§ 5, 14.

the fragrant, well-pleasing heaven for oneself, and ¹ Aharman, the wicked, and the demons confounded, and to escape from hell, the dark and depreciated, are possible thus: (6) that is, when they make the spirit of wisdom a protection for the back (pûstîk-pânakîh), (7) and wear the spirit of contentment on the body, like arms and armour and valour, (8) and make the spirit of truth ² a shield, (9) the spirit of thankfulness a club, (10) the spirit of complete mindfulness a bow, (11) and the spirit of liberality an arrow; (12) and they make the spirit of moderation like a spear, (13) the spirit of perseverance a gauntlet, and they put forth the spirit of destiny as a protection ³. 14. In this manner it is possible to come to heaven and the sight of the sacred beings, and to escape from Aharman, the wicked, and hell, the depreciated.'

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How are the sky and earth arranged? 3. How are the flow and arrangement of the water in the world? 4. Whereon do the clouds rest? 5. Where is the demon of winter more predominant? 6. And which country is the more undisturbed?'

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus: 'The sky and earth and water, and whatever else is within .

¹ L19 repeats 'to make,' but this is no more necessary in Pahlavi than in English.

² L19 inserts 'like' in §§ 8-11, and omits the verb 'make' in §§ 8, 12.

³ §§ 6-13 bear some resemblance to Isaiah lix. 17 and Ephesians vi. 14-17, so far as mode of expression is concerned.

*them*¹ are egg-like (khâtyak-dîs), just as *it were*² like the egg of a bird. 9. The sky is arranged above the earth³, like an egg, by the handiwork of the creator Aûharmazd; (10) and the semblance of the earth, in the midst of the sky⁴, is just like as *it were* the yolk amid the egg; [(11) and the water within the earth and sky is such as the water within the egg.]⁵

12. 'And the flow of the water of every kind which is in the world is from the region of Arzah⁶ (13) there where the sun comes up⁷; and *its* downward surge (nîgun bâlîsnö)⁸ is towards the region of Savah (14) where⁹ the sun goes down; and the

¹ L19 has 'within the sky.'

² L19 has 'are so arranged as.' The reading of dîs, 'like,' is rather uncertain.

³ L19 adds 'and below the earth.'

⁴ L19 has 'and the earth within the sky.'

⁵ § 11 is taken from PB6, but is not found in any other Pâzand or Pârsî MS. consulted, nor in the Pahlavi text of K43; it is, therefore, probably an interpolation.

⁶ See Chap. XVI, 10 n.

⁷ This clause and the corresponding one in § 14 seem to be at variance with the statements of Bd. V, 8, XI, 3, that Arzah is in the west, and Savah in the east; Nêryôsang has, therefore, transferred the conjunction 'and' to the beginning of the section in both cases, so as to make the eastern waters flow towards Savah, and the western waters into the sea. If, however, we understand 'there' to mean 'in those places,' and not to refer to the region whose name it follows, we may conclude that the statement here is to the effect that in the east the water flows from Arzah (the western region), and in the west towards Savah (the eastern region), which might be true if we place the east in China or Bengal, and the west in Armenia or Mesopotamia, but it is more probably meant merely to imply that the whole of the water flows through the central region of Khvanîras.

⁸ L19 has anbârisnö, 'accumulation,' both here and in § 14.

⁹ L19 has 'there where;' and we must understand '*in those places where,*' as in § 13.

surging on (âbâlisnō) of the water is into the sea Pûtik¹, (15) and from the sea Pûtik it goes back to the sea Varkash².

16. 'The abode and seat of the clouds are on Albûrz³.

17. 'The demon of winter is more predominant in Airân-vêgô⁴. 18. And *it* is declared by revelation⁵, (19) that in Airân-vêgô *there* are "ten months winter and two months summer," (20) *and* "even those" two months of warm weather "are cold *as to* water, cold *as to* earth, and cold *as to* plants." 21. And their adversity⁶ is the winter, (22) and the snakes therein are many, (23) while their other adversity is little.

24. '*It* is declared that Aûharmazd created Airân-vêgô better than other places and districts⁷.

¹ Av. Pûtika, which Bd. XIII, 8-11 appears to identify with the Persian Gulf, but in early times, if not altogether mythic, it was probably some inlet of the Caspian or Aral.

² Av. Vouru-kasha; in Pahlavi it is usually called 'the wide-formed,' and in Bd. XIII, 1, 8-10 it is identified with the ocean; but in early times it was probably a term for the Caspian and Aral, when not applied to the mythic sea of the sky.

³ Av. hara berezaiti, 'a lofty mountain-range,' which is said, in Chap. LVII, 13 and in the Bundahis, to surround the world and to be the origin of all mountains (see Bd. V, 3-5, XII, 1-4). In early times it appears to have been the name of mountains to the east of the first Irânian settlements, before it was transferred to the mountain range south of the Caspian (see Geiger's Ost. Kul. pp. 42-45).

⁴ Av. Airyanem vaêgô, the first settlement of the Irânians, which Geiger (Ost. Kul. pp. 30-33) places on the upper waters of the Zarafsan river, and which Bd. XXIX, 12 describes, in accordance with late tradition, as 'in the direction of Âtûr-pâtakân (Âdarbigân).'

⁵ Vend. I, 9, 10.

⁶ Produced by the evil spirit (see Vend. I, 7, 8).

⁷ This is inferred from Vend. I, 2-4.

25. And its goodness is this, that the life of the people is three hundred years¹, (26) and of the oxen and sheep one hundred and fifty years. 27. Their pain and sickness, also, are little; (28) they fabricate (*drûgênd*)² no lies, (29) they make no lamentation and weeping, (30) and the domination of the demon of greediness (*âz*) in their bodies is little. 31. When they eat one loaf among ten men, they are satisfied. 32. And in every forty years one child is born from one woman and one man³. 33. Their law, also, is goodness, and *their* religion the primitive faith⁴; (34) and when they die they are righteous⁵. 35. Their *spiritual* chief (*ratû*), likewise, is *Gôpatô*⁶, and *their* lord and king is *Srôsh*⁷.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'By what does Aharman most deceive and lead people to hell? 3. And from what is his pleasure most? 4. Where is the place he has a foundation?

¹ Compare Chap. LXII, 18.

² L19 has *drenzinend*, 'they cause to repeat.'

³ Compare Chap. LXII, 17.

⁴ Av. *paoiryô-âkaêsha*, a term applied to the true *Mazda*-worshipping religion of all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

⁵ That is, they go at once to heaven, as the righteous soul does (see Chap. II, 123-157).

⁶ L19 has *Gôpatshâh*, 'the king of *Gôpat*' (as in Chap. LXII, 8, 31), which land is described in Dd. XC, 4 as 'coterminous with *Aîrân-vêgô*.' *Aghrêad* and his son are called kings of *Gôpat* in Bd. XXIX, 5, XXXI, 22; and *Gôk-patô* is said to be 'in the non-Aryan countries,' in the *Sûdkar Nask* (see Dd. XC, 8n).

⁷ Apparently the angel *Srôsh* (see Chap. II, 115).

5. Where, also, is his coming, *together* with the demons, most? 6. And from what is his food?’

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus: ‘Aharman deceives people most by prosperity and adversity¹, the fiend of apostasy, scepticism, and covetousness. 9. His pleasure, also, is most from the discord of men. 10. And his food is from the impenitence² and reticence of men. 11. He has a foundation in the malicious³. 12. And his coming and going are most with the wrathful.’

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Which is the one⁴ oppression, as regards men, *that* Aharman considers as the more injurious and great?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘Aharman, when he wrings life and wife and child and worldly happiness of every kind away from men, does not consider, as to this, that any injury whatever is inflicted by him upon that person; (5) but when he wrings away the soul of a single *individual*, and makes it utterly depraved, he then considers, as to this, that “an injury which is complete would thereby be inflicted by me,” because this is done by him through his own depravity of wish and action⁵.’

¹ Or ‘superfluity and scarcity.’

² Assuming that *apatôtakîh* stands for *apatîtakîh*, ‘non-renunciation of sin.’ L19 has ‘immoderate eating.’

³ L19 has ‘in the slanderous and malicious.’

⁴ L19 omits ‘one.’

⁵ The last fourteen words occur only in the Pahlavi text of K43.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is that thing *which* is the most perfect of all wealth ? 3. What is that which is predominant over everything whatever ? 4. And what is that from which no one is able to escape ?'

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus : 'It is wisdom which is better than the wealth of every kind which is in the world. 7. It is destiny which is predominant over every one and everything. 8. And *it is* Vâê the bad¹ from whom no one is able to escape.'

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How is the dwelling of the understanding and intellect and seed of men in the body ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'The place of the understanding and intellect and seed of men is in the brain of the head. 5. And when the brain of the head is sound, the understanding and intellect and seed are on the increase ; (6) *but* when a person attains unto old age, the brain of the head remains only at a diminution. 7. And he who is an aged man, on account of the diminution of understanding and intellect, sees less and knows less of that which it is necessary to do with wisdom. 8. Wisdom, in the beginning, mingles with the marrow of the fingers of men's hands ; (9) and, afterwards,

¹ The demon which conveys the soul to its account (see Chap. II, 115).

its seat and abode and place¹ are in the heart. 10. And its dwelling² in the whole body becomes such as the shape of the foot in various shoes (mûg-kakö).³

CHAPTER XLIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'As to these stars which are apparent in the sky, and their number is so great, what is then their duty and influence? 3. And how is the motion of the sun and moon and stars?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'Of the stars which are in the sky the first star is Tistar⁴, which is said *to be* great and good, more valuable and more glorious⁵. 6. And prosperity of every kind and the fertility of the world are in the path of Tistar.

7, 8. 'And the star of water germs is for the increase of the star of plant germs⁶. 9, 10. And the star of plant germs is for the increase of cattle germs⁷.

¹ L19 has 'its seat and abiding place.'

² L19 has 'and the dwelling of the soul.'

³ L19 has 'in the shoe.'

⁴ Av. Tistrya, the eastern leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Tîr (Mercury), which can be identified only with Sirius. It is personified as an angel who contends with the demon of drought and produces rain (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1, VII, 1-13).

⁵ The usual Avesta epithets of Tistar are 'the radiant and glorious.'

⁶ L19 has 'for the increase of water. And the star of earth germs is for the increase of earth.'

⁷ L19 has 'for the increase of plants. And the star of cattle germs is for the increase of cattle.' The stars of water, earth, and plant germs are mentioned in the formula of dedication to Tistar (Sir. 13), and the moon is said to possess the germs of cattle (Sir. 12).

11. And water, fire¹, plant, and cattle germs are created for the increase of man germs².

12. 'And the star Vanand³ is intrusted with the passes *and* gates of Albûrz⁴; (13) so that the demons and witches and fiends *may* turn from those gates and passes, (14) that *it may* not *be* possible for them to cut off and break up the road and passage of the sun and moon and stars⁵.

15. 'And the star Haptôk-ring⁶, with 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous⁷, is intrusted with the gate and passage of hell⁸, (16) for the keeping

Reference is also made to all of them in Rashnu Yt. 29-31, 33, and to those of water germs in Vend. XXI, 33, Tîstar Yt. 39, 45, 46.

¹ L19 has 'earth.'

² L19 has 'for the increase of men.' As both the Pahlavi and Pâzand versions of §§ 7-11 are complete and consistent in themselves, it is uncertain which of them gives the original text. The Pâzand corresponds more closely to certain passages in the Avesta, but a wish to produce such a correspondence may have led Nêr-yôsang to alter the text. That the Pahlavi writer was thinking of some other passage, as yet unidentified, is evident from the omission of the star Satavēs (which follows Tîstar in Sir. 13) and from the details he gives concerning the others.

³ The southern leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Aûharmazd (Jupiter), which is perhaps best identified with Fomalhaut (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1). The Avesta mentions it in connection with Tîstar (Sir. 13).

⁴ See Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

⁵ Which are supposed to rise and set through openings or passes in the mountain range of Albûrz, which encircles the world (see Bd. V, 5).

⁶ Av. Haptôiringa, the northern leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Vâhrâm (Mars), which corresponds to Ursa Major (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1). The Avesta mentions it, in connection with the other stars named in the text, in Sir. 13.

⁷ See Fravardîn Yt. 60. The number here mentioned is that generally used in the Avesta to express an indefinitely large number.

⁸ Which is supposed to be in the north, so that the circumpolar

back of those 99,999 demons and fiends, witches and wizards, who are in opposition to the *celestial* sphere and constellations *of the zodiac*. 17. Its motion, also, is round about hell; (18) and its special business is this, as *it were* it holds the twelve signs of the zodiac by the hand, in *their* proper going and coming. 19. And those twelve constellations also proceed *in* like manner by the power and help of Haptôk-ring¹; (20) and every single constellation, when it comes in at Albûrz, provides support for Haptôk-ring², (21) and begs protection from Haptôk-ring.

22. 'The remaining unnumbered and innumerable constellations³ which are apparent are said *to be* the guardian spirits of the worldly *existences*. 23. Because, *as to* the creatures and creations of every kind, that the creator Aûharmazd created for the worldly *existence*, which are procreative and also which are developable (ârôdisnîk)⁴, for every single body *there* is apparent its own single guardian spirit of a like nature.

24. 'And the motion of the sun and moon is the special illumination of the world, (25) and the maturing of procreations and growths of all kinds. 26. And the correct keeping of the day, month, and year, summer and winter, spring and autumn, and other calculations and accounts of all kinds which men ought to obtain, perceive, and understand, (27)

constellation of Ursa Major seems to revolve around it, and to remain on the watch.

¹ Written Haptâôrig in §§ 19-21 in K₄₃.

² L₁₉ has 'holds to Haptôk-ring by the hand.'

³ L₁₉ has 'stars.'

⁴ L₁₉ has azâisnî, 'unprocreative.'

are more fully defined by means of the setting (nisīva kō)¹ of the sun and moon.'

CHAPTER L.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is that opulent *person* who is to be considered as fortunate, and which is that *one* who is to be considered as evil-conditioned ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'That *one* who has produced opulence by proper exertion is to be considered as fortunate ; and that *one* who has produced *it* by dishonesty, as evil-conditioned.'

CHAPTER LI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when there are *instances* when a lazy, ignorant, and bad man attains to eminence and great welfare, (3) and there are *instances* when a worthy, wise, and good man attains to grievous misery, perplexity, and indigence ?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : '*As to* him who is a lazy, ignorant, and bad man, when his destiny becomes a helper, that laziness of his then becomes like unto diligence, that ignorance unto² knowledge, and that vileness unto² goodness. 6. And *as to* him who is a wise, worthy, and good man, when his destiny is an opponent, that wisdom of his then turns to stupidity and foolishness (alākīh), and that worthiness to ignorance ; (7) and *his*

¹ Nêr. reads *vaheza* and translates 'new year's day.'

² L19 has 'like unto' in all three clauses.

knowledge, skill, and worthiness become manifestly secluded¹.

CHAPTER LII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How is it necessary to perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings and the thanksgiving for the welfare which is owing to the sacred beings? 3. *And* how is the renunciation of *sin* to be performed for the preservation of the soul?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'That ceremonial of the sacred beings is good which they perform in this pure, good religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers. 6. Its origin, also, is goodness and truth, and freedom from doubt in the sacred beings. 7. And for the little and the much that has come *there has* arisen thanksgiving unto the sacred beings; and *one* is to meditate upon the gratifications (*shnû-makân*) and prosperity which are owing to the sacred beings and to keep grateful². 8. And even when perplexity and misery come on from Aharman and the demons, *he* is not to become doubtful as to the treasure of the sacred beings, (9) and not to diminish the thanksgiving unto the sacred beings. 10. And every disaster which springs up *he* is to give back³ to the violence of Aharman and the demons. 11. *He* is not to seek his own welfare and advantage through the injury of any one else; (12) and he

¹ See Chap. XV, 6n. Nêr. has in Sans. 'are manifest in immobility.'

² The Pâzand version omits the latter half of this section, and also uses the present tense instead of the infinitive in several of the following sections.

³ Perhaps 'trace back' may be meant, but this is uncertain.

becomes compassionate as regards the creatures of Aûharmazd. 13. In duty and good works *he* is diligent and striving¹; (14) *and* especially in the care of water and fire² *he* is to persevere much. 15. And *he* is to be without doubt as to this, that, except happiness, the sacred beings do not then³ give anything whatever, *as* a modification⁴ of it, unto men; and Aharman and the demons, except misery, do not then³ give them any happiness.

16. 'For the existence of renunciation *of sin* the special thing is this, that *one* commits no sin voluntarily; (17) and if, through folly, or weakness and ignorance, a sin occurs, he is then in renunciation *of sin* before the high-priests and the good. 18. And after that, *when*⁵ he does not commit *it*, then that sin which is committed by him becomes thus a sweeping (êsvârakö)⁶ from his body; (19) just as the wind which is hasty and mighty, when it comes swift and strong, sweeps so over the plain that it carries away every single blade of grass (gîyyâkîka-kö-1) and anything which is broken *in* that place.'

CHAPTER LIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How are the homage and glorifying of the sacred beings to be performed?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus:

¹ L19 has 'he acts diligently and strivingly.'

² L19 adds 'and plants.'

³ Reading êdînas; Nêr. has misread ainâ, 'otherwise.'

⁴ Reading gvîdarîh; Nêr. has misread vatarî, 'an evil.'

⁵ L19 has 'too,' and K43 omits the word.

⁶ Misread avâz, 'away,' by Nêryôsang.

‘Every day three times, standing opposite the sun and Mitrô¹, as they proceed together², (5) and³ the moon and fire of Vâhrâm⁴, or the fire of fires⁵, in like manner, morning, noon, and evening, homage and glorifying are performed, (6) and *one has* become grateful⁶. 7. And if a sin, or a deficiency (frôd-mând-î)⁷, *has* occurred, especially⁸ as regards the angels of the spiritual and worldly *existences*, men and beasts of *burden*⁹, oxen and sheep, dogs and the dog species, and other creatures and creations of Aûhar-mazd the lord, (8) *one* is to become sorrowful, penitent, and in renunciation of *sin* before the sun and Mitrô, the moon and the fire of Aûhar-mazd¹⁰; (9) and, for the sake of atonement *for* the sin, good works are to be practised as much as is well possible.’

CHAPTER LIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : ‘Wherefore *is it* when an ignorant man—when they bring advancement to him—considers the learning

¹ The angel of the sun’s light (see Chap. II, 118 n).

² L19 adds ‘homage and glorifying are to be performed;’ but this is unnecessary.

³ L19 inserts ‘opposite.’

⁴ The sacred fire (see Chap. XXXVI, 9 n).

⁵ A fire in which the remnants of all other fires are deposited from time to time.

⁶ We ought probably to read ‘*one* is to perform homage and glorifying, and to be grateful.’

⁷ L19 omits ‘or a deficiency.’

⁸ Reading fraêstô; Nêr. reads pargast and translates ‘something.’

⁹ L19 omits the ‘beasts of burden.’

¹⁰ These are four out of the five existences to which the daily Nyâyises or supplications are addressed.

and advancement of the wise and good mostly so¹, through greediness, that to teach *it* to him is difficult?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘For this reason, because the ignorant man considers, in thought, his own ignorance as good as the sage *does*, in thought, his own knowledge.’

CHAPTER LV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Wherefore is he who is an ill-natured man no friend of the good, *nor* an untalented man of a talented *one*?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘For this reason, because he who is an ill-talented² man is *at* [all]³ times *in* fear of the talented, (5) lest “they should trouble⁴ us by *their* skill and talent, and, owing to that circumstance, shame *may* come upon *us* before the good and *our* opponents.”

6. ‘And the ill-natured are no friends of the good for this reason, because *there* is a time for their annihilation and destruction by the hands of the good.’

¹ L19 has ‘such vexation,’ by reading *bêsh* instead of *vêsh*.

² L19 has ‘untalented.’

³ K43 omits ‘all,’ and its text may be translated thus:—‘because the position of him who is an ill-talented man is *in* danger from the talented.’

⁴ Reading *aê rangênd*. Nêr. has the doubtful reading *airôzî-nend*, ‘they enlighten,’ and also several other variations, so as to produce the following meaning:—‘lest “these enlighten *others* by the skill and talent which are not mine,” and shame come upon him before the good and *his* helpmates.’

CHAPTER LVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore are these mountains and rivers¹ made, which are in the world?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of these mountains, which are in the world, there are *some* which are moderators of the wind, and there are *some* which are² warders off; (5) there are *some* which are the place and vent, the resting-place and support of the rainy cloud; (6) and there are *some* which are smiters of Aharman and the demons, and maintainers and vivifiers of the creatures and creation of Aûharmazd, the lord.

7. 'And these rivers, which are in the world, the creator Aûharmazd has formed, from the borders of Albûrz³, for providing the protection and *for* the vivification of his own creatures and creation.'

CHAPTER LVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when the knowledge and sagacity of the spiritual and worldly *existences*, both united, are connected with thee?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'For this reason, because, from the first, I, who am the innate wisdom, *apart* from the spiritual and worldly existences, have been with Aûharmazd. 5. And

¹ Or it may be 'seas,' as the Sanskrit version translates the word, both here and in § 7, but this hardly agrees with the context.

² L19. omits these five words.

³ See Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

the creator Aûharmazd created (âfrîdō) the angels of the spiritual and worldly creations, and all the other creatures and creations through the power and mightiness, the wisdom and sagacity of innate wisdom; and I produce¹ and he maintains and stimulates *them*. 6. And at the end of the renovation of *the universe* it is possible to cause the annihilation and destruction of Aharman and his miscreations more fully by the power of wisdom; (7) and Sôshâns², with Kaî-Khûsrôî², and those who cause the resurrection and future existence are able to act more fully, by means of the power and help of wisdom.

8. 'The knowledge and sagacity of the worldly *existence*, the learning and teaching in³ every profession, and all advancement of temporal *beings*⁴ are through wisdom. 9. The souls of the righteous, in escaping from hell⁵ and coming⁶ to heaven and the supreme heaven (garôdmân), arrive much better by means of the power and protection of wisdom. 10. And it is possible to seek the good living, pleasure, good repute, and every happiness of people in the worldly *existence*, through the power of wisdom.

11. 'And the maintenance of the seeds of men

¹ So in K43, but Nêr. has taken this verb in the third person, in place of the nearly synonymous âfrîdō, so as to state that the creator 'created, maintains, and stimulates the angels' and all other existences through the power of innate wisdom. The object of the Pahlavi text, however, seems to be to emphasize the fact that the creation was specially due to the innate wisdom of the creator, while its maintenance is dependent on all his powers and attributes.

² See Chaps. II, 95, XXVII, 63.

³ L19 has 'of.'

⁴ L19 has 'times.'

⁵ That is, in escaping from the risk of being sent to hell.

⁶ L19 omits 'and coming.'

and beasts *of burden*, oxen and sheep, and also every other creature and creation of Aûharmazd, the lord, the seating¹ of *them* in the womb, and making manifest what is their food in the womb, so that they shall not die from hunger and thirst, and the allotment and maturing of the limbs are effected² more fully by means of the durability (dôrângarîh) and great potency which are in the force³ of wisdom.

12. 'The arrangement of the earth and the mingling of the water in the earth, the growth and increase of plants, colour of various kinds, and the scent, taste, and pleasantness of various things are allotted and produced more fully through wisdom.

13. And the arrangement of Albûrz⁴ around the world, the manifestation of the earth of the seven regions⁵ and the sky above the mountain of Albûrz, the motion of the sun and moon and twelve constellations⁶, the six times of the season festivals (gâsân bâr)⁷, the five times *devoted* to the guardian spirits (fravardîkân)⁸, the heaven which is in the place of good thoughts, the place of good words, the place of good deeds, and the perfect supreme

¹ Nêr. has read *shâyastan*, 'possibility,' instead of *nishâstanô*, 'seating.'

² Reading *vâdûnî-hênd*. L19 has 'are possible to effect.'

³ L19 has 'by means of the great potency and force.'

⁴ See Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

⁵ See Chap. IX, 2 n.

⁶ The signs of the zodiac, whose apparent movement, due to the motion of the earth, is here alluded to.

⁷ See Chap. IV, 5 n.

⁸ The five supplementary days, named after the five Gâthas or sacred hymns, which follow the twelfth month in order to complete the Parsi year of 365 days. Together with the five preceding days they are specially devoted to the homage of the guardian spirits or Fravashis.

heaven (*garôdmân*) of all gloriousness¹, the path of the spirits and worldly *existences*, and the *Kindvar* bridge² are produced and allotted through the power of wisdom.

14. 'The watery-looking³ cloud's seizing water from the sea, advancing in the atmosphere, and gradually breaking away⁴, drop by drop, to the earth, and *Aûharmazd's*⁵ creatures' thoroughly understanding the nature of heaven and hell, the compassion of *Aûharmazd*, the archangels, and other angels as regards their own creatures, and the devastation and destructiveness of *Aharman* and the demons as regards the creatures of *Aûharmazd* it is possible to comprehend through the more complete power⁶ of wisdom. 15. And the good religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers, the sayings and teaching of the spirits⁷, and the demons' demolishing the worldly body *and* making *it* imperceptible by the sight of men are apprehended⁸ more fully by means of the most perfect means of wisdom. 16. And even the struggle and warfare of *Irân* with foreigners (*an-aîrân*), and the smiting of *Aharman* and the demons it is possible to effect through the power of wisdom.

¹ The four grades of heaven (see Chap. VII, 9-12).

² See Chap. II, 115 n. By omitting 'and' *Nêr.* identifies this bridge with the path mentioned before it, but it forms only one portion of the path to the other world.

³ Assuming that *mâ-vênakô* stands for *mayâ-vênakô*.

⁴ *Pahl. vîkhtanô* is more probably connected with Pers. *kîkhtan*, 'to break,' than with Pers. *pîkhtan*, 'to sift.'

⁵ The Sanskrit version adds 'and *Aharman's*.'

⁶ *L19* has 'more fully through the power.'

⁷ *L19* has 'worldly *existences*.'

⁸ Reading *girî-hastô*. *L19* has 'are effected.'

17. 'To occasion the sun's inspection of the hidden water also, below the earth, it is expedient to convey *it* for tillage and cultivation, and the advantage, comfort, and enjoyment of men and beasts *of burden*, oxen and sheep, through the power of wisdom. 18. The thorough understanding of the pain and sickness of men and beasts *of burden*, oxen, sheep, and other animals, and the bringing of medicine and remedies, health of body and comfort unto them are much more possible to effect¹ by means of the power of wisdom.

19. 'And *as to* every man whose participation in wisdom is much, his share of heaven is then much more. 20. Even *as to* Vistâsp², Zaratûst³, Gâyô-mard⁴, and those others whose share of heaven *was* much the more⁵, *it was* on account of the much coming of wisdom unto them. 21. And *as to* Yim, Frêdûn, Kât-Ûs⁶, and those other rulers who obtained splendour (*vargô*) and mightiness (*tagakîh*)⁷ from the sacred beings—just as the participation of Vistâsp and other rulers in the religion occurred⁸—and their not attaining to the religion, and also as to the *times* when they have become ungrateful unto their own lord⁹, *it was* on account of the little coming of wisdom unto them.

22. 'And Aharman, also, and the demons deceive that man more, and lead *him* to hell, who is poorer

¹ L19 omits 'to effect.'

² See Chap. XIII, 14 n.

³ See Chap. I, 10 n.

⁴ See Chap. XXVII, 2 n.

⁵ L19 has 'who more fully obtained a share of heaven.'

⁶ See Chap. VIII, 27, where all three are mentioned.

⁷ L19 has 'opulence.'

⁸ This clause occurs only in K43.

⁹ They all three suffered misfortunes in their old age, attributed by the priesthood to neglect of religion, which is here traced to diminution of intellect.

of wisdom and unsteadier in disposition. 23. And *it* is manifest, that, unto *him* who is virtuous in disposition, habit, and demeanour¹, praise is then *due*, owing to his maintenance of wisdom. 24. For *it* is declared, that Aharman shouted to Zaratûst thus²: "If thou desist from this good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, then I *will* give thee a thousand years' dominion of the worldly *existence*, (25) as *was* given to the Vadakân³ monarch Dahâk⁴." 26. On account of complete wisdom, the virtuous disposition and demeanour of Zaratûst not *having* hearkened and not being deluded, he did not become deceived and longing through that temptation of the accursed evil *one*, the wicked⁵. 27. And he spoke to Aharman (28) thus: "I *will* shatter and cause to run (dûkânâ⁶)⁶, and *will* make downcast (nigûtsâr) for thee⁷, the bodies of your demons and fiends, wizards and witches, through the Hô⁸ and sacred twigs⁹, and the good, true

¹ L19 has 'virtuous in disposition and virtuous of demeanour.'

² This is stated, in other words, in Vend. XIX, 23-32.

³ As Vadak is said (Dd. LXXII, 5) to have been the mother of Dahâk, this term may be a matronymic implying 'son of Vadak.'

⁴ See Chap. VIII, 29 n.

⁵ This section is a good deal altered in the Pâzand version, but the general meaning is the same.

⁶ L19 has *va vânom*, 'and I *will* smite.'

⁷ L19 has 'and *will* make withered (*nizâr*).'

⁸ A plant growing in Persia, small twigs of which are pounded in water, and the resulting juice is tasted by the priest during the ceremonial. It is a symbol of the mythic Hô⁸, the producer of immortality (see Chap. LXII, 28). Originally, no doubt, the Hô⁸ (Av. haoma) and the Sans. soma were the same plant (see Dd. XLVIII, 16 n).

⁹ The baresô⁸ (Av. baresma) is a bundle of slender twigs or wires, prepared in a particular manner, to be held in the left hand

religion which the creator Aûharmazd *has* taught to me." 29. Aharman, when those words *were* heard by him, became confounded and stupefied, and rushed to hell, and remained confounded a long time.

30. 'This, too, is declared, that Aûharmazd, when Aharman, by agreement¹, had further operated.² with his (Aûharmazd's) creatures and creation of every kind, afterwards formed an assembly with the angels and archangels of every kind³, and the welfare (âvâdîh) due to his own wisdom *was* mentioned and recounted by him.

31. 'This, too, is declared, that *for* the nine thousand years of renovation⁴, until the resurrection and future existence, wisdom maintains and stimulates the creatures and creation of every kind.

32. 'And this, too, is declared, that, *as to* him who is an ignorant and bad-tempered man, when he attains even to much eminence, opulence, and authority, even then he is not fit to elevate into that welfare and authority.'

of the priest while reciting certain parts of the liturgy (see Dd. XLIII, 5 n).

¹ The covenant between the good and evil spirits, by which their conflict was limited to nine thousand years (see Bd. I, 18, 19).

² That is, transformed and vitiated them. The Av. frâkerentad (Vend. I, 7), describing the modifying work of the evil spirit upon the creation, is here expressed by frâgö vâdûnd.

³ Such an assembly is mentioned in Vend. II, 42, but its proceedings are not stated.

⁴ So in all versions, but, as the renovation is generally considered as confined to the end of the nine thousand years, we ought perhaps to transpose the words and read '*for* the nine thousand years, until the renovation, resurrection, and future existence.'

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when *one* turns the ignorance and foolishness of an ignorant king back to knowledge and cleverness, on account of the sovereignty which is his ; (3) and, *as to* a poor man, who is wise¹, *one* turns the knowledge and sagacity, which are his, back to foolishness and uselessness, on account of the poverty ?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'On account of the deceit and violence of the fiend² of greediness (6) men utter more words as to the manliness of every one whose wealth and power are more, and recount *his* deeds and actions more fully ; (7) but, in the eyes of the angels and archangels, a poor *man* who is innocent and wise is better and more precious than a king *or* opulent *man*³ who is ignorant.'

CHAPTER LIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What are the vices of priests ? 3. What are the vices of warriors ? 4. What are the vices of husbandmen ? 5. And what are the vices of artizans⁴ ?'

6. The spirit of wisdom answered (7) thus : 'The vices of priests are heresy, covetousness, negligence,

¹ L19 adds 'and innocent.'

² L19 has 'demon.'

³ L19 has 'than an opulent king.'

⁴ Literally 'the well-endavouring,' the lowest of the four classes of the community here mentioned (see also Chaps. XXXI, XXXII).

trafficking (sûdākîh)¹, attention to trifles, and unbelief in the religion.

8. 'The vices of warriors are oppression, violence, promise-breaking, unmercifulness (an-avôkhshâgâvandîh), ostentation (dakhshîh)², haughtiness, and arrogance.

9. 'The vices of husbandmen are ignorance, enviousness, ill-will, and maliciousness.

10. 'And the vices of artizans are unbelief, want of thanksgiving, improper muttering of *prayers*, moroseness, and abusiveness.'

CHAPTER LX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Of mankind which are more conversant with good and evil ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of mankind *he* whose sojourn³ and business are with the bad⁴, and they provide him a name for good repute and goodness, is the man more conversant with good. 5. And he whose sojourn and business are with the good⁵, and they provide him a name for disrepute, is the man more conversant with evil.

6. 'Because it is said, (7, 8) that whoever joins with the good brings good with *him*, and whoever

¹ Or, perhaps, 'usuriousness.' The Sanskrit version has 'laziness,' as if Nêr. had read âsûdākîh.

² Nêr. has read gahî, and translated 'incontinence.'

³ Reading nisastô. L19 has 'whose business is most (vêstast), both here and in § 5.

⁴ L19 has 'the good.'

⁵ L19 has 'the bad.'

joins with the bad *brings*¹ evil—(9) just like the wind which, when it impinges on stench, is² stench, (10) and when it impinges on perfume, is perfume,—(11) *it* is, therefore, notorious³, (12) that he whose business is with the good receives good, (13) and *he* whose business is with the bad *receives*⁴ evil; (14) but, even then, both are to be considered as an experiment (aûzmâyisnō)⁵.

CHAPTER LXI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is the chief of men? Which is the chief of women? 3. Which is the chief of horses? Which is the chief of flying creatures? 4. [Which is the chief of oxen?]⁶ Which is the chief of wild animals? Which is the chief of grains?'

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus : 'The man who is wise, who is steadfast in the religion, who is well-praising, who is true-speaking is chief over *his* associates.

¹ L19 has 'will bring with *him*' in both clauses, but the repetition is unnecessary in Pahlavi.

² L19 has 'will bring with *it*,' both here and in § 10.

³ L19 has 'proper to know.'

⁴ K43 does not repeat this verb.

⁵ L19 has 'by the result (anzâmesn).' The meaning is that, though a man's character is generally in accordance with the company he keeps, this must not be assumed without proof; and when the contrary is the case, as stated in §§ 4, 5, his own disposition must be of a very decided nature. Nêryôsang seems to have misunderstood the author's argument, and, supposing §§ 6–13 to contain a mere illustration of §§ 4, 5, he considered it necessary to transpose 'the bad' and 'the good' in §§ 4, 5, so as to make the illustration applicable.

⁶ K43 omits the question in brackets.

7. 'The woman who is young¹, who is properly disposed, who is faithful, who is respected, who is good-natured, who enlivens the house, whose modesty and awe are virtuous, a friend of her own father and elders², husband and guardian, handsome and replete with animation³ is chief over the women who are her own associates.

8. 'The ox which is glorious, which is tall-eared, which has a herd *of cows* is chief over oxen.

9. 'The *Kîharâv*⁴ is the chief of birds. 10. The horse which is swift⁵ is the chief of horses. 11. The hare⁶ is the chief of wild animals; *and* wheat⁷ is the chief of grains.'

CHAPTER LXII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'In what place stands Kangdez? 3. Where is the enclosure formed by Yim constructed⁸? 4. In what

¹ L19 has 'talking, eloquent.'

² Nêr. translates nîyâk by 'father's brother,' an elder who is considered as a special protector in India.

³ Reading namag-âkûn, which epithet is omitted in L19.

⁴ A name of the Karsipt, who is said to be the chief of birds in this world (Pahl. Visp. I, 1, Bd. XXIV, 11), the Vis Karsipta who brought the religion to the enclosure formed by Yim (see Vend. II, 138, 139), and which is said, in the Pahlavi version, to be 'a *Kâhâr-vâk* (or *Kâhâr-nâk*) who goes back into the existence of the spirits.' To determine the meaning of this name (which Nêr. translates by Sans. *ĥakravâka*, 'Brahmany duck') we have to consider not only the two forms *kîharâv* and *kâhâr-vâk*, but also the term *kark*, 'falcon,' used in Bd. XXIV, 11. The *kâmrôs* of Bd. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29 (the *kînâmrôs* of Chap. LXII, 40) is also said to be the chief of birds, but probably mythic birds are meant.

⁵ L19 has 'white,' as in Bd. XXIV, 6.

⁶ See Bd. XXIV, 9.

⁷ See Bd. XXIV, 19.

⁸ L19 omits 'constructed.'



place lies¹ the body of Sâhm? 5. Where is the abode of Srôsh? 6. *In* what place stands the three-legged ass? 7. Where is the Hôrn grown, the preparer of the dead, with which they restore the dead and produce the future existence? 8. In which place is² Gôpâtôshah? 9. With what work is the Kar fish intrusted? 10. Where has the griffon bird a nest (âsîyân)³? 11. *In* what place sits Kînâmros, and what is his work?’

12. The spirit of wisdom answered (13) thus: ‘Kangdez⁴ is intrusted with the eastern quarter, near to Satavâyês⁵, (14) on the frontier of Airân-vêgô⁶.

15. ‘The enclosure formed by Yim⁷ is constructed in Airân-vêgô, below the earth⁸. 16. And every species and seed of all the creatures and creations of Aûharmazd, the lord, whatever is better and more select of man and beast of *burden*, of cattle and flying creatures is brought thither⁹. 17. And every forty years one child is born from one woman and one man¹⁰ who are of that place; (18) their life,

¹ L19 has ‘remains.’

² L19 has ‘remains.’

³ L19 has ‘a resting-place.’

⁴ See Chap. XXVII, 58, 62.

⁵ Av. Satavaêsa, the western leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Anâhîd (Venus), which may, perhaps, be identified with Antares (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1), though Geiger (Ost. Kul. p. 313) thinks Vega more probable. It also protects the southern seas, and its name is applied to the gulf of ‘Umân in that direction (see Bd. XIII, 9-13, Zs. VI, 16, 18). But its connection with the east, as implied in our text, requires explanation, and throws some doubt upon the reading.

⁶ See Chap. XLIV, 17-23.

⁷ See Chap. XXVII, 27-31.

⁸ So stated in Bd. XXXII, 5, and probably meaning that its position could no longer be discovered on earth. Bd. XXIX, 14 states that it is in the middle of Pârs, below Mount Yimakân.

⁹ See Vend. II, 106-113.

¹⁰ Perhaps we should understand ‘from each woman and each

too, is three hundred years¹, (19) and their pain and disturbance are little².

20. 'The body of Sâhm³ is in the plain of Pê-sândas⁴, near to Mount Dimâvand⁵. 21. And on that plain, except corn and the eatable things they sow and reap *and* live upon, there is not so much as a single other tree⁶, *or* shrub, *or* plant; (22) and its golden colour is mostly wormwood⁷. 23. And the angels and archangels have appointed 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous as a protection for the body of Sâhm⁸, (24) so that the demons and fiends *may* not injure it.

25. 'The abode of Srôsh⁹ is mostly in Arzah¹⁰, and afterwards also in Savah and the whole world.

man,' that is, a couple of children from each couple, which would agree with Vend. II, 134.

¹ Pahl. Vend. II, 136 has 150 years.

² The characteristics mentioned in §§ 17-19 are ascribed to the whole of Aîrân-vêgô in Chap. XLIV, 25, 27, 32.

³ See Chap. XXVII, 49.

⁴ L19 has Pust Gustâspâ, 'the ridge of Vistâsp,' which appears, from Bd. XII, 18, 34, XVII, 8, to have been somewhere in the central desert of Persia. In Bd. XXIX, 7-9, 11 we are told that Sâm lies asleep in the plain of Pêsyânsâf (evidently the Pêrândas of our text) in Kâvulistân, till he is waked hereafter to slay Dahâk, who escapes from Mount Dimâvand. This legend may have led to the perplexing juxtaposition of Pêrândas and Dimâvand in our text, and the perplexity occasioned by this may have led Nêr. to substitute Pûst-î Vistâspân for the former name, as being nearer Dimâvand.

⁵ The highest peak of the modern Albûrz, in which Dahâk is said to be confined (see Bd. XII, 31).

⁶ Reading hânô drû-aê; L19 has han mûrd, 'another myrtle-bush.'

⁷ With yellow blossoms.

⁸ As stated in Fravardîn Yt. 61.

⁹ See Chap. II, 115.

¹⁰ The western region, as Savah is the eastern one (see Chap. XVI, 10).

26. 'The three-legged ass¹ sits² amid the sea Varkash³; (27) and *as to* water of every kind that rains on dead matter, the menstrual discharge, and other bodily refuse⁴, when it arrives at the three-legged ass, he makes every kind clean and purified, with watchfulness.

28. 'The Hô⁵, which is the preparer of the dead, is grown in the sea Varkash, in that which is the deepest place; (29) and 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous are appointed *as* its protection⁶.

30. The Kar fish⁷, too, ever circles around it, and always keeps the frog and other noxious creatures away from it.

31. 'Gôpaîtôshah⁸ is in Atrân-vêgô, within the region of Khvantras⁹. 32. From foot to mid-body *he* is an ox, and from mid-body to the top *he* is a man. 33. And *at* all times he sits on the sea-shore, (34) and always performs the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and pours holy-water into the sea. 35. On account of which¹⁰, through the pouring of that holy-water, innumerable noxious creatures in

¹ A prodigious monster of benevolent character, described in Bd. XIX, 1-12; possibly some local divinity.

² L19 has 'stands,' as is also stated in Yas. XLI, 28.

³ See Chap. XLIV, 15.

⁴ L19 adds 'and pollution.'

⁵ The white Hô⁵ or Gôkarn, the tree of immortality (see Bd. XVIII, 1, XXVII, 4). It is 'the preparer of the dead,' because the elixir of immortality is expected to be prepared from it at the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 25).

⁶ Those who watch over the sea Vouru-kasha (see Fravardîn Yt. 59).

⁷ Ten such fish, of enormous size and intense watchfulness, are said to be employed to protect the Gôkarn from a lizard or frog sent by Aharman to injure it (see Bd. XVIII, 2-6).

⁸ See Chap. XLIV, 35n.

⁹ See Chap. XXVII, 40.

¹⁰ L19 omits these four words.

the sea will die. 36. Because, if he does not specially perform that celebration of the ceremonial, and does not pour that holy-water into the sea—where those innumerable noxious creatures shall utterly perish¹—then, whenever the rain shall rain, the noxious creatures *have* to rain just like rain.

37. 'The nest of the griffon bird² is on the tree opposed to harm, the many-seeded³. 38. Whenever he rises aloft a thousand twigs will shoot out from that tree, (39) and when he alights he breaks off the thousand twigs and bites the seed from them. 40. And the bird *K'înâmrôs*⁴ alights likewise *in* that vicinity; (41) and his work is this, that he collects those seeds which are bitten from the tree of many seeds, which is opposed to harm, and he scatters (*pargandêd*) *them*, there where *Tîstar*⁵ seizes the water; (42) so that, while *Tîstar* shall seize the water, *together* with those seeds of all kinds, he shall rain *them* on the world with the rain⁶.'

¹ L19 has 'and those innumerable noxious creatures do not utterly perish.'

² The *Sênô-mûrûv* (Av. *saênô mereghô*) or Simurgh, a mythic flying creature said to suckle its young and to be of three natures like the bat (see Bd. XIV, 11, 24, XIX, 18).

³ L19 has 'of all seeds.' This tree, from which all wild plants are supposed to spring, is said to grow in the sea near the *Gôkarn* tree, and also in *Aîrân-vêgô* (see Bd. IX, 5, 6, XVIII, 9, XXVII, 2, XXIX, 5).

⁴ The chief of mythic birds next to the *Sênô-mûrûv*; he is said to defend Irân from invasion by occasionally picking up foreign districts like grains of corn (see Bd. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29).

⁵ The angel who personifies the star *Tîstar* (Sirius, see Chap. XLIX, 5, 6), after a conflict with the demons of drought and thunder (see Bd. VII, 1-13), pours down rain from the cloud, in which he had brought the water from the sea.

⁶ Originally, the archangel *Amerodad* (see Chap. II, 34) is said

CHAPTER LXIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is that good work which is greater and better¹ than [all²] good works, and no trouble (angīnakō) whatever is necessary for its performance³ ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'To be grateful in the world, (5) *and* to wish happiness for every one. 6. This is greater and better than every good work, and no commotion (angegīnakō) whatever is necessary for its performance⁴.'

Peace and prosperity⁵.

to have mingled the plants with the rain (see Bd. IX, 2) ; but afterwards this was done by the mythic bird (see Bd. XXVII, 3). This legend was evidently intended to account for the rapid appearance of wild plants after rain in dry climates, where all traces of vegetation often disappear during the summer droughts.

¹ L19 inserts 'more valuable and more advantageous.'

² K43 omits 'all.'

³ L19 has 'no trouble and expense are necessary in it.'

⁴ This reply is much altered by Nêr. and stands as follows, in L19 :—'To wish happiness for every one ; (5) to be grateful unto the sacred beings and the good ; (6) in every position and time to consider and keep in remembrance Aôharmazd, as regards creativeness, and Aharman, as regards destructiveness ; (7) and to be without doubt as to the existence of the sacred beings, the religion and soul, heaven and the account in the three *days*, and the reality of the resurrection and future existence. 8. This, most especially, is the good work which is greater and better, more valuable and more advantageous than all good works, and no trouble and expense are necessary in it.'

The text of all versions ends abruptly at this point, without any peroration.

⁵ Only in K43.

SIKAND-GÛMÂNÎK VIGÂR,

OR

THE DOUBT-DISPELLING
EXPLANATION.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For the division into chapters the translator is responsible, but the sections are divided according to the alternating Pâzand-Sanskrit text of Nêryôsang.

2-6. (The same as on page 2.)

7. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

AK (probably written A.D. 1568) Pâz.-Sans., belonging to Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji of Poona ; it is now defective, and contains only Chaps. I, 16-XI, 145, but this translation is based upon its text so far as it extends.

BM a modern fragment, Pahl.-Pers., in the British Museum (additional Oriental MS. No. 22,378), containing Chap. I, 1-31.

JE (written A.D. 1842, by Jamshedji Edalji) Pâz.-Sans., belonging to Dastûr Hôshangji and as complete as this translation, the latter half of which is based upon its text.

JJ (written A.D. 1768, by Jamshedji Jâmâsp Âsâ) Pâz.-Sans., belonging to Dastûr Khurshedji Jamshedji of Nâwsârî, and as complete as this translation.

K28 (about 150 years old) Pahl.-Pâz.-Sans., No. 28 in the University Library at Kopenhagen ; it is now defective, but contains Chaps. I, 1-II, 8 ; III, 1-25 ; III, 36-IV, 106 ; VIII, 103-IX, 16 ; IX, 30-X, 13 ; X, 71-XI, 28 ; XI, 55-61.

L15 (written about A.D. 1737) Pahlavi, No. 15 in the India Office Library at London. It contains Chaps. I, 4-V, 71.

L23 (written by the same hand) Pâzand, No. 23 in the same library ; containing Chaps. I, 34-VIII, 23.

MH19 (about 150 years old) Pâz.-Gug., No. 19 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich. It contains Chaps. I, 1-XI, 201.

PB3 (more than a century old) Pâz.-Sans., No. 3 of the Bur-nouf Collection in the National Library at Paris. It contains Chaps. I, 5-X, 66.

R (modern) Pahl.-Pâz.-Sans.-Pers., formerly belonging to Mr. Romer, and now partly in the India Office Library at London, and partly in No. 10 of the Müller Collection in the State Library at Munich. It contains Chaps. I, 25-V, 57.

SIKAND-GÛMÂNÎK VIGÂR.

CHAPTER I.

1. *In* the name of Aûharmazd, the lord, the greatest and wise, [the all-ruling, all-knowing, and almighty, (2) who is a spirit even among spirits, (3) and from his self-existence, single in unity, *was* the creation of the faithful. 4. He also created, by his own unrivalled power, the seven supreme arch-angels¹,] all the angels of the spiritual *and* worldly *existences*, (5) and the seven worldly characteristics² which are man, animals, fire, metal, earth, water, *and* plants.

6. And man *was* created by him, as a control of the creatures, for the advancement of *his* will. 7. From him likewise came³ *at* various times, through

¹ The passage in brackets is omitted in several Pahl. MSS., many of which commence at this point, but it is found in K28, BM, and others, and also in the Pâz. MSS. and Sans. version. The first epithet, 'all-ruling,' which it contains is likewise omitted in a few Pâz. MSS., while others add a further laudatory passage at that point, which is evidently a modern interpolation. The seven archangels include Aûharmazd himself (see Bd. I, 26 n).

² So in the Pahl. MSS. and Sans. version, and also in MH19 and PB3, which latter follows the oldest Pâz. MS. (AK) very closely; but §§ 1-16 have been lost from AK itself. Several other Pâz. MSS. substitute 'creations.'

³ So understood by Nêryôsang, but the original Pahlavi could have been translated by 'he likewise sent,' because the Huzvâris yâtûnd, 'came,' and sedrûnd, 'sent,' are written alike.

his own compassion, mercifulness to his own creatures, religion, and a natural desire of the knowledge of purity *and* contamination. 8. So, also, *as to* the intellect, understanding, wisdom, knowledge, consciousness, *and* guardian spirit—which are the appliances of the soul that are seeking information of these spiritual appliances, the five which are the sight, hearing, smell, taste, *and* touch, (9) through the five worldly appliances, which are the eye, the ear, the nose, the mouth, and the rubbing surfaces of the whole body—(10) he likewise created man with the accompaniment of these appliances, for the management of the creatures.

11. He also created the religion of omniscience like an immense tree, (12) of which *there* are one stem, two branches, three boughs, four twigs, *and* five shoots¹. 13. And its one stem is agreement. 14. The two branches are performance and abstinence. 15. The three boughs are Humat, Hūkht, *and* Huvarst, which are good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds. 16. The four twigs are the four classes of the religion, by whom the religion *and* world are prepared, (17) which are priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, *and* artisanship. 18. The five shoots are the five rulers whose scriptural names are the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, *and* the supreme Zaratûst. 19. And the one chief of chiefs, who is the king of kings, is the ruler of the world.

20. Likewise, the work manifested by him in the world—which is man—is in the likeness of these four

¹ The last two terms were, no doubt, Pahl. sâk and barg-gâh, of which the Pâz. dêraa and brîraa are merely misreadings.

classes of the world. 21. As unto¹ the head is priesthood, (22) unto the hand is warriorship, (23) unto the belly is husbandry, (24) *and* unto the foot is artisanship.

25. So, also, of the four capabilities (*hunarân*) that are in man—which are temper, ability, wisdom, *and* diligence—(26) unto temper (*khîm*) is priesthood, as the greatest duty of priests is the temper that they do not commit sin on account of shame and fear; (27) unto ability (*hunar*) is warriorship, that is, the most princely adornment of warriors is the ability which is expended, the manliness which is owing to self-possession (*khvadîh*); (28) unto husbandmen is the wisdom (*khîrad*) which is strenuous performance of the tillage of the world, *and* continuance unto the renovation of the universe; (29) *and* unto artisans is the diligence (*tukhshâkîh*) which is the greatest advancement of their class.

30. This arrangement² of every kind is upon one stem, truth and agreement, opposing the fiend and his appliances which are co-existent. 31. These³, which are recounted by me, are of many kinds *and* many species, as many are religious *and* many believing at a period that all are mutually afflicting⁴,

¹ Or 'over.' This comparison of these four parts of the body to the four classes of men is mentioned several times in the *Dinkard*, especially in the latter part of the fourth book.

² That is, the ordinances of religion (see §§ 11-13).

³ The various heterodox religions, here assumed to be appliances of the fiend for misleading mankind, which the author discusses in the course of his arguments hereafter.

⁴ Assuming that *Pâz. aṇbasā* stands for *Pahl. hanbêshin*, as in *Mkh. I*, 37. It might be *hû-bêshin*, 'well-afflicting,' but this would not be so easily reconciled with the meaning 'inconsistent' which the word often assumes, as in *Chaps. XIII*, 145, 147, *XV*, 77, *XVI*, 42.

co-existent destroyers *and* injurers, one as regards the other. 32. *And* with the mutual afflictiveness, destructiveness, and combativeness which are theirs, one towards the other, they¹ afterwards also contend against the one truth co-operatively *and* with united strength.

33. The possession of truth is the one power of the faithful, through the singleness of truth. 34. The many kinds of falsehood, *which* must become confused *and* mutually afflicting to many, are, in the aggregate, from one source of deceitfulness.

35. *As to* that, this composition is provided by me, *who* am Mardân-farukh² son of Aûharmazd-dâd, as I saw in the age much religiousness *and* much good consideration of sects (kêshân) of many species; (36) and I have been fervent-mindedly, *at* all times in my whole youthful career, an enquirer *and* investigator of the truth of them. 37. For the same reason I have wandered forth also to many realms and³ the sea-shore. 38. And of these compendious statements which, owing thereto⁴, are an enquiry of those desiring the truth, and⁵ a collection and selection (vigîdanô) of

¹ The heterodox religions.

² As this name has not been found elsewhere, nothing further is known about the author of this work than can be gathered from the few statements he has made in the work itself. He lived probably in the eighth or ninth century of the Christian era, as he mentions the Dînkard edited by Âtûr-frôbag in Chaps. IV, 107, V, 92, IX, 1, 4, X, 57, XII, 1, and also the Rôshan commentary prepared by Âtûr-frôbag's son (see Chaps. X, 53, 54, XI, 213); but he does not allude to the later edition of the Dînkard, prepared by Âtûr-pâd, son of Hêmîd, who was living in the latter part of the ninth century (see Bd. XXXIII, 11 n).

³ Sans. 'on.' This statement is very similar to that in Mkh. I, 35.

⁴ Reading *agas*, instead of the similarly-written *afas*, 'and of it.'

⁵ Reading *afas*, instead of *agas* here.

it, for these memoranda, from the writings and memoranda of the ancient sages *and* high-priests of the just—and especially those of the glorified Âtûr-pâdîyâvand¹—the name Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr² is appointed by me. 39. As it is very suitable for explaining away the doubts of new learners about the thorough understanding of the truth, the blessedness and truth of the good religion, and the inward dignity of those free from strife.

40. And it is composed and arranged by me not for the wise and talented, but *for* preceptors (farhangîkân)³ *and* those newly qualified. 41. So that, while many become freer from doubt about the miraculousness and blessedness of the statements of the good religion and primitive faith, (42) I am still begging of distinguished sages, (43) that whoever wants to look, should not look⁴ to the religion of the particular speaker *and* composer, but to the greatness of the truth, blessedness, and definite statements of the ancient sages. 44. Because I, who am the composer, do not hold the station of teaching, but that of learning.

45. And it seemed to me, through liberal thought, a statement, from that knowledge of the religion, destined and important even for new learners. 46. Because *he* who distributes to the worthy, out of the little knowledge which is his, is more acceptable than *he* who knows much *and* the worthy are without benefit *and* without help from him.

47. Since those ancient sages decided, (48) that liberality is of three kinds, of thought, of word, *and*

¹ See Chap. IV, 106.

² 'Doubt-dispelling explanation.'

³ Sans. has 'students.'

⁴ Sans. has 'you should not look.'

of deed. 49. Liberality of thought *being* that whose wishing of happiness for any others whatever, of a like disposition, is as much as for its own. 50. Liberality in word *being* that which teaches to the worthy *something* out of every virtuous knowledge and information which have come to it; (51) just as that which a *certain* sage said (52) thus: 'I desire that I *may* understand all information which is advantageous, and I *will* teach *it* to friends and acquire the result which is obtainable.' 53. *And* the liberality which is in deed *being* that which, out of any benefit whatever that has come to it, is a benefit to the worthy.

54. Again, *it* is a reminding of the good as to the preservation of the soul; (55) *and* for the same reason I *have* arranged that while the wise are kindly observant of me, through their own compassion, they *may* remember about the immortality of the soul. 56. Since it is said, that the eye of him who observes all good creatures with kind eyes is the eye of the sun; (57) because the sun is, indeed, an observer and beautifier with kind eyes for all creatures.

CHAPTER II.

1. The first subject (2) is about several questions *that* the ever-successful Mitrô-aīyyâr¹, son of Mah-

¹ This person, who is not mentioned elsewhere, was probably a layman and evidently a *Mazda*-worshipper, although his father's name seems to be Muhammadan, either Ma'hmûd or Mu'hammad. The Parsis under a Muhammadan government often adopted Muhammadan names, as they also took Hindu names in India; but, in this case, it is perhaps more probable that the father had become

mâd, from Spâhân¹, asked with good intent *and* not in search of defects, *and* the answer *thereto*.

3. *As to* that which is asked thus: 'Why did Aharman hurry on to the light², and how was it possible to be *so* when *he* is not *of* a like nature with it, though we always see that whatever is not *of* a like nature abstains from a different nature as much as water *does* from fire?' 4. The answer is this, that the cause itself of the hurrying on of Aharman, which *was* to the light, *was his* different nature. 5. And on account of the desire of a destroyer, which was perpetually in his nature, *he* is a destroyer of different natures.

6. Being injured *and* injuring, however they occur, do not take place except from difference of nature and those of a different nature. 7. Because *in* those of a like nature *there* exist similarity of will and unanimity, one towards the other, not injuring *and* being injured. 8. And those of a different nature, on account of *their* opposing nature, are destroyers *and* injurers, one of the other, however they come together. 9. Those of a like nature, on account of unanimity and similarity of nature, are lively³, efficient, and mutually helping, when they come together.

10. The disintegration and separation of like natures is the disunion of different natures. 11. Just

a convert to Muhammadanism, and changed his name accordingly, after his son had grown up.

¹ The Pahlavi form of Ispahân.

² In Bd. I, 9, 10 we are told that when the evil spirit arose from the abyss, he rushed in to destroy the light which he then saw for the first time, but was frightened away by its bravery and glory.

³ So understand by Nêr., but zîvihend may mean 'they are graceful,' or it may be a misreading of zênîhend, 'they are armed.'

as heat *and* cold which, on account of *their* opposing nature, are destroyers and injurers, resisting *and* disintegrating one another, through *their* perpetual nature. 12. Because every disintegration is owing to the laws (rastagân) of cold and dryness, heat and moisture, (13) *and their* destruction, injuring, *and* opposition of one another. 14. For the disintegration of bodies is owing to the perpetual struggling of heat and cold, dryness and moisture; (15) *and* owing to their struggling, one with the other, bodies are disintegrated *and* disabled.

16. Of water and fire, through their own nature, no injury whatever is manifest; (17) but the cold of *their* fraternization¹ is mingled with the moisture of the water, *and* is an opponent of the heat of the fire; (18) and the dryness of *their* fraternization is mingled with the heat of the fire, *and* is counteractingly an injurer of the moisture *of* the water.

CHAPTER III.

1. And *as to* that which is asked (2) thus: 'Why does not the creator Aûharmazd keep Aharman back from evil doing and evil seeking, when he is the mighty maker?' 3. As I assert that no mighty maker is afterwards imperfect *nor* yet unresisting.'

4. The answer is this, (5) that the evil deeds of Aharman are owing to the evil nature and evil will which are always his, as a fiend. 6. The omnipotence of the creator Aûharmazd is that which is over all *that* is possible to be, and is limited *thereby*.

¹ When water comes in contact with fire.

7. That which is not possible to be is not stirred up *by* a capable *or* an incapable being. 8. Whoever says *it is so* is not within the limits of understanding the words. 9. Because, though he said that it is not possible to be, he says again that the sacred being is capable of it, *and* that *has* brought it out of the limits of *what* is not possible to be. 10. For then *it* is not the not-possible, but the possible to be.

11. As his capability is limited, so also is *his* will, thereby. 12. For *he* is sagacious, (13) and the will of a sagacious *being* is all for that which is possible to be, (14) and his will does not pass on to that which is not possible¹, (15) because he wills all that which is possible *and* fit to be.

16. If I ^{say} that the creator Aûharmazd is able to keep Aharman back from the evil which is his perpetual nature, (17) it is possible to change that nature which is demoniacal into a divine *one*, and that which is divine into a demoniacal *one*; (18) and it is possible to make the dark light, and the light dark.

19. *Of* the changing of a nature by its own self those not understanding nature speak, (20) who are uninformed of the nature of the result² in actions *and* propensities³; (21) and they account the wolf *and* noxious creatures as a benefit.

¹ Sans. adds 'to be,' and is followed by most of the modern MSS.

² Pâz. vazîhasn, probably a misreading of Pahl. uzdahisn.

³ Pâz. gadasni, both here and in Chaps. IV, 56, VIII, 122, 123, 126, XII, 64, evidently means 'disposition, peculiarity.' It is probably a misreading of Pahl. guzinisn, occasioned by some writer connecting the two letters sn and so converting them into a t (d).

22. Since the harm and evil which *arise* from mankind and cattle are not naturally their own, but are owing to the havoc, deceit, solicitation, *and* deluding¹ of the fiend, (23) *they* are from the like vileness of other fiends who are such as the malice, wrath, and lust² which are mingled with mankind. 24. Just as the swallowing of bitter medicine, which is mingled with poison, is not the accomplishment of happiness, but for the removal of the pain and sickness which are owing to an extraneous nature (*barâ gôhar*). 25. As of a statement which is true *or* false—(26) though it *may* be that, connected with a false statement, a righteous man is preserved from much harm, and is ruined by that which is true—(27) mostly that benefit is not from the false statement, but from the removal of the destruction and evil which are mingled with the vile, (28) and that harm is not from the true statement, but from the evil which is mingled with the vile.

29. Also, as regards that which *happens* when opponents have appeared *in order* to remove each one its own competitor, (30) every one is unrestricted³ *in* keeping away that which is its own opponent, (31) such as light *and* darkness, perfume *and* stench, good works *and* crime, erudition *and* ignorance. 32. That *which* is not unrestricted is the

¹ Nêr. reads *vyâwānî*, which he understands to mean 'bewildering,' but it is doubtful if we can derive this meaning from *vyâwān*, 'a waterless wilderness,' which word occurs in Chap. XIV, 30. The original Pahlavi word can be also read either *nîyâzânîh*, 'cause of longing, temptation,' or *nîhâzânîh*, 'intimidation.'

² Evil passions which are personified as fiends (see Mkh. XLI, 10, 11).

³ Reading *atang*, instead of the similarly-written *âtûk* which would be the equivalent of the Pâz. *atû* (Sans. *sakta*) used by Nêr.

light to keep away stench, nor the perfume darkness; (33) but they have each separately appeared *in order* to keep away their own opponent.

34. *As to* that, too, which they say¹, that in the dark night a righteous man is preserved from the lion, wolves, dogs, and robbers, (35) *while* in the light day he becomes a captive² in their hands, (36) it is not proper to consider that as a benefit owing to darkness, nor yet as an evil owing to light. 37. Because light is created for the removal of darkness, not for the keeping away of the lion, wolf, and noxious creatures. *And there are* many other *things* which are of this nature. 38. On account of tediousness *this* is collected *merely* as a summary; the virtue *and* understanding of you triumphant *ones* (39) are so much, that you *may* obtain more from revelation.

CHAPTER IV.

1. And *as to* that which is asked (2) thus: 'When I always see that all things ever arise from the *celestial* sphere and stars, (3) and who created this sphere, then it is like that *which* those of the Vîrôd³ religion say, that he created good and evil. 4. If Aharman

¹ For the purpose of arguing that evils are sometimes advantageous, and may, therefore, form part of the design of a beneficent spirit.

² Or grôh may mean 'a hostage.'

³ Compare Sans. viruddha, 'perverse, contradictory,' or Pers. bulûd, 'antiquity.' It is possible that Muhammadanism is alluded to, as that religion is hardly ever mentioned by name in Pahlavi writings, probably from motives of policy.

created *anything*, how did he become able to create the effect of these marvellous things, (5) *and* why is *it* when they are stars by which assistance of virtue is always bestowed? 6. If Aûharmazd and Aharman created in conference, then that way *it* is manifest that Aûharmazd is an accomplice *and* confederate, with Aharman, in the harm and evil which ever arise from the *celestial* sphere.' 7. The answer is this, (8) that the *celestial* sphere is the place of the divinities (baghân), who are the distributors of happiness, from which they always justly bestow their distribution of every happiness. 9. And the forms of the seven planets (star) are witches who rush below them, despoilers who are antagonistic distributors, (10) whose scriptural name is Gadûg¹.

11. *Through* the creator Aûharmazd *was* the arrangement of these creatures and creation, methodically *and* sagaciously, and for the sake of the continuance of the renovation of the universe. 12. As the evil spirit *was* entangled in the sky, that fiend, with evil astuteness *and* with lying falsehood, encompassed² *and* mingled with the light, *together* with the fiends of crimes of many kinds, who are those of a gloomy race, *thinking* thus: 'I *will* make these creatures *and* creation of Aûharmazd extinct, or I must make *them* for my own.'

13. Those luminaries, the highest of those of the

¹ Av. gadha, a term for 'a brigand' which is used in conjunction with witches and other evil beings in the Srôsh Yt. Hâdôkht, 5, 6.

² Supposing that the Pâz. frawast (fravast in § 16) stands for Pahl. parvast, as in Chaps. VIII, 96, 97, XIV, 73, XVI, 56, 60, 66-69, 71, 72; but as Nêr. uses Sans. prasarpita, pravish/a, pravartita, samudgata, and samutpatita to translate the word, he must have assumed that it stood for frazast (Pahl. fragast, 'sprang forth').

good *being*, became aware, by means of omniscience, of the blemishing operation and the lies *and* falsehoods of the fiend, (14) *and* of this too, that is, of what extent *was* this power of his, by which this blemishing operation and work of ruin creep on¹, (15) so that, henceforth, *there* exists no power whatever for its restoration, which is *free* from the complete daubing of restraint, pain, and entanglement that is inside the sky.

16. It is they² who are sagaciously mingled by him (the good being) with the substance of the luminaries, because that fiend encompassed and *was* entangled with his luminaries, therefore all his powers and resources are for the purpose of not allowing the fiends of crimes of many kinds their own performance of what is desirable for them each separately; (17) such as the fiendish venom of the noxious creatures which the four elements (*zahakân*), pertaining to *Aûharmazd*, [keep enveloped³. 18. For if this fiendish venom of the noxious creatures] does not remain entangled [with the four elements of the bodily formations pertaining to *Aûharmazd*—which are water, fire, earth, and air—*it is* just as though they came to the sky *and* spiritual *existence*. 19.

¹ Sans. 'will retreat,' as if *Nêr.* understood the pronoun 'his' to refer to the good spirit, instead of the evil one; the application of the pronouns in §§ 14, 15 being by no means clear in the original text.

² The spiritual representatives of the luminaries, who are angels.

³ The words in brackets are omitted in AK, PB₃, L₂₃, so that §§ 17, 18, in those MSS., stand as follows:—'Since the fiendish venom of the noxious creatures, that the four elements pertaining to *Aûharmazd*—which are water, fire, earth, and air—have not entangled, is just as though they (the creatures) came to the sky *and* spiritual *existence*.'

And if they attained to spirituality and a disembodied existence, it would not be possible for those creatures of Aûharmazd to avoid *and* escape from that demoniacal venom of theirs. 20. It would be in the grasp (grôhê)¹ and mingled with the breath (vâd) of mankind *and* the other creatures, *and their* restoration, support, increase, *and* growth would not be possible.

21. So they² also keep those planets enveloped in light, because the fiendish venom of the noxious creatures is in the substance of *those* luminaries.

22. On account of that, too, the existence of somewhat of advantage is manifest from the serpent species, which are dissolving venom from the multitudes of other wild animals *and* noxious creatures³.

23. So also from the planets; on account of the commingling of the inferior splendour of *those* luminaries, benefit is manifested by them.

24. A similitude of these planets *and* the benefit which they always bestow (25) is such as the brigands (gadûgân)⁴ *and* highwaymen who interrupt the path of traders in a caravan. 26. They abstract important things *from* many, (27) *and* do not grant and give *them* to the diligent *and* worthy, but to sinners, idlers, courtezans, paramours, *and* the unworthy.

28. *Observe* this, too, that this performance of good works which astrologers compute and state from those planets is for this reason, (29) when they have not preferred the method of the divinities

¹ Or grôhê may mean 'an assemblage.'

² The angels of the luminaries.

³ Which they eat, and thereby diminish the number of such objectionable creatures.

⁴ See § 10 n.

(*baghân*) who are distributing welfare, and that, also, of the five constellations pertaining to *Aûhar-mazd*—which are the great *one*¹ that is supreme and measurable², *Haptôiring*³, created by *Mazda*⁴, and the stars *Vanand*⁵, *Satavês*⁶, and *Tistar*⁷—as regards the brigands (*gadûgân*)⁸ and distributors of evil. 30. And those are the five planets that rush below them in the shape of stars, and they keep *them* enveloped in light, which are Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. 31. Since the supreme constellation, the great *one* of the north-opposing⁹ (32) *Haptôiring*, is opposing Saturn, (33) *Haptôiring*, created by *Mazda*, is opposing Jupiter, (34) *Vanand*, the smiter of noxious creatures, is opposing Mars, (35) the star *Satavês* is opposing Venus, (36) and the star *Tistar* is opposing the planetary Mercury¹⁰, (37) the welfare, which they say is from those brigands (*gadûgân*), is from those five constellations per-

¹ Called 'the great *one* of the middle of the sky' in Bd. II, 8, V, 1, which has not yet been identified, but may be Regulus or Orion.

² Sans. 'very visible.'

³ See Mkh. XLIX, 15-21, where it is called *Haptôk-ring*.

⁴ This epithet is often applied to *Haptôiring*, *Vanand*, and *Satavês*.

⁵ See Mkh. XLIX, 12-14.

⁶ See Mkh. LXII, 13.

⁷ See Mkh. XLIX, 5, 6.

⁸ The planetary witches (see § 10).

⁹ Or it may be 'planetary-opposing,' or 'north-accepting.' The dislocation, and probable corruption, of these sections is due to Nêr., who evidently considered the epithet *mazdadhâta*, 'created by *Mazda*,' as the name of one of the constellations, and 'great' and 'supreme' as mere epithets of *Haptôiring*. But he found it difficult to adapt the text to this opinion of his.

¹⁰ These oppositions agree with those mentioned in Bd. V, 1, except that *Haptôiring* is there opposed to Mars, and *Vanand* to Jupiter.

taining to Aûharmazd, (38) as they obtain the triumph of much power *and* little injury.

39. And for the sake of not leaving these five planets to their own wills, they are bound *by* the creator, Aûharmazd, each one by two threads (*gîk*) to the sun (Mihir) and moon. 40. And their forward motion and backward motion are owing to the same cause. 41. There are *some* whose length of thread is longer, such as Saturn and Jupiter, (42) and there are *some of* which *it* is shorter, such as Mercury and Venus. 43. Every *time* when they go to the end of the threads, they draw *them* back from behind, (44) and they do not allow them to proceed by their own wills, (45) so that they *may* not injure the creatures.

46. And those two fiends that are greatly powerful, who are opponents of the planetary sun and moon, move below the splendour of *those* two luminaries¹. 47. Another—even that which is called the brigand (*gadûg*) of the stars, as regards the welfare that exists²—is likewise confined below the splendour of the sun. 48. And when it³ gets far from control, it commits damage and harm on the constellation into which it springs, *and* on the quarter which is the particular concern of that constellation, (49) until it

¹ Referring to the supposed cause of eclipses, which are said to be occasioned by two dark bodies revolving below the sun and moon, so as to pass between them and the earth whenever an eclipse occurs (see Dd. LXIX).

² Referring to the supposed injurious influence of comets which, as they usually appear one at a time to the unassisted eye, are here assumed to be a single evil being, the Mûspar of Bd. V, 1, 2.

³ We should perhaps say 'she,' as a *drûg*, 'fiend,' is usually considered to be a female being, and the Mûspar or Mûs-pairika is a witch.

becomes again, a second *time*, bound *and* fettered to the sun.

50. The statement which they offer about it¹ (51) is this, the conflict of the superior beings within the star station. 52. Out of the inferior of those are the conflicts of Tistar and the demon Spenzagar², (53) *of* the fire Vâzist³ and the demon Avâush⁴, (54) *and of* other good spirits with gloomy ones, for the formation of rain and allotment of welfare to the creatures.

55. Below them are mankind and cattle, noxious creatures and deadly *ones*⁵, and other creatures that are good and bad. 56. Because propensities (*gadasni*) are mingled with mankind, (57) which are greed, lust, malice, wrath, and lethargy, (58) wisdom, temper, skill, knowledge, understanding, and intellect, (59) as the good influences and bad influences are called, which are the causes of good works and sin.

60. All this welfare of the creatures⁶ is specially owing to the creator of the creatures, (61) who is himself the healer and perfect ruler, the maintainer of protection, nourisher, and caretaker, preserving his own creatures. 62. And, for his own creatures, he

¹ Meaning, probably, the reason given by the astrologers for the good works mentioned in § 28.

² The demon of thunder (see Bd. VII, 12).

³ The lightning (see Bd. XVII, 1).

⁴ The demon of drought (see Bd. VII, 8, 10, 12, XXVIII, 39). These two conflicts represent the struggle between rain and drought, which culminates in the thunderstorm; Tistar (Sirius) being the bringer of rain.

⁵ So in AK, PB₃, MH₁₉, but other MSS. have *mâr*, 'serpent,' instead of *mar*, though Nêr. uses Sans. *nṛisamsa*.

⁶ Which is manifest in the world around us.

has thoroughly created and taught the means of preservation from evil, and the appliances for abstaining from crime.

63. A semblance, too, of him is such as a wise orchard-owner and gardener who wishes to diminish the wild animals and birds which are mischievous and destructive for his orchard by spoiling the fruit of the trees. 64. And that wise gardener, effacing (*padasâê*) his own little trouble, for the sake of keeping those mischievous wild animals away from his own orchard, arranges the appliances which are necessary for the capture of those wild animals, (65) such as springes, traps, and snares for birds. 66. So that when a wild animal sees the snare, and wishes to proceed with suspicion of it, through unconsciousness of the springe and trap he is captured therein.

67. This is certain, that, when a wild animal falls into a trap, *it* is not a victory of the trap, but that of the arranger of the trap, (68) *and* through him the wild animal is captured in the trap. 69. The proprietor *and* orchard-owner, who is the arranger of the trap, is aware through sagacity that the wild animal is powerful, *and* to what extent and how long a time. 70. The power and strength of that wild animal, which are in its body, are exhausted and poured *out* by struggling, as much as it is able, in demolishing the trap and *in* endeavouring to destroy *and* spoil the springe. 71. And when, on account of imperfect strength, its power of struggling totters *and* is exhausted, that wise gardener then, by his own will and his own result of determination, wisely throws that wild animal out of the trap, with *its* existing nature *and* exhausted strength. 72. *And*

he consigns his own trap and springe, rearranged *and* undamaged, back to the storehouse.

73. Even like him is the creator Aûharmazd, who is the preserver of creations and arranger of creatures¹, the disabler of the evil original evolution² and protector of his own orchard from the injurer. 74. The mischievous wild animal, which is the spoiler of the orchard, is that accursed Aharman who is the hurrier *and* disturber of the creatures. 75. The good trap is the sky, in which the good creations are lodging, (76) *and* in which the evil spirit and *his* rudimentary³ miscreations are captured. 77. And *pertaining* to the springe and trap of the wild animal, who is mischievous owing to his own wilfulness, is the exhauster (78) time that, for the struggling of Aharman and his powers *and* resources, is for the long period⁴ (79) which, through the struggling of the wild animal in the springe and trap, is an exhaustion of its strength. 80. The sole⁵

¹ Nêr. has 'of the trap' in Sanskrit. The Pâz. dām, meaning both 'creature' and 'trap.'

² Reading būn gastak instead of būn yastak, as the word has evidently no reference to any form of worship. It cannot be translated 'original perversion' (a possible meaning of the word) because there are two of them (see § 103 and Chap. VIII, 101), one competing with the other (see Chap. VIII, 1), which, as one of them is here said to be evil, implies that the other is good and cannot, therefore, be a perversion; nor would this term be applicable in Chap. VI, 6 or XV, 56.

³ Or it may be 'primitive,' as kâdmon is the Huzvâris form of the Pâz. khâmast (superlative of Pers. 'ââm, 'immature') here used.

⁴ So in all the older MSS., but in Sans. it 'is the long-time lord,' a common Avesta epithet of 'time,' and this alteration has been introduced into JE, R, and a few other modern MSS.

⁵ Assuming that Pâz. awâz stands for ewâz. The word is omitted by Sans., K28, L15.

creator of the creatures arranges a preservation again, which is the preparation of an eternal happy progress *free* from his adversary, which that wise orchard-owner *does with* his own trap and springe¹.

81. Then² the scanty power and want of ability of that fiend for it, in his struggling for the luminaries, are manifest even from this. 82. When as with lying falsehood he thought thus³: 'I *will* make this sky and earth and the creatures of Aôharmazd extinct, or I *will* turn *them* from their own nature and bring *them* to my own,' (83) even then, with *all* the power, desire of destruction, and perpetual struggling of the fiend, no slaughter whatever *by* the demons is *free* from effectual limits; it is this earth and sky, and these creatures, (84) *that* are propagating from few to many, as is manifest, (85) and innumerable *persons* are convinced of it. 86. For, if in this struggling any victory should have specially occurred, it would have been impossible to attain from few to many.

87. Moreover, if the births of the worldly *existence* are mostly manifest through the occurrence of death therein, even then it is seen that that death is not a complete dissolution of existence, but a necessity of *going* from place to place, from duty to duty⁴. 88. For, as the existence of all these creations is *derived* from the four elements, *it* is manifest to the sight *that* those worldly bodies of theirs are to be mingled again with the four elements. 89. The spiritual *parts*, which are the rudimentary appliances of the life

¹ As stated in § 72.

² Reading adînas, 'then for it,' which is the original Pahlavi indicated by the Pâz. ainâ of Nêr. (see Mkh. IX, 6 n).

³ See § 12.

⁴ Compare Chap. XII, 79.

stimulating the body, are mingled with the soul—(90) on account of unity of nature they are not dispersed—(91) and the soul is accountable (amâr-hômand) for its own deeds. 92. Its treasurers¹, also, unto whom its good works and offences are intrusted, advance there for a contest. 93. When the treasurer of the good works is of greater strength, she preserves it, by her victory, from the hands of the accuser², *and* settles it for the great throne and the mutual delightfulness of the luminaries; (94) and it is assisted eternally in virtuous progress. 95. And when the treasurer of its offences is of greater strength, it is dragged, through her victory, *away* from the hands of the helper³, (96) *and* is delivered up to the place of thirst and hunger and the agonizing abode of disease⁴. 97. And, even there, those feeble good works, which *were* practised by it in the worldly *existence*, are not useless to it; (98) for, owing to *this* same reason, that hunger and thirst and punishment are *inflicted* on it proportionately to the sin, *and* not lawlessly, (99) because *there* is a watcher⁵

¹ Nêr. divides the word gangôbar, 'treasurer,' into the three words gang u bar, 'treasure and produce.' These treasurers are the female spirits who meet the soul after death, with its stores of good works and sins (see Dd. XXIV, 5, XXV, 5), and symbolize its good and bad conscience, represented by a beautiful maiden and a frightful hag, respectively.

² The accuser is any person or thing of the good creation that has been injured by any sin, and who must be satisfied by atonement before the sin can be remitted. The question, therefore, to be settled, when the account of the soul is rendered, is whether its good works are sufficient to atone for its sins. In this case the treasurer of offences represents the accusers.

³ The treasurer of good works.

⁴ That is, to the torments of hell.

⁵ Either the treasurer of its good works, or the good works themselves.

of the infliction of its punishment. 100. And, ultimately, the compassionate creator, who is the forgiver of the creatures, does not leave any good creature captive in the hands of the enemy¹. 101. *But*, one day², he saves even those who are sinful, *and* those of the righteous through atonement for sin, by the hands of the purifiers, *and* makes *them* proceed on the happy course which is eternal.

102. The conclusion is this, that the creator is the healer and perfect ruler, the maintainer and nourisher, protecting *and* preserving the creatures³; not a producer of the disease, a causer of the pain, and an inflicter of the punishment of his own creatures. 103. And it is more explicitly written below, with the arrangement of the two original evolutions⁴, among the assertors of the non-existence of a sacred being⁵, and the contemplators of unity⁶.

104. As ordered and requested by you it is provided (padarâst); do you direct and observe *it* with kind regards. 105. Because, as written above⁷ by us, I do not hold the station of teaching, but really that of learning. 106. Even this teaching of doctrines is that which *was* obtained by me, through the religion of wisdom⁸, from the writing (nipîk) of Âtûr-pâdlyâvand⁹, and is here indicated. 107. And his teachings

¹ Compare Chap. XII, 59.

² Assuming that Pâz. gumê is a misreading of Huz. yôm-1.

³ Compare § 61.

⁴ See § 73 n, Chaps. V, 46-IX, 45.

⁵ Chap. V.

⁶ Chap. X.

⁷ Chap. I, 44.

⁸ It is doubtful whether this dîni-i-khard was the name of a book now unknown, as the phrase admits of reasonable translation.

⁹ This writer is also mentioned in Chaps. I, 38, IX, 2, X, 52, but his name has not yet been found elsewhere. As he does not

are in the *Dīnkard*¹ manuscript (*nīpīk*), which the supremely learned *Ātūr-frōbag*², son of *Farukh-zād*, who was the leader of those of the good religion, explained out of *his* knowledge of the religion, *and* which consists of a thousand subjects³.

108. Of that, too, which is asked by you about unlimitedness and limitation, I have written below⁴, through the will of the sacred beings.

CHAPTER V.

1. Another subject, among the assertors of the non-existence of a sacred being, is about the existence of the sacred being and his competitor.

2. Of the knowledge approvable by wisdom and the statements of the limits of evidence, *about* the existence of the sacred being and his competitor, (3)

appear to be mentioned in that portion of the *Dīnkard* known to be extant, his writings were probably embodied in the first two books of that work, which have not yet been discovered.

¹ The most extensive Pahlavi work in existence, of which only Books III-IX are extant; they contain about 170,000 words and are a summary of the religious opinions, customs, legends, and literature of the *Mazda*-worshippers, compiled probably in or before the eighth century of the Christian era from earlier records.

² An early editor of the *Dīnkard*, 'acts of the religion.' His selections from various religious writings form the fourth and fifth books of that work. He appears to have been succeeded in the editorship by his son *Zaratūst*. And when their manuscript became worn out, it was finally re-edited by *Ātūrpād*, son of *Hēmīd*, who lived in the latter part of the ninth century. All these three editors were 'leaders of the good religion,' and are mentioned in the last paragraphs of the third book of the *Dīnkard*.

³ *Pāz. daraa* means rather 'subject' than 'chapter' (*Pāz. dar*).

⁴ See Chap. XVI, 53-107.

this is a summary :—*One* knows it should be enjoined, that the supreme first knowledge, most *suitable* for the well-discerning, is comprehending the sacred being. 4. He, of whom this knowledge is not the leader of knowledge, is unaided by other knowledge. 5. Comprehending the sacred being is possible through undecayed¹ understanding, fervent intellect, and decisive wisdom.

6. Since comprehending the sacred being is not, thus far, more than *that one* knows that a sacred being exists, (7) because whoever is acquainted with the existence of a certain thing, and is unaware of its nature, is thinking thus, that that thing is good or bad, erudite or ignorant, antidote or poison, cold *and* frozen or hot and scorching, dry *and* withering or damp, (8) and, when unaware of its nature, his only knowledge of it is then useless—(9) for it is possible to cause the commendation and condemnation of any person *or* thing, not through *its* existence but through *its* nature—(10) *therefore one* knows this should be also enjoined, that a knowledge of² anything is *acquired* in three modes :—(11) by knowing *what* is inevitable, or by knowing *what* is analogous, or by *what* is possible *and* fit to exist.

12. Inevitable knowledge is such as once one is one, and twice two are four. 13. For within the bounds of the really inevitable it is not possible to say, (14) that *there was or will* be a time, or a place, where twice two are said *to be* five or three.

15. Knowledge *by* analogy is that which announces, from anything manifest, something which is not

¹ Assuming that Pâz. agunast (Sans. anâvila) stands for Pahl. agôndîd; but it may stand for Pahl. agûngîd, 'unsilenced.'

² Sans. inserts 'the nature of.'

manifest, (16) and brings, out of anything visible, something invisible, in the likeness of a hand put up¹, for the household service of the perception of wisdom, (17) through complete similarity, resemblance, *or* partial resemblance.

18. Complete similarity is such as *that of* a man of Pârs to a man of another district. 19. Resemblance is such as *that of* cheese to the white of an egg. 20. And partial resemblance is such as *that of* cheese to chalk, (21) since this is about the limit of partial resemblance, because cheese is like unto chalk only in whiteness, (22) *but to* the white of an egg in whiteness and also *as* food.

23. And there is also *that* which is called more resembling than resemblance, and more partially resembling *than* partial resemblance. 24. That which is more *than* complete similarity is not spoken about, (25) because completion does not become more complete.

26. By this mode *it* is set forth a second time at more length. 27. To demonstrate an invisible from a visible thing is such as from a thing made and maintained, which is not domestically serving the maker and maintainer, (28) and from a thing written, whose writer is not declared, (29) are manifest a maker of that *which is* made, a maintainer of that *which is* maintained, *and* a writer of that *which is* written, who are inevitable, (30) because that which is not manifest *and* is invisible is demonstrated by the thing which is manifest and visible.

31. Information of that which is within the possible *and* fit to exist is credible, (32) such as what *one*

¹ As a finger-post.

states thus: 'I saw a man by whom a lion, or a lion by whom a man, *was* slain outright.' 33. And this, *being* that which is within the limits of the possible *and* fit to exist, may be a lie. 34. But when a man announces that intelligence, who is renowned for truth and tested in judgment, it is within the limits of truth and reality. 35. If a man announces *it*, who is disgraced by falsehood and tested in misjudgment, it is within the limits of falsehood and unreality.

36. Another mode, outside of these *and* within the limits of the inevitable, is *by knowing what has* not occurred *and* is not possible; (37) such as what *one* states thus: 'It is possible to bring the world, in secrecy, into the inside of an egg,' (38) or 'it is possible *for* an elephant to pass into an eye of a needle,' (39) *in* such a manner *as* though one *of them* really becomes no greater and no less, (40) or *its* substance is something which is not a rudiment.

41. A struggle which should not be limited, (42) an existing thing which is not temporary and localised, (43) or is localised *and* not limited, (44) the working of a vain miracle, (45) and other *things* of this description of speaking *and* imagining are faulty and false and not possible.

46. Then¹ the knowledge of the existence of him who is the exalted sacred being, apart from tangibility of nature and other evidence, is through the inevitable and analogy, (47) as much visible before the sight of wisdom as from the prosperity², formation, and organization which are, according to dif-

¹ Reading a dīnas, 'then of him,' for Pâz. ainâ, as in Chap. IV, 81. Having explained the modes of arguing, in §§ 12-45, the author now returns to the argument itself.

² So in Sans., but bâhar-hômandîh also means 'divisibility.'

ferent statements of many kinds, the formation of the things of the world and mankind whose particles, *and* the appliances which are owing thereto, are such as the elements of the body *and* life, from which¹ they are prepared *and* formed, (48) which are fire, water, air, *and* earth, (49) that are, each separately, a stimulus so qualified and ennobled for their own operations, (50) that the operation of fire, through its own quality (*kîharîh*) and nobility (*vâspûhara-kânîh*), is such that the operations of water, air, *and* earth are not to stimulate unrestricted (*atang*)² by it. 51. Thus, also, the operation of water, through its own quality, is such that the operations of air, fire, *and* earth are not *unrestricted* by it. 52. So, also, of air, the operations of fire, water, *and* earth are not *unrestricted by it*. 53. So, also, of earth, the operations of these *others* are to stimulate not unrestricted *by it*. 54. But each separately is for its own operation, just as they are ennobled *and* qualified (55) by him who is, sagaciously *and* methodically, a qualifier, a constructor, and an ennobler. 56. *And* the organization is constructed, prepared, qualified, *and* ennobled as is suitable for those operations.

57. So, also, *as to* mankind and the other creatures, who are the germinating of these elements, (58) whose organization of bone, fat, sinew, veins, and skin, each separately (59) without sympathy, one for the other, is visible altogether. 60. Thus, too, are the nobility *and* qualification of the internal organs, (61) such as the liver, heart³, lungs, kidneys, gall-bladder, *and*

¹ Reading *mûn azas* for *Pâz. ke vas*.

² See Chap. III, 30 n.

³ Assuming that *Pâz. dawur* is a misreading of *Pahl. dîl*.

other appliances, *for* every one of which a function of its own is manifest. 62. They are qualified *and* ennobled for their defence by those functions which are their own.

63. So, also, is the qualification of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, mouth, teeth, hand, foot, *and* other external appliances, whose own functions are each separate. 64. And *it* is visibly manifest therein; inasmuch as, when one of these organs is disabled, any *one* of the rest is not suitable for the work of that other *one*, for which it is not qualified. 65. And when only the construction of one of the organs of the body is examined into—that is, how *it is*—it is wonderfully sagaciously constructed¹.

66. Such as the eye, which is of many natures of different names and different purposes, (67) as the eyelash, the eyelid, the white, the eyeball (khâyak), the iris (sâyak), *and* the pupil (têdak), (68) *in* such way that the white is fat², (69) the iris is water which *has* so stood in the prison³ of fat that the turning of the eye, from side to side, occurs through it, (70) *and* the pupil, itself the sight, is like a view into the water. 71. The iris stands in the prison of white, like the standing of water in a prison of fat; (72) *and* the pupil is within the iris, like the view of a thing within clear water, (73) *or* the form of a column in

¹ So in Sans., but the Pahl. text may be translated 'how wonderful *it is*, it is sagaciously constructed.'

² Assuming that Pâz. pēgh, as well as pih in § 69 and peh in § 71, stands for Pahl. pîk (Pers. pî), 'fat.' It might also be connected with Pers. pikah, 'a veil,' as Nêr. seems to have understood it here; but 'fat' suits the whole context better.

³ Reading lag, instead of rag, 'a vein,' which latter is adopted by Nêr. both here and in § 71.

a shining mirror. 74. And the arrangement of the white *in* the orbit is for the reason that the dust whirling from the atmosphere, when it arrives at the eye, shall not be concealed in it, (75) *but* shall turn to the lid (gumb) of the eye, (76) and shall not injure the sight of the eye. 77. Just as the construction of the tube (rag) of the ear is undilated (afâhal), for the reason (78) that whirls of dust and winged noxious creatures shall not rightly enter therein. 79. And the moisture of oneself, the secretion of the ear, and the venom of noxious creatures are manifestly as *useful*¹.

80. When the appliances of life and soul are observed—(81) such as the smell, hearing, sight, taste, and touch which are causing the intelligence of living beings, (82) as also the wisdom of every pontiff (rad), *which* is pronounced decisive, (83) the knowledge which is acquiring, (84) the intellect which is a seeker *and* transmitter, (85) the understanding which is a treasurer *and* defender, (86) the consciousness which is itself the sight of the soul, (87) the guardian spirit (fravash) which is itself the nature that is a maintainer of the body, (88) the spiritual life (ahû) which is pure, (89) and the other spiritual *existences* that are maintaining the body, which are each separately qualified, in that manner², *for* their operation and duty—(90) they are perfect in their own operation, as to duty such as they are ennobled *and* qualified *for*. 91. As to that *for* which they are not qualified, they are not suitable.

92. The two *arguments* which are each separate

¹ As means of defence.

² By the assistance of the senses mentioned in § 81.

in the *Dīnkard* manuscript, as the supremely learned *one*¹ has explained *them* out of *his* knowledge of the religion, are here set forth at length. 93. *He* whose wish is to fully understand the wonderfulness of the Mazda-worshipping religion and the statements of the primitive faith, (94) examines into it in a manuscript of that character, (95) *and* shall understand more fully the wonderfulness and truth of the religion².

CHAPTER VI.

1. *As to* another delusion³ of those asserting the non-existence of a sacred being—(2) whom they call atheistical (*daharī*)⁴—(3) that they are ordained *free* from religious trouble (*alag*) and the toil of practising good works, (4) and the unlimited twaddle (*drāyisn*)⁵ they abundantly chatter, (5) you⁶ should observe this:—6. That they account this world, with the much change and adjustment of description of its members *and* appliances, *their* antagonism to one another, and their confusion with one another, *as* an original evolution⁷ of boundless time. 7. And this, too, that there is no reward of good works, no punishment of sin, no heaven and hell, and no stimulator of good works and crime. 8. Besides

¹ *Ātūr-frōbag* (see Chap. IV, 107).

² Nearly all the Pahlavi manuscripts of this work terminate here.

³ *Pāz. vyāwānī* (see Chap. III, 22 n).

⁴ *Sans. digambara* refers this term to Buddhist ascetics, the nearest approach to atheists with which *Nēr.* was acquainted.

⁵ A contemptuous term for the speech of evil beings.

⁶ Or it may be '*one*,' as the Sanskrit uses the third person.

⁷ See Chap. IV, 73 n.

this, that things are only worldly, and there is no spirit.

9. As I *have* written and shown above¹—(10) that to be made without a maker, and decided without a decider, is as impossible as to prepare *what* is written without a writer, *or* a house without a mortar-mixer (râz)² and building (dêsâk)—(11) things made, of all kinds, cannot arise without making.

12. And this worldly *existence* is owing to the mingling of competing powers. 13. So *its* numerous possessions are so constructed, selected, *and* made of diverse races (kîharân), diverse colours, diverse scents, diverse characteristics, *and* diverse species as I *have* stated above³ about the body, (14) that it is constructed *and* made out of many things, such as bone, fat, sinew, veins, skin, blood, breath, hair⁴, fundament⁵, hand, foot, head, belly, *and* other members, internal and external, (15) in two series⁶ of things of many kinds, of which *to be* never made by means of the diverse nature of diverse powers, (16) or to arise without a maker, the impossibility is certain.

17. And *in* like manner of the other creatures, plants *and* trees, water *and* fire, earth and air, their stimulus, too, which is not themselves, is to their own duty; and they are not stimulators, (18) but there is a stimulator, a building (dêsâk), and a making for

¹ Chap. V, 27-30.

² Sans. has 'carpenter.'

³ Chap. V, 57-63.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. vas is a misreading of Pahl. varas. Nêr. has Sans. rasa, 'liquid secretion.'

⁵ Supposing that Pâz. daryam (Sans. nish/hâ) stands for Pahl. dar-î dum.

⁶ Literally 'columns.'

them. 19. And the usage (vâzâr) which is changing *and* urging them, from stimulus to stimulus, from statement to statement, *and* from time to time, is not according to the will and requirement of those made, but according to those that are stimulating and making.

20. Even so, indicative of the rotation of the years, months, days, *and* hours, is the revolution of the *celestial* sphere and stars which are settled (pasâkhtak), and *of* the sun and moon which are adjusted (nîvârdak), a well-horsed¹ progress *and* conspicuous revolution. 21. This, too, is an indication that the movements of every appearance (kîharîh) are owing to an exhibitor, by whom the movement of that appearance is exhibited.

22. Owing to other differences and different management in the worldly *existence* (23) it is possible to know, from the worldly *existence* at various times *and* various periods, that this worldly *existence* is not without a manager. 24. Or *that* its manager is not a sacred being², who is learned, acting reasonably, of unlimited power, and illuminating³ the sky, is also that which is visible when the development, decay, and death of the world are such, that the nature alike of mankind and animals, and alike of races and trees, is to come from youth to old age, *and* from old age to death. 25. No one whatever is seen *that has* come from old age back to youth, *or* from death back to life, and *it* is not

¹ Alluding to the supposed horses of the sun. Sans. has 'brilliant.'

² That is, the world cannot be controlled by a sacred being alone, on account of the evil it contains.

³ Sans. has 'making,' another meaning of varz.

possible to say *so*. 26. Nor yet is it proper to think, say, *or* believe this, (27) that there is no recompense of good works and punishment of crime, (28) nor even an appearance of an attainable creator of all the creatures, and *of* the daubing of a destroyer.

29. Moreover, *as to this latter*, that is precious to those who are more friends of penury than *of* the comfort of ill-famed vileness—(30) because they produce their happiness thereby¹, and are grateful, (31) and when they see distress they become suppliants (32) even from this destiny and dispensation which cannot become spiritual except by the spirits—(33) even so, in the appearance of every one *of* the hungry, (34) *and* in every one hurrying and straitened², who is imploring favours, is a manifestation of the maintenance of a hope for a supreme inspection over mankind, *and*, indeed, over wild animals, birds, *and* quadrupeds.

35. *As to* this, too, which they call sophistical³, (36) that there is no assurance of even one of *these* things, (37) because all are jaundiced⁴—(38) for whoever says that honey is bitter and honey is sweet, is right *in* both, (39) since *it* is bitter to those abounding in bile, *and* sweet to others; (40) also bread is pleasant and bread is unpleasant are both

¹ By performing the good work of charity, which is necessary for the future happiness of their own souls.

² Assuming that Pâz. *hvastâw u vadang* is a misreading of Pahl. *âstâvō va tang*.

³ Pâz. *suwastâi* (Sans. *suvastâyîka*) is evidently traceable to σοφιστικός through Pers. *sûfis/âtyah*.

⁴ Paz. *tahal* (Sans. *ka/uka*) is transposed in Pers. *tal'h*, 'bitter,' in which sense the word is used in §§ 38, 39, and Chap. III, 24.

true, (41) since *it* is pleasant to the hungry, *and* unpleasant to the surfeited; (42) *and* many other *statements* of this description—(43) that *which* should be said in reply to their twaddle is summarily (44) such as the wise *have* told them (45) thus:—‘Even this statement of you sophists, about the jaundiced nature of everything, is alike jaundiced, and there is no truth *in it*.’

46. Many other *things* are said among them; (47) and this that is indicated by us is the predominant information *for* you victors, (48) so that you *may* obtain more from revelation.

CHAPTER VII.

1. Another *subject* is about the existence of a competitor of a different nature, as shown above¹, (2) that, from the constructing, qualifying, *and* ennobling of things so sagaciously, *and* even from the circumstances of an unimproving (akârîk) hand put upon the concentrated light, *it* is manifest that its maker, constructor, concentrator, *and* qualifier is sagacious. 3. Also his constructing sagaciously is manifest, from each separately, through the qualifying *and* ennobling of his own works severally. 4. And his working sagaciously is an indicator that his work is purposed *and* caused, (5) because every one of the works of the sagacious ought to be purposed *and* caused. 6. The purpose and cause of a work arise first, the work *itself* afterwards.

7. From the many kinds of his work *it* is manifest that his work is willed and requisite. 8. For *there*

¹ Chaps. IV, 11, 12, V, 54–56.

are two modes of doing a work, (9) either the willed is *of* the many kinds which are his will, (10) or the quality is *of* one kind which is as it is qualified¹; (11) *so* from the many kinds *of* work of the creator *it* is manifest that his work is willed and requisite. 12. And his will is owing to a necessity of different limit², (13) because his will *was* a requisite for the power of the original evolution.

14. The purpose and cause of a work are before the necessity, (15) because while the purpose of the necessity of a work does not occur, the necessity does not exist. 16. The purpose of a work arises from the cause, towards which the necessity of that work instigates. 17. The necessity *and* willing of a thing which is caused exist; (18) and a cause of the necessity of a thing owing to its own self is not well suited, (19) because the cause arises from progression, (20) concerning which an indicator is the purposed work that is sagacious. 21. The purpose is owing to a cause, the cause is owing to promptitude (*aûstâv*), the promptitude is owing to an exception (*barâ*), the exception is owing to an injurer, and the injury is owing to an opponent, without *further* words.

22. I *have* also shown³, on this subject, through inevitable knowledge and through analogy, the making and qualification of the world and its circumstances *and* appliances. 23. From the making and qualification of the world is manifested a maker and qualifier; (24) and⁴ [through the purposely-made

¹ By necessity, and not exhibiting any freedom of will on the part of its maker.

² That is, not limited by anything in his work of creation.

³ In Chap. V, 46-91.

⁴ The passage in brackets is omitted by AK, PB3, MH19, L23,

work of the sagacious creator, (25) owing to] the purposely-made work¹, is manifested the existence of an injurer from without.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Again, about the existence of a competing *and* different original evolution², *there* are these (2) that are manifest from the good and evil which are in the world, (3) and the particulars of *its* good maker which are self-limited. 4. Such as darkness and light, (5) erudition *and* ignorance, (6) perfume and stench, (7) life and death, (8) sickness and health, (9) order (*dâd*) and disorder, (10) distress and freedom from care (*âzâdîh*), (11) *and* other co-existing³ factors whose certain existence is visible in every district *and* land, and every age. 12. So that no district *or* land whatever is discovered, nor yet any age *has* existed *or* shall exist, (13) wherein these good and bad terms and particulars *have* not existed *or* do not exist. 14. And it is not possible to say, as to any place *or* age, that good and evil are changeable in themselves by their own nature.

15. So, moreover, of the other co-existences whose difference is not through different duty, through different species, *or* through different quality—(16) as the difference of those of a like nature among one another, such as male *and* female, (17) *of* the varieties

evidently by mistake, as it is necessary to complete the meaning of the sentence.

¹ Made for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the fiend, which he foresaw (see Chap. VIII, 51, 71).

² See Chap. IV, 73 n.

³ And, therefore, competing, as their natures are different.

of scents *and* flavours, and *of* the sun *and* moon *and* stars, whose difference is not through different nature, but through different duty, through different qualification, and through different construction, which are such as are attainable for various duties—(18) the good and evil, light and dark, *and* other different natures are then their distinction not through different duty, but through different nature, (19) the incompatible quality and the injuriousness which are manifest *in* them, one towards the other. 20. Therefore, when good is there¹, the non-existence of evil is unquestionable; (21) when light *has* come, darkness is removed. 22. Even so *of* the other co-existences² whose incompatibility and injuriousness together are owing to the cause of difference of nature, (23) because, in the worldly *existence*, *there* is a manifestation of the competing nature and injuriousness of the things, one towards the other.

24. The worldly *existence* is the fruit of the spiritual, and the spiritual is its root, (25) because fruit is obtained through a root. 26. *In* like manner the giver of the evidence arisen among the intelligent is clear. 27. Of the worldly *existence being* the fruit, *and* the spiritual being the root, the evidence is this, (28) when the progress (*maḍanō*) of every visible *and* tangible thing from imperceptibility to perceptibility is explicitly manifest. 29. Because the arising of mankind and other creatures,

¹ Sans. has 'so that where (*yatra*) good is,' which has induced JE to insert Pāz. *edar* for Sans. *yatra*, so as to make the author say 'when good is here (in this world), the non-existence of evil there (in the other world) is unquestionable.' A noteworthy instance of punctilious blundering, on the part of a revising copyist, making an author say more than he means.

² Mentioned in §§ 5-11; those in § 4 having been just referred to.

who are visible *and* tangible, from a spiritual *existence* which is invisible *and* intangible is known, (30) as much as the mirrored length *and* breadth of the body *being* an emanation of itself. 31. And the perceptibility of the body of man and other creatures was imperceptible *and* invisible in the semen which is *derived* from *their* fathers; (32) the semen itself, too, came into perceptibility, visibility, *and* tangibility in the skin¹ of the fathers.

33. It is now possible to know inevitably² that this worldly *existence*, which is visible *and* tangible, is produced *and* has arisen from a spiritual *existence* which is invisible *and* intangible. 34. *In* like manner the lapsing (yehevûntanö) from visibility *and* tangibility into invisibility *and* intangibility³, which are themselves a spiritual *state*, is unquestionable.

35. When *these* are seen by us, in the worldly *existence*, the competing nature, formation, and injuriousness of one towards the other, even as to the property of the spiritual *existence*, (36) which is the root of the worldly *one*; (37) and, *in* like manner, *there* is no doubt of the existence of its fruit of worldly possessions; (38) this is that which is manifest as regards a competing nature. 39. Then⁴ its purpose and cause *were* indicated by me above⁵, which are the sagaciously working of the creator, (40) who created the creature which is an indicator *of* the existence of an opponent.

¹ That Nêr. thus read pôst is shown by his Sanskrit translation of the word, but the original word was probably pôst, 'the back.'

² See Chap. V, 12-14 for the technical meaning of this word.

³ As in the case of death and decay.

⁴ Reading adînasam, 'then its by me,' which is the Pahlavi form indicated by the Pâz. ainâum of Nêr. (see Mkh. IX, 6 n).

⁵ Chap. VII, 4, 5, 19-21.

41. For *it* is known that work due to workers is *of* two kinds, designed or qualified. 42. That which is designed is *of* three kinds. 43. Two are due to the wise *and* sagacious; (44) either through seeking for their own working of advantage and benefit, (45) or *through* removing *and* keeping away the harm and evil which are from without. 46. And one is due to the ignorant *and* unwise, (47) *done* defectively *and* without a purpose. 48. From the wise *and* sagacious, work ought¹ not to arise without a purpose *and* without a cause.

49. As the sagacious creator, who is all-knowing, perfectly capable, *and* fully complete in his own self, *has* sought that which is not a necessity for any advantage and aggrandizement of his from without², (50) it is, therefore, necessary to understand that the purpose *and* causes of his works are *of* that one kind³, (51) to remove *and* keep away the harm which is due to his opponent and the injurer who may arise from without, which is itself the purpose and cause of the creation of the creatures. 52. Also this, that that sagacious creator is good-willed, (53) and his will is all goodness. 54. The creatures *were* also created by him predominantly of his own will. 55. And the completely-stirring desire of him who is good-willed *and* sagacious is to subdue⁴ evil *and* make *it* extinct, (56) for while evil is not subdued the

¹ Reading *sazêd*, as in JE, because, although AK, PB₃, MH₁₉ have Pâz. *sa he d*, 'seems,' Nêr. uses Sans. *saknoti*.

² And, therefore, cannot have been actuated by the design mentioned in § 44.

³ Mentioned in § 45.

⁴ Reading *khvâftanô*, instead of Pâz. *anâftan*, which is almost identical in writing; and making a similar correction in § 56.

will of him who is good-willed is not fulfilled. 57. *And* this, that the goodness of that sagacious creator is manifest from creativeness, cherishing, and protection, *and from* commanding *and* teaching the means of putting away the path of evil and causing forbearance from crime; (58) also from the qualities and powers of the body in pain and sickness from without.

59. And, as a cause of the body, (60) to remove and keep away the opponent who comes to the body, *and to be* the maintenance, the cause of maturity, and the cause of growth of animals *and* sprouting plants¹, through the power of maintaining *and* cherishing *their* qualities, *there* is a co-operator who is scripturally called the Fravash². 61. And through those four powers that are accumulative, which are the powers of attracting, seizing, digesting, *and* extracting—(62) and which, owing to the creator's sagacity of every kind, are co-operators with proportionate power for keeping away the pain and sickness of various kinds which are owing to the opponent, who is working defectively *and* desirous of evil—(63) and *through* others *that* are of like strength *and* auxiliary, the good will of the creator is manifest.

¹ Pâz. rôdamānā, which Nêr translates by the Sanskrit for 'trees and grains;' and the occurrence of the latter word has induced some reviser of AK to alter the following words zôr-i dârâ, 'power of maintaining,' into zôridâêâ, 'grains,' which alteration has been adopted by MH₁₉ and PB₃, but the latter has also zôr-i dârâ inserted in the margin, while JE has both readings in the text which thus means 'through the power of maintaining *and* cherishing the quality of grains.'

² The guardian spirit or spiritual representative of each object created by Aûharmazd, which acts for that object in the spiritual world (see Mkh. XLIX, 23).

64. Of this, too, that this *one* is no creator of the pain and death which are dissipaters of the body, who is good-willed *and* a maintainer and cherisher of the body, (65) the evidence is even from this, when the sagacious creator is not a sufferer from sorrow (apakhshadâr) and performing penitence, (66) and is no dissipater and disabler of his own achievements¹, (67) because *he* is sagacious and all-knowing.

68. *As to this other and* the sorrow *and* penitence of the kind which is owing to his own work, it is fitting to speak about him *as* of deficient knowledge, incomplete wisdom, and inconclusive understanding.

69. As work does not arise from the wise and sagacious without a purpose *and* without a cause², (70) *in* like manner work from the unwise *and* ignorant *and* those of inconclusive understanding is all defective, without a purpose, *and* without a cause³.

71. And that sagacious *one* is a contriver, working sagaciously *and* methodically, for keeping away that defective work and inconclusive understanding from his own creatures.

72. He who is working defectively produced distorted⁴ *and* entangled scriptures among the creatures; (73) because this is known, that it is not possible so to keep away *and* cramp⁵ him who is a moving *and* living nature in a boundless void, *and*

¹ Sans. has 'creatures.'

² See § 48.

³ See §§ 46, 47.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. faršînmand (Sans. gumphita) stands for Pahl. paršîn-hômand.

⁵ Pâz. awêfsûidan (Sans. sañkoṣayitum); but it may be noted that the Pahlavi equivalent of this word might be easily read apasagagînîdanô, 'to disorganize.'

to become without risk of injury¹. 74. But, though he does not become entangled, fenced in, and captive, (75) *he* is spreading anguish into the entanglement and captivity, and *it* is a means of grievous punishment. 76. Only while a complete wiping away of the anguish *due to* him, and complete information as to his own ignorant activity do not arise, he *has* meditated² with lying falsehood on that which is connected therewith. 77. And the complete capability of the almighty creator is the wiping away of the anguish.

78. Owing to the complete wiping away of anguish, through the almightiness of the sagacious creator, he casts *him* back impotent into the boundless void. 79. *And* the good creatures thereby become fearless, immortal, *and* undistressed (80) *through* the completely methodical sagacity and discernment of means of that omniscient creator of good beings.

81. From observation of possessions the difference of things is manifest. 82. And the difference is *of* two kinds, as mentioned above³. 83. One is difference of operation, and the other is difference of nature. 84. Difference of operation is owing to mutual assistance and united strength⁴, (85) and difference of nature is owing to want of an adapter

¹ From him, the evil spirit, who is said to have left his native abyss and come on towards the light, through the void which intervened (see Bd. I, 3-5, 9).

² So in Pâz.—Sans.; but 'he meditates' is more probable, and would be written in the same manner in Pahlavi.

³ Perhaps referring to the 'two series of things' mentioned in Chap. VI, 13-15, but the connection is not very clear.

⁴ Because co-operation in complicated work tends towards division of labour.

and *to* opposition. 86. And not in a single place is a permanence of possessions manifest.

87. If one of anything shall exist *and* one does not exist, *its* name shall exist, (88) for the sake of recognising things, one from the other, and preserving the name. 89. The bad, by separation from the good existence, is originally evolved *in* such a manner that the one is really no cause of the other. 90. Because each one is existent (aît-hômand) through its own self, (91) owing to the perpetual injury *and* antagonism which are manifestly theirs, one towards the other.

92. If any one shall say that, as the competing *formations* of the competitors are numerous—(93) such as good *and* evil, dark *and* light, perfume *and* stench, life *and* death, sickness *and* health, pleasure *and* vexation—(94) there ought to be many other such original evolutions, many *in* number and of many species; (95) then they *may* give this reply¹, (96) that, even when *there* are many names and many species of competitors, still then all are within the compass² of two names. 97. And these two names are their including-source, which are good and evil. 98. Their different names and different species are tokens of these two sources.

99. *There* is nothing whatever that is not *in* the compass of these two names. 100. *There has* not been and *will* not be anything which is not good or evil, or a mixture of both. 101. On which account

¹ Sans. has 'others give a reply;' but the Pâz. anyê, 'others,' is certainly a misreading of Pahl. adîn aê, 'then this,' or adînas, 'then to him,' in which latter case the phrase would be 'then they may give a reply to him.' The proper Pâzand for 'other' is aware or han.

² See Chap. IV, 12 n.

it is explicitly manifest that the original evolutions are two, *and* not more; (102) *and* also this, that it is not possible *for* good to arise from evil, and evil from good.

103. From this, too, it is possible to understand¹, (104) that it is not possible *for* complete evil to arise from that thing which is filled with goodness. 105. If it be possible, then *it* is not full; (106) because *any* one thing, when said *to be* full, is no place *for* anything else; (107) and when *there* is no place *for* anything else, other things are not improved by it.

108. If the sacred being *be* perfect in goodness and wisdom, the folly and evil of *any* one are known not to arise from him. 109. If it be possible for them to arise from him, then *he* is not perfect. 110. If *he be* not perfect, it is not proper to glorify *him* for the sacredness of complete goodness. 111. If good and evil have crept on from the sacred being, *he* is imperfect in goodness. 112. If *he be* imperfect in goodness, *he* is imperfect in good information. 113. If *he be* imperfect in good information, so also *he* is imperfect in wisdom, understanding, knowledge, intellect, and other appliances of sagacity. 114. If *he be* imperfect in wisdom, understanding, intellect, *and* knowledge, *he* is imperfect in health. 115. If *he be* imperfect in health, he is apt to become sick. 116. If he be apt to become sick, *he* is imperfect in life.

117. If any one shall speak thus: 'I always see that from one nature, such as *that of* mankind, alike good and alike evil have always crept on, through actions owing to them,' (118) that is for this reason,

¹ MH19 has 'to maintain.'

because mankind are not perfect even in one *thing*. 119. And, on account of imperfection in goodness, evil has crept on from them; (120) and also on account of imperfection, even in health, they become sick. 121. For the same reason they die, (122) because the cause of death is the struggling of two competing propensities within one nature. 123. There where two competing propensities exist within one nature, the occurrence of sickness and death is known.

124. If any one shall say that there are good and evil actions which, until they are done, do not exist, (125) then they *may* give this reply¹, (126) that the occurrence of an action apart from doing is as impossible as any propensity apart from a nature; and, as to the nature, (127) its² continuance and arrangement are then known thereby not to occur through its own self. 128. For when a man indulges in wrath, Vohûman³ is far from there; (129) and when Vohûman holds the position, wrath is not there. 130. When a man tells a lie, truth is far from there⁴; (131) and when he speaks true, falsehood has no position there, and that man is called truthful. 132. So also when sickness *has* come, health is not there; (133) and when health *has* come, sickness *has* gone.

¹ See § 95 n.

² Reading *adînasas*, 'then its thereby' (with a double nominal suffix), which is the original Pahlavi indicated by Pâz. *ainâs* (see Mkh. IX, 6 n).

³ The archangel 'good thought,' who is said to hold the position and vanquish 'evil thought,' while the angel *Srôsh* does the same as regards 'wrath' (see *Dînkard*, quoted in Dd. XCIV, 1 n; also Bd. XXX, 29).

⁴ Sans. adds 'and that man is called false,' which JE also inserts in Pâzand in the margin, but all other manuscripts omit.

134. Just as a substance which is not moving can exist, (135) but movement, except in a substance, cannot exist.

136. About this chapter, too, collected as a summary, (137) do you reverently¹ and discreetly observe and instruct thereon.

CHAPTER IX.

1. Other information about the existence of the competitor, similarly testified by the *Dīnkard*² manuscript (nīpīk), is here well noted for you. 2. For both this *which is* written above and that which is written *here* are all grown from the seed which the glorified Âtūr-pādīyāvand sowed, (3) and *from* the original thanksgiving (spâs) of the supremely learned Âtūr-frôbag, son of Farukh-zâd, himself.

4. The fourth³ subject, which is from the *Dīnkard*, is about the existence of an opponent of the creatures and of an opponent earlier than the creatures, and is from the exposition of the good religion⁴.

¹ Assuming that Pâz. dâramaihâ (Sans. sūkshmatayâ) is a misreading of Pahl. garâmîkîhâ. It would more easily be a misreading of sharmakîhâ, 'modestly,' but this term seems rather less likely to be applied by the author to his readers.

² See Chap. IV, 106, 107 for the names in these §§ 1, 2.

³ Assuming that Pâz. ardium (Sans. balish/ho me) is a misreading of Pahl. arbâûm. The first subject (see Chap. II, 1) consisted of the three questions of Mitrô-aîyyâr discussed in Chaps. II-IV. The second subject, about the existence of God, is contained in Chaps. V, VI. And the third subject, about the existence of an evil spirit competing with the creator, is debated in Chaps. VII, VIII.

⁴ The third book of the *Dīnkard*, which treats of a multitude of subjects 'from the exposition of the good religion,' does not appear

5. *That* is, a knowledge of the existence of an opponent of the creatures is obtainable from the innermost *recesses* of the body of man even to the outermost *objects* of which¹ sight is susceptible, (6) and beyond those, within the certain limits of analogy. 7. The innermost *recesses* of man are the innermost of life, (8) *and* are seen through complete observation, within the same limits.

9. This is, as ignorance is to erudition, (10) deceit to good disposition, (11) and falsehood to truth, (12) other defects of the capabilities which are the source of erudition, good disposition, and truth are the opponent, (13) and the cause of the wickedness of the soul. 14. Again, these irregularities of the rules of arrangement of the body, within the compass of the body, are the opponent, and the cause of the disintegration of the body. 15. Again, *as to* these among the emanations, cold is the opponent of heat, dryness is of moisture, *and* the other doers of mischief are *opponents* of the operations of existence.

16. Within time darkness is the opponent of light, stench of perfume, ugliness of handsomeness, unsavouriness of savouriness, poison of *its* antidote, noxious creatures and the wolf of the well-yielding cattle, *and* the vile felon (*mar*) of the good man. 17. Beyond time the brigand *planets* (*gadûgân*)² are the opponents of the work of the divine bestowers.

18. Beyond the knowledge obtainable of all these

to contain the materials for this chapter. The author is, therefore, probably alluding to one of the two earlier books which have not yet been discovered.

¹ Assuming that Pâz. *andâ ne* (for *be*) *thûm-i vas* (Sans. *yâvat bîgam asya*) stands for Pahl. *vad barâtûm-i agas*.

² See Chap. IV, 10.

champions susceptible to sight, are those who are within the limits of analogy¹ and the certain information of multitudes, the demons who are the opponents of the sacred beings.

19. The existence of an opponent before the creation of the creatures, and his coming to the creatures (20) after the creation of the creatures, *and* also to the creator, are presented comprehensibly through reasons which are suitable² *and* presentable, *and* through the provision of a remedy, a creation which is for a purpose. 21. This one statement (vâḱak) possesses five arguments (sâmân). 22. One is the *being* presented comprehensibly. 23. One is the *being* presented through reasons. 24. One is the reasons which are presentable *and* suitable that the creation existed. 25. One is the remedy appointed for the creation. 26. *And* one is the creation of the creatures of the creator for a purpose.

27. The existence of these five arguments is manifest through the creations *and* achievements themselves. 28. The presenting comprehensibly is wisely arranging the testimony of the effect³ of the creatures, (29) through the reasons presented, which are a declaration owing to the same sagacity. 30. The reason obtainable, that the creation existed, (31) with the arrangement of the creation so methodically, ought to arise from the suitable *state* of the

¹ Referring to the two kinds of evidence, direct and indirect, mentioned in §§ 5, 6.

² So in § 24 and in Sans., though Pâz. has 'obtainable' here.

³ Assuming that the Pâz. awar dugâê of AK stands for Pahl. bar gôkâs (or gôkâsîh). MH19 has duvâê, and PB3, JE have dusâê, while Sans. means 'about the magnitude.'

creation ; (32) and the suitable design of the creation itself possesses the testimony, through *its* appearance.

33. The remedy appointed is a comprehensible *and* presentable demonstrator, (34) because it becomes a desire of knowledge and an appearance of the desire. 35. The *being* created for a purpose is manifest through the desire of activity of the creation, both severally and naturally.

36. The evidences of the existence of an opponent before the creation of the creatures are many. 37. And one of them is the suitable *state* of the creation of the creatures, (38) because the limit of suitability is not well fitted for anything except necessity. (39) That *which* is *inferred* from suitability is necessity, from necessity haste, *and* from haste the existence of an opponent who is before the suitable work which is the creation.

40. The evidence of the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, after the creation of the creatures, is the formation of the means of the creator, for encountering an opponent, before the arrival of the opponent, (41) which are omnisciently a provision before creation by the creator. 42. And there is a demonstrator of *these* same means of the creatures that is prepared, which is the struggling opposed to the opponent through the arrangement of *their* nature. 43. One duty of the nature of the creatures is the subduing of so much vexation. 44. Their preparation, too, is like a contest that is forming an enemy opposing the opponent, (45) and their natural desire for duty is removing all haste.

CHAPTER X.

1. Another subject is about the deliberating of the deliberators on unity, from which even the preparation of the duality is manifested.

2. It should be known, that whoever wishes to understand a creator, except when he gives trouble to his own life, (3) should meditate reverently¹. 4. First, he fully understands his own body and soul, (5) that is, who produced *them*, out of what, and for what purpose? 6. Also, who is his accuser and adversary; (7) and who is his friend and helper? 8. Likewise, who instigates him to commit crime, (9) of what nature *is he*, (10) and how is it possible to escape him?

11. Then *he* is not able to understand him² *as* the creator through his nature and his coming to himself. 12. For when he bore the name of creator, then, with it, he brought these three creations³:—(13) creation, religion, and soul. 14. Because the name of creator is known from the occurrence of creation. 15. This *implies* that the creator of the creation created the creations for duty, (16) but does not release *them* from duty. 17. And the duty of the creatures is to understand *and* perform the will of the creator, (18) *and* to abstain from *what is* disliked *by him*. 19. To act by the will of the creator, and to abstain from *what is* disliked by him, is to preserve the soul. 20. The will of the creator is not under-

¹ See Chap. VIII, 137 n.

² His accuser and instigator.

³ All MSS. have 'he bore these three names;' but Nêr. has evidently misread *sem*, 'name,' instead of *dâm*, 'creature,' both words being written alike in Pahlavi.

stood, except from the religion of the creator. 21. *And* the religion is appointed by the creator free from doubt.

22. Now it is expedient to know that the sacred being appointed the religion for the understanding of his will, (23) and from the understanding of his will for the preservation of the soul are manifested the compassion and mercifulness of the sacred being.

24. From the preservativeness of the religion for the soul are manifested the grandeur and valuable-ness of the religion; (25) from the necessity of preserving the soul are manifested the defilement and delusion¹ of the soul; (26) *and* from the defilement and delusion of the soul is manifested a defiler and deluder of the thoughts, words, *and* deeds of mankind. 27. On the whole a corrupter of souls is manifest.

28. And now it is expedient for us to well recognise² and know, as to that defiler who is a corrupter of souls, of what nature *he is*. 29. Because, if the creation *and* achievement of the sacred being are said *to be* of a like nature, then how did the sacred being appoint the religion for the preservation of the soul? 30. That is not expedient for him—*if* a defiler and deluder of souls—to produce³ as his own creation and will⁴. 31. For if he be himself the creator, and be himself the defiler and corrupter of souls, *and* nothing occurs except by his will, (32)

¹ Pâz. vyâwānī (see Chap. III, 22 n).

² Assuming that Pâz. huzvârdan (Sans. *samsodhayitum*) is a misreading of Pahl. hû-zinhârdanô.

³ Sans. 'to announce.'

⁴ Because it (the religion) is opposed to his supposed work as a deluder.

then, when it is necessary for us to write of preservation from the sacred being¹, whom *shall* we make as a refuge²?

33. Now it is necessary *for* every intelligent person to understand *and* to know thus much, (34) that is, from whom it is necessary for us to flee and to abstain, (35) and with whom is the hope, and with whom the maintenance, of our protection. 36. The method for this acquisition is nothing else but to understand the sacred being in *his* nature, (37) because, as I wrote above³, *it* is not only to know *his* existence, but it is necessary to understand *his* nature and his will.

38. And I *have* observed, in the world, the sectarian belief of all maintainers of sects who hold [the two fundamental *doctrines*]⁴. 39. One is that which asserts that all the good and evil, which are in the world, are owing to the sacred being. 40. *And* one is that which asserts that all the good of the world, besides the hope of preserving the soul, is owing to the sacred being; (41) and the cause of all evil of the body, besides the risk of the soul, is owing to Aharman; (42) *and* all *things* have started from appointment *by* these two origins into various formations *and* various subdivisions.

43. Now I have been an enquirer everywhere, for understanding the sacred being, as written above⁵,

¹ As it would be, if he were the corrupter of souls.

² The exclamation of the wicked soul after death, derived from Yas. XLV, 1 (see Mkh. II, 159).

³ See Chap. V, 6-9.

⁴ The words in brackets are omitted in AK, PB₃, MH₁₉, but occur in Sans. and the later MSS.

⁵ Chap. I, 36, 37.

fervent-minded in the investigation of his religion and will; (44) as likewise I have wandered, for the sake of investigation, to the region without and the land of the Hindûs, and to many different races. 45. Because, *as to* religion, I did not admire that which *was* in supremacy¹, (46) but *I* sought that which *was* more steadfast and more acceptable in wisdom and testimony. 47. I went also into association with many different races, (48) until a time (49) when, owing to the compassion of the sacred beings, and the strength, glory, and power of the good religion, I escaped from much gloomy depth and ill-solvable doubt.

50. By the united power of knowledge of the religion (51) and the well-reflecting writing of the wise, (52) the marvellous allegorical² writings of the learned Âtûr-pâdyâvand³, (53) and by that writing which the glorified Rôshan⁴, son of Âtûr-frôbag, prepared—(54) for which he appointed the name of the Rôshan manuscript (nîpîk)—(55) *and* likewise that *for* which the supremely learned *and* righteous Âtûr-frôbag⁵, son of Farukh-zâd, (56) who *was* the

¹ Probably a guarded allusion to Muhammadanism which it was then unsafe to disparage openly, as is evident from the rarity of its name in Pahlavi writings.

² Or 'the miracle-resembling.'

³ See Chap. IV, 106.

⁴ A commentator whose opinions are often quoted in Pahlavi writings (see Sls. I, 4 n). His father was probably the early editor of the *Dînkard* mentioned in §§ 55-57, though it is hazardous to rely upon a single name for identifying an individual. In that case he must have been a younger brother of the Zaratûst-i Âtûr-frôbagân who succeeded his father as 'leader of the good religion,' and revised the *Dînkard*, as mentioned in the last paragraphs of its third book.

⁵ See Chap. IV, 107.

leader of those of the good religion, (57) appointed the name of the *Dīnkard* manuscript—owing to *its* explaining the religion¹—(58) I am saved from the many doubts, delusions, deceits, and follies of sects, (59) and, especially, from those of the deceivers, the very great *and* very mighty, very evil-teaching *and* empty-skulled² Manicheans³, (60) whose devotion is witchcraft, *whose* religion is deceitfulness, and *whose* teaching is folly and intricate secret proceedings.

61. I have been deliberately confirmed by the power of wisdom and the strength of knowledge of the religion, (62) not through obstinate faith⁴, but by the pure revelation opposed to the demon⁵, which is the decision of Aûharmazd (63) that *was* taught by the creator Aûharmazd to the righteous Zaratûst⁶.

64. Zaratûst came alone, on a true mission, to the lofty portal of Kai Gustâsp⁷, (65) and the religion was taught by him, with a powerful tongue, to Kai Gustâsp and the learned, through the speech of wisdom, through manual gestures, through definite words, through explanation of many doubts, and through presentation of the visible testimony of the

¹ The probable meaning of *dīnkard* is 'acts of the religion.' See also Chap. IV, 107 n.

² Reading *rat-mastarg*. For *rat Nêr*, has read *rad*, 'pontiff,' which is written in the same manner; his translation being Sans. *guru*, while his *Pâz. rad* has become *raê* in AK, PB₃, MH₁₉, but has again become *rad* in JE.

³ See Chap. XVI.

⁴ Assuming that *Pâz. sakht-virôdasnihâ* stands for *Pahl. sakht-virôyisnfhâ*.

⁵ That is, the *Vendîdâd*.

⁶ See Mkh. I, 10.

⁷ See Mkh. XIII, 14, XXVII, 68-76.

archangels, *together* with many miracles. 66. And a greatness in power which is not the destiny of worldly existences was theirs who saw him of the vehement guardian spirit. 67. And Kaî Spend-dâd¹ and Zargar² and other *royal* sons (zâdak), instigating the many conflicts and shedding the blood of those of the realm, accepted the religion as a yoke³, (68) while they even wandered to Arûm⁴ and the Hindûs, outside the realm, in propagating the religion.

69. Owing to *progress* onwards it came in succession to the descendants of the divinities⁵, the rulers who *were* those of the Kayân race who *were* exalted ones. 70. *And* still onwards even until the achievement with melted metal pouring upon the chest of the glorified Âtûr-pâd⁶, son of Mâraspend, in the reign of that divinity (bagh) Shâhpûr, the king of kings who *was the son of* Aûharmazd⁷, in a controversy with apostates of different species of many kinds. 71. *He was* preserved from those most

¹ Misread Spudâkht by Nêr. He was a son of Kaî Gustâsp, and called Spentô-dâta in the Avesta, and Isfendiyâr in Persian.

² Av. Zairivairi, Pers. Zarîr, a brother of Kaî Gustâsp (see Bd. XXXI, 29).

³ Literally 'for the neck,' assuming that Pâz. ô-ka ôi is an erroneous reading of Pahl. val kavarman, as in Mkh. XXXIX, 30.

⁴ Asia Minor was so called from having been a portion of the Roman empire in Sasanian times.

⁵ Pâz. bayānā (Sans. mahat) is evidently a misreading of Pahl. bagânân, a term referring to the Sasanian kings who adopted the title of bagî, 'divinity,' in their inscriptions (see also § 70), and claimed to be descended from the old dynasty of Kayân kings.

⁶ The supreme high-priest and prime minister of king Shâhpûr II (A.D. 309-379), who underwent the ordeal of melted metal for the sake of proving the truth of the religion.

⁷ King Aûharmazd II (A.D. 300-309).

mighty apostates, who are called even by *the name* of their desires¹.

72. And the Arûmans², who have been, at various periods, termed untruthful³, *have* asked many ill-solvable questions of this religion; (73) *but there has* been no doubtfulness of any question that is explained by this religion, (74) and the learned of the country of Irân have always been sustainers of victory among them. 75. Not like other sects whose religion is secretly progressive and deceiving, delusively for the deceived, *and* undutifully among the customs and assemblages of the less-informed, unintelligent, and demon-natured whose information was nothing whatever of knowledge and understanding of wisdom. 76. Then, so far as the assemblages that are very secretly deceived and deluded by them, nobody is presented for detection (âskârâkîh); (77) *but* afterwards, owing to the capture of the many of little knowledge and unintelligent opinions who are deluded by them, it is discovered they are *provided* with much mutually afflicting speech, falsehood, *and* disconnection, which are their religion.

78. So that I here⁴ notice *some* of *their* much inconsistency and disconnection, for informing the judgment of new learners, (79) for the reason that when the writings of the learned ancients have specially minutely and reverently⁵ discoursed of

¹ That is, they are called âshmôg (Av. ashemaogha, 'perplexing righteousness').

² The Greeks of the eastern empire of the Romans.

³ Pâz. anâst may be either 'irreverent,' or else stand for Pahl. arâst, 'untruthful.' Sans. has 'atheistical.'

⁴ In the next chapter.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'modestly' (see Chap. VIII, 137 n).

what is most astute in evil, to impel *one* to good knowledge, (80) you *should* observe with kind regards *what* is ordered.

CHAPTER XI.

1. Henceforth I write¹ *of* the inconsistency of their twaddle, and *of* just observations (2) you should estimate with wise regard.

3. First, *as to* the full consideration of that one original evolution (4) which they state thus: 'The sacred being is one, doing good works, wise, powerful, compassionate, *and* merciful, (5) so that good works *and* crime, truth *and* falsehood, life *and* death, good *and* evil are² owing to him³.'

6. Now do ye ask of them (7) thus: 'Is the sacred being always compassionate *and* showing mercy, doing good works *and* judicious, and does he know all *that* is, was, *and will* be; *and* is *he* advancing the desire of *one's* wishes in everything, even *in* this where judiciousness is interference, or when such is not so?

8. Because, if *he be* compassionate, doing good works, *and* showing mercy, why then are Aharman and the demons and all these evil faiths⁴ of hell admitted⁵

¹ Pâz. 'I have written.'

² Sans. and JE insert 'all.'

³ Most of this statement can be found in the Qur'ân in isolated texts, such as 'God there is no god but he . . . He knows the unseen and the visible; the mighty, the wise . . . verily God is forgiving, compassionate . . . It is God who created you . . . and then will make you die.' (Qur'ân LXIV, 13, 18, 14, XXX, 39; SBE. vol. ix.)

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. *vîrôraa* (Sans. *âmnâya*) is a misreading of Pahl. *virôyâk*.

⁵ Tracing Pâz. *awagad* (Sans. *avâkirat*) to Av. *aiwi + gata*.

by him to his own creatures, through his own compassion, doing of good works, *and* showing of mercy? 9. If not known by him, where are that knowledge and omniscience of his? 10. If he did not wish to keep misery and evil away from the creatures, and to produce only happiness *for* every one, where are that judiciousness and interference of his? 11. If it were not possible that it should not be produced by him, for what is that omnipotence of his (12) which we¹ every one, as *it were*, observe *and* well consider?’

13. Whenever they say *that* every good and evil *has* arisen from the sacred being—except when they separate from him these four attributes (hûnar), requisite for divinity, which are omniscience, omnipotence, goodness, *and* mercifulness—(14) there is then no possibility of it. 15. When, indeed, they separate from him *only* one of these four attributes, even then *he* is not complete in divinity. 16. For if a sacred being be he *who is* omniscient, omnipotent, good, and merciful, then he who is not omniscient, *or* not omnipotent, *or* not good, *or* not merciful is not a sacred being.

17. Again, *observe* this, that when *he is* a ruler, advancing desires in every person *and* thing, why are that country and empire of his own not so kept, without help, from every enemy and adversity *apart* from his own work, so that *there* would not be anything whatever of distress, oppression, injustice, and complaint for any one in his empire? 18. Since the

¹ So in Sanskrit; but, as the two Pâz. verbs end in -un, the original Pahlavi termination may have been -yên (3d pers. optative), and we might read ‘which every one may, as *it were*, observe.’

rule *and* empire of a man, *who is* ruler and emperor, are then commendable when *it* is possible for him so to protect *and* keep his own country *and* empire, through his own wisdom, that they *may* not assist his enemy to detract from his work, and to produce sin *and* harm. 19. Or, when his enemy covets *some* of his work, he is enabled to keep him away from his own thoughtful friends, *and* to make every one free from distress.

20. Again, *observe* this, that when *he is* triumphant, victorious, and prevailing, (21) over whom are that triumph, victory, and prevailing of his? 22. Since triumph and victory are over enemies, a competitor exists. 23. It is not expedient¹ to become himself a competitor *and* enemy to his own; (24) while when there is no enemy *and* competitor of his, over whom does he become triumphant and victorious? 25. That *sort of* triumph and victory is not spoken about, (26) because even cattle and sheep, when they have no opponent and injurer, are victorious and triumphant over themselves.

27. Again, *observe* this, is a wise *being* contented with his own divinity and grandeur, or not? 28. If the wise *being* be contented, then he *-has* become contented to produce an enemy and criminal, *and* to admit all *that is* devastating into a country, through his own knowledge and will, for the benefit of the

¹ K28 inserts *shâyad*, '*and possible*,' and JE inserts *Pâz. tvâ*, which has the same meaning; but these insertions have probably originated in a blunder of the writer of AK, who first wrote Sans. *saknoti*, the usual equivalent of *Pâz. shâyad*, but afterwards interlined Sans. *samyugyate* to correspond with *sazed*, '*it is expedient*,' the word he had written in the *Pâz.* text.

country and creatures. 29. *But* why¹ is it expedient to seek a disposition of crime *and* evil, to become himself an enemy *and* curser as regards them, *and* to provide a hellish *existence*, becoming the misery of mankind?

30. Again, *observe* this, *as to* whatever he says, does he speak truly *and* credibly, or not? 31. If he speaks that truly *and* credibly which he states thus: 'I am a friend of good works and an enemy of crime,' (32) *and* always produces more crime *and* criminals than good works *and* doers of good works, (33) where is that truthful speaking of his?

34. Again, *observe* this, is his desire goodness, or vileness? 35. If his desire *be* vileness, whence is that divinity of his? 36. If his desire *be* goodness, then why are the vile and vileness more than the good and goodness?

37. Again, *observe* this, is he merciful, or not? 38. If he *be* not merciful, whence is that divinity of his? 39. If he *be* merciful, then why does he speak thus: 'The hearts, ears, *and* eyes of mankind are bent about by me, so that it is not possible for them to think, speak, *or* do *anything* but that which is wanted by me²; (40) *be* it what *has* made them great *and* noble, through *being* without want; (41) *or* *be* it what *has* admitted them to eternal hell, slain *and* exterminated by death of many kinds. 42. So that while those whom I force back become good *and* more active in good works, (43) yet still those who

¹ Assuming that Pâz. *ki*, 'what?' stands for *kim*. Sans. has 'how?' (Pâz. *kun*.)

² 'Yet the Lord hath not given you an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day' (Deut. xxix. 4).

are forced back do only a little¹, (44) *and* are much more criminal *and* more sinful than those who are forward.'

45. Again, *observe* this, that if, whatever he does, he does wisely and for a purpose, (46) then, when no opponent and adversary of his existed, why *did* the first achievement which *was* prepared by him *become* servants to demoniacal disobedience, who are perverted thereby, among mankind, to wickedness *and* a hellish *existence*²? 47. If *it were* not known by him that they *would* become perverted, it was expedient (*sazîd*) for him to order the making of a trial of them, (48) because now many thousands *and* myriads who *are* prepared by him, so that they *may* serve him and exhilarate (*mastend*) his rule, have become in every mode disobedient *and* unhappily advised. 49. For with that scanty knowledge that mankind *possess*, which is not so prepared *and* organized as is the wish of mankind, (50) if even anything arises, that they construct *and* prepare, which does not so come on *and* become³ as is their wish, they do not stop again, a second *time*, for the preparation of that thing, *but* they refrain from it.

51. *As to* him, that omnipotent *and* omniscient ruler, of the abundant *and* innumerable things *he has* hitherto made and prepared not even one comes on *and* becomes such as is his wish, yet still he never refrains from the preparation *and* production of many new *things*. 52. Just as when *he was* the creator of

¹ Assuming that Pâz. khvazâr stands for khûgâarak; but, as Sans. has 'injury,' the Pâzand may be a misreading of âzâr.

² Referring probably to the fall of man, detailed in §§ 61-77.

³ So in Sans. and JE, as in § 51; but AK and MH19 have 'go' here.

that *one* of his first angels whom, on account of affection, he prepared out of fire, *and for* several thousand years, (53) as they say, *they* always performed his worship; (54) at last *that one* was undone by one command that was given by him (the creator) thus: 'Offer homage to this first of mankind, who is prepared by me out of clay.' 55. And deliverance, as to *what* is not expedient to offer, *was* expressly mentioned by him. 56. Then *that one* acted scornfully *and* contemptibly as to his clay and curse and wrath; (57) *and, being* perverted to devilry and fiendishness, *he was* forced out of heaven, (58) *and was* given a life of millenniums *and* an eternal dominion, (59) so that *he said*, 'I will go *and* make my servants and worshippers astray *and* deluded¹.' 60. And he *was* made an injurer and adversary at his own will.

61. At last also that man, to whom he, the supreme angel, was ordered to offer homage with many worshippers, for the sake of affection and respect, (62) is appointed to the garden of paradise (vahist), (63)

¹ 'And we did create man from crackling clay of black mud wrought in form. And the *ginns* had we created before of smokeless fire. And when thy lord said to the angels, "Verily I am creating a mortal from crackling clay of black mud wrought into shape; and when I have fashioned it, and breathed into it of my spirit, then fall ye down before it adoring." And the angels adored all of them together, save Iblis, who refused to be among those who adored. . . . He said, "Then get thee forth." . . . Said he, "O my lord! respite me until the day when they shall be raised." He said, "Then, verily, thou art of the respited." . . . He said, "O my lord! for that thou hast seduced me I will surely make it seem seemly for them on earth, and I will surely seduce them all together, save such of thy servants amongst them as are sincere."' (Qur'ān XV, 26-40; SBE, vol. vi.)

so that he *may* cultivate *it* and eat all the fruit, (64) except *of* that one tree of which *it* is ordered thus: 'Ye shall not eat *of it*¹.' 65. And with them (mankind) the deceiver, who is the deluder prepared by him (the creator), (66) is let into the garden. 67. There are *some* who say *he is* a serpent², *and* there are *some* who say *he is* Aharman³. 68. And an inclination *for* eating *and* greediness is given by that same *one* himself to mankind. 69. Then, being deceived *by* that deluder *saying*: 'Eat of that tree'—(70) there are *some* who say *he spoke to* Adam—(71) they ate through that inclination for eating⁴.

72. After eating they became so imbued with knowledge that good and evil *were* understood and known by them⁵. 73. *Deprived* of that so-great respect and affection, through that one injunction which *was* forgotten by them—(74) and that forgetfulness *being* likewise owing to that cause—(75) they are forced out of the garden of paradise⁶—*he* with *his* wife—by grievous wrath and disrespect, (76) *and* are delivered into the hand of that enemy who is a deceiver and deluder; (77) so that he *has* propagated

¹ 'And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it and to keep it. And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it"' (Gen. ii. 15-17).

² 'Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made' (Gen. iii. 1).

³ 'That old serpent, called the Devil and Satan' (Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2).

⁴ Compare Gen. iii. 1-6.

⁵ 'And the eyes of them both were opened' (Gen. iii. 7).

⁶ 'Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man' (Gen. iii. 23, 24).

his own will among them, *and has fashioned it upon them.*

78. Now which *was* unjust, the unreasonable command, the after-wisdom, *or* the scanty knowledge that *was* more faulty and more mischievous than these? 79. Also this, that is, why *was* that garden not made by him fortified and strong, so that that deluder could not have gone into *it*?

80. Even now *he (the deceiver) has* made and makes multitudes *of* his (the creator's) servants *and* worshippers deluded; (81) and, for the same reason, multitudes *of* apostles *and* prophets (vakhshvarân) are appointed by him (the creator) for the worldly *existence at various times*, (82) so that, *as he says*: 'They *may* save my servants from the hand of that deluder, (83) *and* bring *them* into the true path and way¹.' 84. And even those worshippers of his, *in* every way through their own will, have slain *and* subdued (khvâft), by a wretched death, his own apostles², whose diligence had brought mankind into the proper path and doctrine.

85. That original deluder and misleader is allowed an eternal life. 86. *And*, even till now, his will is more triumphant *and* absolute than that of the sacred being, through deluding *and* misleading, (87) because those deluded *and* astray are much more numerous than those *in* the true path *and* undeluded.

88. Again, *observe* this, does he do whatever he

¹ 'For the Lord will not forsake his people for his great name's sake; because it hath pleased the Lord to make you his people . . . but I (Samuel) will teach you the good and the right way' (1 Sam. xii. 22, 23).

² 'I will send them prophets and apostles, and *some* of them they shall slay and persecute' (Luke xi. 49).

does for a purpose, or not? 89. If he does *it* without a purpose, *he* is working foolishly; (90) and it is not proper to praise him who is working foolishly as a sagacious divinity. 91. If he does *it* for a purpose, (92) then, when no opponent and adversary of his existed, why is the production of all these creatures which are even like demons, disobedient men *with* the opposing will of that contentious deluder, and innumerable unprofitable creatures?

93. Again, *observe* this, that, if he knows all *that* is, was, *and will* be, it was not expedient for him to produce, through his own knowledge and will, anything of that of which he *may be* sorry, and *which* remains opposing his will and command, (94) and becomes an adversary of his apostles *and* the doers of *his* will.

95. If they say that this adversary *was* produced good and virtuous from the beginning, *and* afterwards became an evil and a misleading of the creatures, (96) that *implies*, you should say, that, when he is all-powerful, the purpose *and* will of the adversary, in changing into an evil and a misleading of the creatures, are more successful and more powerful than those of the sacred being; (97) because the evil in *any* period is stronger than the good.

98. Again, *observe* this, that when a criminal *arises* wholly through his will¹, (99) and the minds of criminals are defiled by him himself, (100) and the seed of crime is sown by him himself, (101) when² *it has* grown who *has* maintained *its* origin? 102.

¹ The will of the adversary is probably meant (see § 95).

² So in Sans. and JE, but AK has 'so that.'

And by what power of adjudication is one executed *and* one rewarded¹?

103. Again, *observe* this, *was* this world made and created by him (the creator) for a purpose, for his own pleasure *and* for the sake of the comfort and happiness of mankind, or without a purpose, for his own discomfort and the hurry, trouble, pain, *and* death of mankind? 104. For if made by him without a purpose, *he was* acting foolishly; (105) a thing without a purpose *being* not acceptable by the wise. 106. If made by him for a purpose, and created by him for his own pleasure and the comfort and happiness of mankind, (107) why *was* it not made by him prosperous *and* full of happiness?

108. If his pleasure and happiness *arise* from the preparation of mankind and the creatures, what is the advantage from their slaughter and devastation? 109. If thoughts of crime are not given by him himself to mankind, who is he who gives thoughts of crime different from his command and will? 110. If *they* are given by him himself, and he now considers them a fault, what is that justice and arbitration of his owing to? 111. For when mankind, with little knowledge and little wisdom, even then, so far as they are able, do not let the lion and wolf *and* other noxious creatures in among their own young ones *and* pregnant *females*, (112) so long as they *can* destroy them, (113) why *has* the merciful sacred being now let² Aharman and the demons in upon his own creatures, (114) so that they have

¹ That is, why is the sinner punished while the adversary, who occasions the sin, remains unmolested and triumphant?

² AK has 'let' written above 'admitted.'

made them vile¹, defiled, wicked, *and* hellish? 115. If done for the sake of experiment, just as that which they assert, that evil *was* created by him for the sake of an experiment as regards the creatures, (116) why *was* it not understood by him before those men and creatures *existed*? 117. Because *he* whose custom² is experiment is not to be called omniscient.

118. The conclusion is this, that the sacred being, if *there* existed no opponent and adversary of his, was able to create all those creatures and creations of his free from misfortune; why did *he* not *so* create *them*? 119. Or was it not possible for him to wish *it*? 120. If it were not possible for him to wish *it*, *he* is not completely capable. 121. If it were possible for him not to wish *it*, *he* is not merciful. 122. If *it were* known by him that *he might say*: 'Something *or* some one *will* arise, from these creatures *and* creations which I create, that *will* not *be* according to my will,' (123) and ultimately he made *them*, (124) then to attach now all this wrath and cursing *and* casting away for punishment in hell, discontentedly to his own performance, is unreasonable.

125. Again, *observe* this, that if all the crime-meditating *and* crime-committing sin which mankind think *and* speak *and* do, as well as pain, sickness, poverty, *and* the punishment *and* misery of hell, cannot arise, except by the will and command of the

¹ Pâz. khôr, which Nêr. seems to have identified with Pers. kar, as his Sans. gives 'deaf.' It may, however, mean 'blind' (Pers. kûr), as in Chap. XII, 64, 70.

² The Sanskrit takes Pâz. dastûr in its more usual sense of 'high-priest.'

sacred being—(126) the will *and* power of the sacred being *being* eternal¹, (127) because his self-existence is also eternal—(128) the hopelessness of eternally saving any one whatever from misery and punishment is now certain. 129. For *it* is repeatedly declared that there is no learned teacher whatever who keeps one away from these mischievous evil desires, (130) if the worshipper *be even of* the same kind *as* those worshippers *and* high-priests who *have* issued to mankind this admonition: 'Commit no crime *and* sin.' 131. Because they wish to set aside the will *and* command of the sacred being². 132. *Observe* this, too, that, as both are his will, alike crime *and* alike good works, *it* is not manifest whether he approves the good works of doers of good works more, or the crimes of criminals.

133. Likewise *observe* this, those physicians who, on account of the hope of the soul, prepare the medicine of the sick, (134) and remove *and* dismiss their pain and disease, (135) so that merit is possessed by them (the physicians) owing to that practice; (136) yet they³ are prepared for the punishment of hell. 137. And those who, on account of affection *for* the soul, give something to poor, begging, suffering people, (138) and thereby scatter⁴ *and* dismiss their want *and* poverty, (139) so that merit is possessed by them (the charitable)

¹ Sans. has 'the will of the sacred being *being* powerful and eternal.'

² Without whose will and command the sin and evil cannot arise, as assumed in § 125.

³ The sick are probably meant, but the original text is ambiguous.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. hugârend stands for Pahl. aûkâlend. .

owing to that practice ; (140) yet it becomes grievous sin for them¹, through anxiety. 141. If they say that those physicians *and* the remedies which they offer, *and* also those who give something *to* the poor *and* suffering, all *exist* by the will of the sacred being, (142) it is easier, more reasonable, *and* more adapted to divinity, when the sacred being is without an adversary *and* without an opponent, for him not to create that disease *and* poverty (143) than *that*, as *to* those that *he* himself is to make sick *and* poor, he *should have* commanded mankind thus: 'Ye shall make them healthy *and* free from want.' 144. If they say that his desire is this, that he *may* occasion the happiness of those physicians *and* givers by the recompense for it, (145) and make them proceed² to the eternal happiness of heaven (vahist); (146) you should observe, *as to* that, since he acts injudiciously *and* incapably when, on account of the existence of a complete desire for happiness *and* prosperity³ among others, *he* is an attainer of misery *for* multitudes of the innocent who are distressed, poor, necessitous, *and* sick, (147) this *may also be said*, that if *it be* not possible for him to occasion happiness and prosperity⁴ as regards one, except by the distress, pain, and vexation of some other, (148) that *shows that* his absolute power *and* freedom from opposition are not adapted for effectual operation. 149. If they say

¹ Probably the poor, but the original text is ambiguous.

² Assuming that Pâz. *gâminêd* stands for Pahl. *gâminêd*. The old MS. AK ends with this section, and the remaining half of the extant text has been found only in modern copies, having been formerly separated from AK and lost

³ So in JE, but JJ has 'nobility,' and MH19 has 'pleasure.'

⁴ JJ has 'nobility.'

that he makes those sick *and* poor proceed to the eternal happiness of heaven in the spiritual *existence*, as a recompense for it, (150) that *implies*, if *it be* not possible, *or* not completely possible, for him to give the recompense in the spiritual *existence*, except through the misery of the worldly *one*, (151) also this, that—his production of distress in the worldly *existence arising* unquestionably *and* unreasonably, through *its* previous occurrence, (152) *and* the recompense of the spiritual *existence arising* doubtfully *and* incredibly after the production of the distress—(153) just as the previous distress is unreasonable, the after recompense *occurs* alike unreasonably *and* foolishly. 154. This also *may be said*, that no after nobility is obtained for previous distress without a cause.

155. Again, *observe* this, that the existence of one of these three doctrines is inevitable :—(156) Every single thing that is, *or* was, *or will* be in this world is all by his will, *or it* is not, (157) *or* there are *some* that are by his will *and* there are *some* that are not. 158. Because nothing whatever is found which is not good, *or* evil, *or* a mixture¹ of both.

159. If they say that all *things* are *by* his will, the good and evil are both his desire. 160. If good and evil are both his desire, *he* is not of perfect will; (161) *it* is not perfect even as to a single *thing*. 162. And he who is of imperfect will must be himself imperfect, (163) as is shown above².

164. If nothing *be by* his will, (165) on account of nothing being *by* the will there is no will. 166. He *in* whom there is no will is working constitutionally³,

¹ Assuming that Pāz. *hamekhtaa* stands for Pahl. *âmîkhtak*.

² Compare Chap. VIII, 108–116.

³ That is, 'instinctively.'

(167) and he who is working constitutionally is constituted *and* made.

168. If there be *some things* which are *by* his will, *and* there be *some* which are not *by* his will, (169) *and* nothing is found in the world which is not good and not evil, (170) *from* that *it* is known *that*, if the sacred being *be of* good will, *he* is not desirous of that evil of it, (171) and that which is evil is not *by* his will. 172. If his will *be* evil *he* is inevitably not desirous of that good of it, (173) *and* that which is good is not *by* his will. 174. If that which is good *be by* the will of the sacred being, *it* is known *that* that which is evil arose from another will. 175. If that which is evil *be by* his will, that which is good arose inevitably from another will. 176. *And* the inevitability *of* a rival *of* the will of the sacred being is manifest.

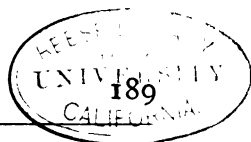
177. If *one* says the evil springs from mankind, (178) that *implies* the inevitability—since mankind is not perpetually a self-existence—that evil either arose before mankind, or after, (179) or it arose with mankind. 180. If they say it arose before mankind, (181) that *implies*—since, apart from the sacred being, *there* was no other creator and producer—(182) *that* either the sacred being produced that evil, or it produced its own existence itself, or it was itself eternal. 183. If they say it arose after mankind, (184) *as to* that, when human nature is likewise a production of the sacred being, (185) and the sacred being did not produce evil in the nature of mankind, (186) how has it sprung into action from them? 187. If the evil *was* set in action by them, apart from the will of the sacred being, (188) and a knowledge, as to *their* setting about it, existed *in*

the sacred being, (189) that *implies that* the sacred being is imperfect in his own will, (190) and mankind are victorious and triumphant in setting aside the will *and* command of the sacred being, and doing the evil competing *with* the will of the sacred being. 191. Also the power of the sacred being in his own will and his own servants is manifestly unprevailing. 192. If they say that he makes them proceed afterwards to the awful punishment of hell, (193) *as to that*¹, if the sacred being *be* a powerful doer, *and* not to allow the committal of crime, *but* to convey it away from their minds, *be* more advantageous *and* more adapted to the compassion of a sacred being than *if* he allowed the committal, (194) *yet he has* become helplessly contented with it, (195) *and*, afterwards, contentedly punishes his own creatures, (196) *then*, as to the one matter I am well considering, either incapability, or scanty knowledge, or scanty goodness is thereby manifested.

197. If they say that the sacred being produced and created evil for the reason that so mankind *may* fully understand the value of goodness, (198) *as to* that you should observe that, if evil *be* requisite and advantageous for understanding goodness, that evil exists *by* his good will. 199. *And* if evil exists *by* his good will, and is requisite *and* advantageous for him *of* whom they say that evil is not his wish, *it* is inconsistent.

200. *As to* that also which they say, that death, pain, *and* poverty *are* produced by him for the reason that so mankind *may* much better understand the value of life, health, and opulence, (201) *and* become more grateful unto the sacred being, (202) *as to* that

¹ So in MH19 and Sans., but JE omits 'that.'



you should observe that *it* is as *it were* acting unreasonably, in the mode of him who gives poison to mankind for the sake of increasing the value *and* price of an antidote, (203) so that he *may* sell the antidote dearer *and* more costly. 204. To what is this intermeddling action owing, that, for the sake of an understanding of the value of the goodness of other *things*, he allows pain, death, *and* misery in some one else?

205. Again, *as to* that which a multitude of them say, that the sacred being is a ruler over every creature and creation, (206) because his creations are all his own. 207. *And* he acts about them as is desirable for him, because it is desirable for him, *and he* is not a causer of distress. 208. Since distress is that which they inflict upon anything that is not their own, (209) then he who, all things *being* his own, acts about them as is desirable for him, is not a causer of distress¹. 210. *As to* that you should know that, if, on account of sovereignty, he who occasions distress is not to be called a causer of distress, (211) that is *as though* even he who is a sovereign *and* tells a lie is speaking truthfully, (212) and he who, on account of sovereignty, commits crime, sin, theft, *and* plunder is not to be called a sinner. 213. Such as that which the glorified Rôshan², son of Âtûr-frôbag, related as a parable (ângunî-âftak), (214) that they saw a man who was defiling an ass, (215) when they enquired of him

¹ Compare Rom. ix. 20, 21 : 'Shall the thing formed say to him that formed *it*, "Why hast thou made me thus?" Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour?'

² See Chap. X, 53.

thus : 'Why dost thou commit this execrable action?' 216. And he spoke thus, in excuse : 'The ass is my own.'

217. Again, you should ask this of them, (218) that is : 'Is the sacred being a friend, or an enemy, to these creatures and creations which are made by him?' 219. If *he be* a friend of the creatures, that *implies that* it is not proper for him to desire *and* to produce the evil *and* misery of the creatures ; (220) *yet*, as regards the devastation and misery of his own achievements, *he has* never even become tired of them. 221. If *he be* an enemy of the creatures, that *implies that* it is not proper for him to create *and* produce, through his own competent knowledge, that thing which is his enemy *and* disablement¹, and struggles against his will.

222. This, too, you should ask, (223) that is : 'Is the sacred being always a well-understanding, good sovereign, occasioning prosperity², (224) or an evil-understanding, bad sovereign, occasioning distress? 225. Or is there a time when *he is* a well-understanding, good sovereign, occasioning prosperity, (226) and is there a time when *he is* an evil-understanding, bad sovereign, occasioning distress?'

227. If *he be* always a well-understanding, good sovereign, occasioning prosperity, (228) that *implies that* there are not, in his country *and* sovereignty, *any* oppression, distress, and complaint ; (229) and his affection *for* the creatures and the affection of the creatures for him are pure. 230. Owing to the

¹ Assuming that Pâz. apađvâh stands for Pahl. apatûgih; the two words being nearly alike in Pahlavi letters.

² Reading âvâdîh-kar instead of Pâz. âzâdîgar, 'producing freedom, or nobility,' which two words are alike in Pahlavi writing.

same reason *he is* merciful as regards his own creatures, (231) and his creatures are recounting *his* praise, utterers of thanksgivings *and* pure friends towards him. 232. His title of divinity, moreover, is worthily his own.

233. If *he be* an evil-understanding, bad sovereign, occasioning distress, (234) that *implies that he is* himself a pure¹ enemy to the creatures, and his creatures are also *of* a like nature towards him. 235. Owing to the same reason *he is* an injurer, destroyer, *and* deluder of the creatures, (236) and his creatures are complainers of him, strugglers concerning him, *and* pure enemies. 237. His title of divinity, moreover, is the equivalent of an unworthy name; (238) and, even on account of his eternity, the creatures are hopeless of becoming free from the risk of distress and misery for an unlimited time.

239. If there be a time when *he is* a good sovereign, well-understanding, *and* occasioning prosperity, and there be a time when *he is* turned away from this; (240) that *implies that* his affection for the creatures is mingled. 241. From a mingled affection *arises* mingled action, (242) *and* from mingled action a mingled individuality is also manifested. 243. And his creatures also are mingled friends to him. 244. Of *one's* associates *there* is none who, if a friend, is not one's enemy, no praiser who is not complaining of one, no glorifier even who is not scorning one; a character of this description is manifest among all creatures.

245. Again, *observe* this, that since all things which are in the world are not outside of these two terms,

¹ The word *avêzak*, 'pure,' is here used idiomatically for 'mere,' precisely as 'pure' is often used in English.

good and evil, (246) that *implies*, if good and evil are both said to *arise* from the sacred being and through the will of the sacred being, (247) *that* the troublesome Aharman is unreasonably defamed; *that, being* innocent *and* without an original evolution, he never was, nor *will* be, evil and headstrong¹. 248. That which is mentioned in scripture (nīṭīk)², that Aharman became headstrong, and was put out of heaven by them, is unreasonable, (249) because even that headstrongness *and* disobedience *were* likewise through the will of the sacred being.

250. If even it be said *that* the good *arises* from the sacred being and through the will of the sacred being, *and* the evil from mankind, still Aharman is without an original evolution *and* innocent, and curses *and* scorn for him are unreasonable. 251. If all this misery and evil *be* sent down, not from a different nature, but from the individuality and individual nature of the sacred being himself, (252) that *implies that* the sacred being is an enemy *and* adversary to his own tendencies (rūn).

253. *Observe* this, too, that to speak of the existence of criminality apart from a nature of crime is very deluding; (254) *and* as *it* is deluding to imagine a nature of crime that is good, *is it* more deluding to imagine Aharman—who is the origin *and* original evolution of every crime—*apart* from the creation and achievement of the sacred being?

255. The conclusion is this, that if *at* first there be anything which is not within the will of the sacred being, provided everything be through the will of the sacred being, no one whatever is a sinner; (256)

¹ Literally 'with averted head.'

² Probably referring to the Qur'ān XV, 26-40 (see § 59 n).

and the apostle¹ and religion *were* appointed without a purpose. 257. If it be expedient to ruin any one for sinfulness, it is more expedient to ruin him who is the original doer, maintainer, and creator of every evil and crime. 258. And if it be said *that* evil and crime *arise* from Aharman or mankind, that *implies*, as they are likewise created and produced *by* the sacred being, *that* he is the source of them; in like manner, he who is the cause of the origin of evil (259) is worse than evil.

260. This, too, you should observe, that sects (kêshân) of every kind assert this *maxim*, handed down by their own high-priests, when *it* is mentioned and prescribed by them to their own congregation (ram), that is: 'Perform good works *and* abstain from crime.' 261. On account of delusion they do not consider this, that is, from where and what origin ought the crime to arise, about which *it* is thus commanded: 'Ye shall not commit *it*, *and* I *will* cast *him* who commits *it* into eternal hell.' 262. So that, if *that* same *be* owing to the sacred being, it would be easier for him not to produce it, than, after *its* production, *to have* brought *it* to notice and commanded *us* to abstain from it. 263. So far, indeed, I do not understand any advantage and motive *in* the production and creation of evil.

264. Again, in their scriptures, he speaks inconsistently about good works and crime (265) thus: 'Good works and crime are both owing to me. 266. Neither demons, nor wizards, are unrestricted in causing the ruin of any one. 267. No one *has* accepted the religion *and* done good works, and no one *has* walked in infidelity *and* committed crime, except through my will.'

¹ Zaratûst.

268. In the same scripture he adduces many *things* which *one has* to connect, and inflicts curses on the creatures, (269) thus: 'Why do mankind desire *and* commit that crime which I design for them?' 270. It occurs concerning the will and work of his own hand, and *yet* he frightens them with punishment in body and soul. 271. *In* another place he speaks thus: 'I myself am the deluder of mankind, for if it should be my will they *would* then be shown the true path by me, but *it is* my will that they go to hell¹.' 272. And *in* another place he speaks thus: 'Man himself is the causer of crime.'

273. In these three modes the sacred being gives evidence of different kinds about his own creatures.

274. One is this, that *he* himself is Aharman²; (275) one is this, that he is himself the deluder of the creatures³; (276) *and*, in the other, he makes his own creatures confederates involved with Aharman in deluding⁴; so that *he implies*: 'There are *instances* when I occasion *it*, *and* there are *instances* when Aharman *does*.'

277. Through that *which* he states, that mankind themselves occasion crime, they are made by him confederates with Aharman; *he* himself *being* at a distance from the crime. 278. For if mankind commit crime owing to their own nature and their own delusion, that *implies that* the sacred being, with

¹ Texts to this effect are numerous in the Qur'ân, such as 'whom he pleases does God lead astray, and whom he pleases he places on the right way . . . God leads the wrong-doers astray; for God does what he will . . . in hell they shall broil' (Qur'ân VI, 39, XIV, 32, 34; SBE, vol. vi).

² As deduced from the passage quoted in § 269.

³ As stated in the passage quoted in § 271.

⁴ As implied in the passage quoted in § 272.

Aharman, is far from the criminality, (279) because *it is as it were* not owing to the sacred being, nor yet owing to Aharman.

280. Again, you should ask of those whom they call Mûtaẓalik¹ (281) thus: 'Is *it* the will of the sacred being *for* all mankind to abstain from crime through *their own* free will², to escape from hell, *and* to make *them* proceed to heaven, or not?' 282. If *one* says that *it is* not, (283) that *implies that* an³ opinion is formed by him as to the little goodness of the sacred being *and* the evil of his will; (284) *and*, for the same reason, *it* is not fitting to glorify *him* as the divine existence. 285. If *one* says that *it is* his will, (286) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to the good will of the sacred being; (287) *and*, for the same reason, *it* is fitting to glorify *him* as the divine existence.

288. *Ask* this, too, that is: 'If *it be* his will, is *he* capable of performing *it*, or not?' 289. If *one* says that *he is* not, (290) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to the incapability of the sacred being as regards that will of his; (291) *and*, for the same reason, *it* is not fitting to glorify *him* as the divine existence which is almighty. 292. If *one* says that *he is* capable of performing *his* will, (293) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to *his*

¹ Which is doubtless the original Pahlavi form of Pâz. muth-zarî. It is an adjective, meaning 'seceding, schismatic,' derived from Ar. mu'htazil, and applied specially to Muhammadan schismatics.

² Assuming that Pâz. âwâd-kâmî stands for Pahl. âzâd-kâmîh, which would be identical with the former word in Pahlavi writing.

³ JE has 'no' in Pâz. but not in Sans., which negative is evidently a modern blunder.

capability for that will of his; (294) *and*, for the same reason, *it* is fitting to glorify *him* as the divine existence which is almighty.

295. Again, *ask* this, that is: 'When *he* is capable of performing his will, does he perform *it*, or not?'

296. If *one* says that he performs *it*, (297) that *implies that* the abstaining from sin, escaping from hell, and bringing to heaven¹ would be manifested unto all mankind; (298) *but* this is that which is not manifest by his existence, and is falsifying even his own revelation (dīnô). 299. If *one* says that *he* is capable of performing his will, but does not perform *it*, (300) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to the unmercifulness of the sacred being, *his* enmity to mankind, and the inconstancy of his will. 301. For if he performs *it*, *it* is no harm to him himself and is an advantage *to* mankind; his own will is also continuous thereby. 302. *But* if he does not perform *it*, *it* is no advantage to him himself and is harm *to* mankind; his own will is also discontinuous thereby.

303. Again, *ask* this, that is: 'Does he not perform *it* through will, or without will?' 304. If *one* says that he does not perform *it* through will, (305) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him that the sacred being is good-willed, *but* has no will to do good; (306) *and* this is even to consider *him* faulty through inconsistency. 307. If *one* says that *he* is without will, *and* therefore does not perform *it*, (308) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to the weakness of the sacred being in his own self, or the existence of an injurer of his will.

309. The conclusion is this, that, *with* a manager

¹ JJ has 'saving from hell *and* escaping to heaven.'

of this worldly *existence* who may be without an opponent, without competition, and perfect in sagacity, goodness, and capability, *there* should not be all these unworthy actions, trouble and misery, pain and vexation, especially of mankind and the other creatures. 310. Because, when a manager, without an opponent, is perfect in sagacity, he knows means for evil not to occur and also remedies for carrying off evil. 311. When *he* is perfect in goodness and merciful, *he has* no wish for the occurrence of evil at first, *but* a wish for *its* extinction. 312. When *he* is perfect in capability, *he* is capable of not really becoming equally the origin of evil.

313. Now, as in the worldly *existence*, whose manager is the sacred being, the existence of evil is unquestionably visible, then thus much is not separable from this, either where the manager is *provided* with an opponent, or is without an opponent:—314. If he does not know means for evil not to occur, and remedies for carrying off evil, the imperfect sagacity of the sacred being is thereby¹ manifested. 315. Or the evil exists *with* his good will, *and* the imperfect goodness of his will is manifested. 316. Or *he* is not capable of not *allowing* the occurrence of evil, and of carrying *it* off, *and* the imperfect capability of the sacred being is manifested. 317. And when *he* is imperfect even *in* one—in sagacity, or goodness, or capability—it is not fitting to glorify *and* worship *him* as the divine existence who is almighty, all-good, *and* all-wise.

318. This, too, you should know, that since any existing thing, which is acting, is *provided* with a will, but *its* nature *has* not become unrestricted, (319) that

¹ Reading *agas* instead of the similarly-written *afas*, 'and by it.'

shows that, if the original existence of the creator *be* divinity, and his nature *be* light *and* beauty, fragrance and purity, goodness and sagacity, then such *things* as darkness and ugliness, stench *and* pollution, vileness *and* ignorance—the demoniacal nature itself—ought to be far from him. 320. If his original existence *be* anything demoniacal, and his nature *be* darkness *or* stench, ugliness *or* pollution, vileness *or* ignorance, then the nature of divinity remains strange to him.

321. If there be *any* one by whom indecision about all this is insinuated into his own self, that *implies that*, owing to his indecision about it, there is no discrimination *in* him as to goodness, amid his own evil. 322. Now, moreover, the hope of the hopeful is absorbed, (323) for even he who goes to heaven through doing good works is, even there, in evil and misery, (324) because there is no distinct discrimination of good from evil, even there, (325) if there be the goodness which is devoid of evil, *and* there be also the evil which is devoid of goodness, represented *as* really of the same origin. 326. This is known, that the difference of good and evil is owing to difference of nature. 327. When the two origins of their difference and distinction from the other of different nature are manifest, that hope of the hopeful is just, (328) and sagacity is their passport (parvânak).

329. This, too, you should know, that every statement which is not unconfused by its own limits is unenquiring (apaḍ-khvâh)¹. 330. Likewise this, that the limit of divinity is specially sagacity. 331. *And* also this, that² the limit of sagacity is only³

¹ Sans. has 'undesirable.'

² JJ and Sans. omit these four words.

³ Literally 'one.'

advantageous action. 332. Advantageous action is not doing injury; (333) *and* the modes of doing injury are three. 334. One is that which, *being* no advantage to oneself, is the injury of another also. 335. [One is that which, *being* no advantage to another¹], is the injury of oneself also. 336. *And* one is that which is the injury of oneself and the injury of another also. 337. And from the creation of Aharman and the demons *there* is no advantage *to* a wisely-acting sacred being himself, *and there is* injury of others also; (338) the non-advancement of even his own will, owing to his own work, is always manifested thereby.

339. This, too, *you should know*, that if the will of the sacred being *be* goodness, (340) his will is also eternal. 341. And he should be capable of a suitable will, (342) so that, from the beginning even to the end, all the goodness *and* virtue of the will of the sacred being would have proceeded in the world. 343. Now *it* is manifest that vileness and vice always proceed much more. 344. Therefore *the cause* is one of these, either they always proceed through the will of the sacred being, or without *his* will. 345. If they always proceed through some will of the sacred being, *it* is evident that his will is also for vileness as well as for goodness, (346) or *he* is inefficient and changeable in will. 347. Since a will does not change, unless owing to a cause, or unless owing to a changer, (348) that *implies* one of these two, either *it* is through some cause, or there exists some other *being with him as* a changer of his will. 349. If they always proceed not through the will of the sacred being, (350) *from that it* is evident that the

¹ The words in brackets are omitted, both in Páz. and Sans., by JE and JJ, the only two MSS. available.

sacred being is suffering in his own will, and his will is not perfect, (351) or there exists some diminisher of it who is a possessor *of* will.

352. *As to* this, too, which they assert, that the sacred being commanded Adam thus: 'Thou shalt not eat of this one tree which is in paradise (vahist)¹,' (353) you should ask of them (354) thus: 'Was the command which the sacred being gave to Adam, thus: "You shall not eat of this tree," good or evil?' 355. If the command were good *it* is evident that the tree was evil, (356) *and* it is not befitting the sacred being to create anything that is evil. 357. If the tree were good the command was evil, *and* it is not befitting the sacred being to give an evil command. 358. If the tree were good, and the command as to not eating *were* given by him, it is not ² adapted to the goodness and mercifulness of the sacred being to allot a benefit *away* from his own innocent servants.

359. *As to* this, too, which they assert, that the sacred being brings every one whom he wills unto faith and the true way, and, as the recompense, he makes him proceed to the happy progress which is eternal; (360) *and* him whom he does not will he leaves in irreligion and ignorance of the sacred being, and, for that reason, he casts him into hell and eternal misery ³; (361) you should ask of them (362) thus: 'Is he good whose desire and will are for the religion and faith of the sacred being and the true way, or he whose desire and will are for going astray, irreligion, and ignorance of the sacred being?' 363. If *one* says that he is good whose desire and will

¹ See § 64.

² Reading Pâz. *ne* instead of Pâz. *be*, 'quite,' as the Sanskrit has a negative participle.

³ See § 271.

are for the religion of the sacred being and the true way, (364) now *as to* that man about whom this is the will of the sacred being, that he *shall* leave him in irreligion, going astray, and ignorance of the sacred being, *and to whom* an apostle, or *some* other person who is a friend, recites the revelation (dīnô) of the sacred being and the true way, (365) *does that show that* the sacred being is thereby better and more beneficial to him, or are that apostle *and* that person *so*? 366. If *one* says that the will of the sacred being about him¹ is good, it is thereby asserted by him, that not understanding the sacred being, not accepting the religion, and going astray are good; *but* this is not acceptable [and not to be taught²], on account of error. 367. If *one* says that his coming to the true religion and understanding the sacred being are thereby better and more beneficial, (368) it is thereby obviously asserted by one that the apostle and person are thereby better to him than the sacred being. 369. Because a person *through* whom the true way and an understanding of the sacred being are wanted among mankind, and his will is *bent* upon it, is much better than he who is a sacred being (370) *by* whose will backsliding (avâz-râsth), misunderstanding, and irreligion *exist* among them; *and* the sacred being is much worse than that person.

371. *Observe* this, too, that if the criminal thought and criminal action of man are by the will of the sacred being, that already *implies* that the sacred being produced criminal thought, and sowed crime

¹ The man mentioned in § 364.

² The words in brackets have no equivalent in the Pâzand text, but are indicated by âsvâdyañka in Sans.

in his mind, (372) and Aharman merely invites and instigates him to the committal of crime; that *shows that* the criminal thought *traced to* the sacred being and also his desire for it are more violent and worse than the invitation of Aharman. 373. When, too, his listening to *what proceeds* from Aharman, *as to* the committal of crime, is likewise due to the criminal thought which the sacred being produced, and *so also is* his desire for it, *it* is already obvious that the sacred being is much worse and more sinful than Aharman.

374. As regards these statements, which are enumerated by us, (375) one of these two *opinions* must arise, (376) either that all are true or that all are false, (377) or there are *some* which are true and there are *some* which are false. 378. If all *be* true, every statement that is not adapted to these statements is false, *or* something *of* the two, truth and falsehood. 379. If all *be* false, every statement that is not adapted to these statements is true, *or* something *of* the two together¹. 380. If there be *some* that are true and there be *some* that are false, (381) then of those which are true—*derived* from the nature and nucleus (nâf) of truth—(382) and of those which are false—*derived* from the nature and nucleus and original evolution of falsehood—(383) the origins are two, one from which *arises* truth, *and* one *from* which *arises* falsehood.

CHAPTER XII.

I. Again, about the inconsistency of their assertions *there* are several statements from the Dīnkard²

¹ Sans. has 'something mingled twofold.'

² See Chap. IV, 107. As the inconsistent statements which

manuscript, (2) *as to* that which they say, that the sacred being is around everything, *but* nothing is within him; (3) and within everything, *but* nothing is around him. 4. *That he is* above everything, *but* nothing is below him; (5) and below everything, *but* nothing is above him. 6. *That he sits* upon a throne, *but* is possessing no *resting-place*; (7) and is inside heaven, *but* is possessing no whereabouts. 8. *That he does not exist* in any place, and *yet* he does exist *there*. 9. *That he exists* everywhere, and *yet* his place does not exist. 10. Also *that* everything of his becomes *fit* for his own by his own will, (11) *his* original evolution *being both* malice and good; (12) and *he is* eternally unforgiving and compassionate, (13) preparing distress and not distressing. 14. Likewise *that he has* commanded him who is incapable of performing *or* neglecting the divine command, (15) and he *has* created him who is innocent for hell, not the distresser. 16. *That he is* aware of the hellish existence of mankind, owing to wickedness, and his will is for it; (17) and *he is* good-willed, or it *has* become not his will. 18. *That he has* produced a remedy, and is not himself distressing; (19) or no remedy, but want of remedy, is produced by him, *and yet he is* not possessing an opponent. 20. *That he is* wanting experience, and *yet* omniscient; (21) neglecting commands, and *yet*

follow in the text are not to be found in the portion of the *Dinkard* known to be extant, they were probably contained in the first two books of that work, which have not yet been discovered. Chap. 132 of the third book (130 in Dastûr Peshotan's translation, pp. 176-178) is the nearest approach to our text in style, but not in matter. It is 'about him who is in all *and* over all, over and not lower than anything *nor* through anything, that is, even owing to management *he is* over all, and all is manageable by him.'

they are themselves his will; (22) and he who neglects, *and* provides a restricted evolution¹, is *yet* a good sovereign. 23. Also *that* his commands are all continuous, (24) and *yet* the setting aside of his commands is obtainable. 25. And *that* there is *some* of his will which is not continuous, (26) and neglect of his will is not an injurer of the will. 27. Likewise *that* he *has* commanded that which is not his will, (28) and the command *which* is not inconsistent with his will *and* also the command *which* is inconsistent with his will are both proper. 29. Also *that* his good will is not a discontinuous will, (30) and *as to* his evil will, which makes evil things, that is judicious. 31. And many other inconsistencies which are in the assertions of *various* sects.

32. If it be not possible for an orderly (padmāntik) religion to exist, without rescue from these inconsistent assertions of many kinds, (33) they then² say this of it, that *to* the supposers of two original evolutions³ the work of the sacred being is weak and unresisting; (34) *and* they say *it* is not as *it were* adapted to the grandeur of the sacred being.

35. Upon this subject, too, there are *some matters*, which I *shall* clearly state, *that* should be dictated *and* known. 36. That is, does he⁴ make divine things weaker and more unresisting, (37) where *it is* *he* who says that *the sacred being's* own achievements,

¹ Reading bandak-gastīh instead of Pâz. bandayastī; compare Chap. IV, 73 n.

² Reading adīnas, 'then of it,' for Pâz. ainâ, as in Chap. IV, 81.

³ That is, those who hold the orthodox Mazda-worshipper's opinion, that the producer of evil is independent of the producer of good, so long as the former continues to exist.

⁴ The believer in a single original evolution without any independent producer of evil. Connect §§ 36, 37 with §§ 52, 53.

which *were* created by him, have all lapsed into *being* intolerant of command *and* deaf to admonition, (38) till even the most tender-bodied creatures struggle against his will? 39. And so *they have* slain or impaled those many prophets (vakhshvarân) *and* apostles (pêtkhambarân) of his, who are appointed by him; (40) *and* there are *some* who *have* acted scornfully, contemptibly, and irreverently. 41. This, too, is where *he has* not only not protected his own dominion from the vile *creatures* which *were* created by him himself, but *he has* himself afflicted his own dominion also; (42) and he himself destroys his own productions without a reason, (43) and himself renders his own creations useless. 44. Through his own culpability he himself destroys his own innocent servants. 45. He himself makes his own peculiar friends weak, needy, sinful, and deluded. 46. And *his* wrath, *inflicted* upon a single innocent servant, which is like Aharman's¹, makes his own innumerable creatures unobservant *and* deluded. 47. For a sin that is limited, which is owing to his own actions, he puts the innocent to unlimited punishment². 48. The door of forgiveness is finally shut up, (49) and he is not satiated with the pain, distress, and misery of his own creatures, (50) *but* maintains *them* perpetually in action and excitement. 51. And *yet* he is not able to insist upon the commands which he

¹ Aharman being supposed to be the producer of the demon of wrath, who is one of his most powerful auxiliaries.

² Sans. has 'he puts another unlimited punishment upon the innocent;' Nêr. having read hanô, 'another,' instead of avô, 'to,' which two words are written alike in Pahlavi. As the author's interpretation of his opponent's argument assumes that everything, including sin, is produced by the sacred being, he naturally concludes that the sinners themselves are innocent.

gives *in* the beginning, middle, *or* end. 52. Or is *it* he¹ who says that that *one* is the sacred being who is perpetually a ruler, all-knowing and almighty; (53) whose dominion and knowledge and power are perpetual *and* for unlimited time? 54. Owing to him, too, is the happiness of any goodness; (55) his actions also are for a purpose, *his* commands are advantageous, (56) *he is* compassionate and forgiving as regards his own servants, (57) and is an abundant bestower of recompense, too, *on* that servant who is a carrier *off* of victory. 58. As to him who is a sinner, who, on account of his own sinfulness, becomes captive *in* the hands of the enemy², *he is* forgiving upon atonement *for* the sinfulness and cleansing from iniquity and pollution. 59. *In* the end *he* is no leaver of any good creature captive in the hands of enemies³, (60) and is their protector, maintainer, and cherisher, in body and life, amid *their* contest and struggle with enemies. 61. *He is* a complete defender of his own empire from opponents of a different nature, (62) and his champions and troops become victorious in the struggle and contest. 63. *And* in the end *he is* a bringer of victory *to* his own creatures, as regards every iniquity.

64. When it is observed *as* to light, knowledge, sight, life, health, *and* other divine creations, that *they* are fully resistant and prevailing over darkness,

¹ The believer in two original evolutions, good and evil; the producer of the latter being independent of the producer of the former for a limited period of existence. This producer of evil is not clearly described here, but is mentioned in §§ 58-61, 72 as an enemy and opponent. §§ 52, 53 are to be read in connection with §§ 36-38.

² The spiritual enemy, Aharman.

³ Compare Chap. IV, 100.

ignorance, blindness, death, sickness, *and* other demoniacal peculiarities—(65) because this is known, that light is the putting aside of all darkness, (66) knowledge is victorious over ignorance, (67) and life is powerful¹ and increasing over death, (68) for, owing to the powerfulness and increase of life, the incalculable progress of the creatures arises from two persons, (69) and multitudes are confident about it; (70) so also sight and health are manifestly as much victorious and powerful over blindness and sickness —(71) *such being observed*, it is also expedient to observe this, that is, what does the opposing fiend want, *and* about what do the troops of the sacred being struggle?

72. That opponent wants this *that he speaks of* thus: 'I *will* make this earth and sky and the creatures which are luminaries² extinct, (73) or I *will* bring *them* into *my* possession, *and will* pervert *them* from their own nature³, (74) so that the sacred being shall not be able to occasion the resurrection and the renovation *of the universe*, and to restore his own creatures.'

75. The troops of the sacred being struggle about this, that the opponent shall not attain to *his* will through *his* desire. 76. *Observe* this, too, that the troops of Aôharmazd *have been* valiant in struggling and successful in will *ever* since the original creation.

77. From this *it* is manifest, when it happens *that* this earth and sky are formed, (78) that it *would be* possible for him to make all creatures and creations extinct; but *he* is incapable of making even one of the most tender-bodied creatures of the sacred being

¹ Assuming that Pâz. *avazmand* stands for Pahl. *aog-hômand*.

² Sans. has 'of the luminaries.'

³ Compare Bd. I, 14.

extinct. 79. Because, if even, by reason of death, the body be separated from life, *it* is not extinction and change of nature from its own self, but decay¹ of peculiarities and a necessity of *going* from place to place, from duty to duty². 80. Then each one of the qualities of one's body *and* life is to subsist again, in its own nature, for other duties, as is revealed. 81. And the existence of these creatures and creation, fully continuously *and* perpetually active, is advantageously manifest during a suitable period.

82. Thus far is considered complete upon this subject.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. Again, about the inconsistency and faulty statements of the first scripture³, (2) which they call holy (*âzâd*)—(3) and as to it they are, *in* every way, unanimous that the sacred being wrote *it* with his own hand, *and* gave *it* to Moses (*Mûshâê*)—(4) so that, as *it* is full of delusion, I *will* here publish, for your information, a story⁴ out of all *its* stupidity and of much that is in it.

5. It states, in the beginning *of* the scripture, (6) that *there* first arose earth, without form and void⁵,

¹ Assuming that Pâz. nyârasni is a misreading of Pahl. ni-hârisnô.

² Compare Chap. IV, 87.

³ The Old Testament.

⁴ Pâz. nihang-e (Pahl. nisang-r, Av. ni + sangha) appears to mean 'a tale, tract, or essay,' and is connected with farhang, 'learning.' Sans. has 'somewhat, a little.'

⁵ Assuming that Pâz. âv khûn u tân (which Nêr. seems to have understood as âv-i khûn-vatân, 'water containing blood') is a misreading of Pahl. afâm va tahân. Nêr. may have been thinking of Mkh. IX, 8.

darkness, and black water; (7) and the breathing¹ of the sacred being ever yearns² over the face of that black water³. 8. Afterwards the sacred being spoke thus: 'Let *there* be light,' (9) and *there* was light⁴. 10. And stooping he considered that light below him, (11) and the light *was* transmitted by him to the day, and the darkness to the night⁵. 12. In six days this world and sky *and* earth *were* also created by him, (13) for during the seventh day he was reposing (khaspân) and comfortable⁶. 14. Through that same mystery (râz) even now the Jews are enjoying repose *on* the Sabbath day⁷.

15. This, too, *is stated*, that Adam and his wife Eve (Havâê) *were* created by him, (16) *and* put into a garden of paradise (vahîst); (17) so that Adam

¹ Reading vâÿâ, 'air, breath,' instead of Pâz. vakhsh, 'growth, expanse;' these two words being written alike in Pahlavi. Sans. has 'eyes.'

² Reading niÿâzêd instead of Pâz. nyâved. Sans. has 'looks.'

³ 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness *was* upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters' (Gen. i. 1, 2).

⁴ 'And God said, "Let there be light:" and there was light' (Gen. i. 3).

⁵ 'And God saw the light, that *it was* good: and God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night' (Gen. i. 4, 5).

⁶ 'And the evening and the morning were the sixth day. Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them. . . . And he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made' (Gen. i. 31; ii. 1, 2).

⁷ 'But the seventh day *is* the sabbath of the Lord thy God: *in* *it* thou shalt not do any work. . . . For *in* six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them *is*, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it' (Ex. xx. 10, 11).

should perform cultivation in that garden, and should keep watch¹. 18. The Lord², who is the sacred being himself, commanded Adam (19) thus: 'Eat of every tree which is in this garden, except of that tree of knowledge; (20) because when you eat thereof you die³.' 21. Afterwards a serpent *was* also put by him into the garden; (22) *and* that serpent deceived Eve *and* spoke thus: '*Let* us eat of the gathering from this tree, *and let* us give *it* to Adam⁴.' 23. And she acted accordingly, (24) and Adam likewise ate⁵. 25. And *his* knowledge became such that good *was* distinguished by him from evil, and they did not die⁶. 26. He also saw and knew that he was naked, (27) *and* became concealed under the trees; (28) he likewise covered over his own body *with* leaves of trees, on account of the shame of nakedness⁷. 29. Afterwards the Lord went to the

¹ 'So God created man in his *own* image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. . . . And the Lord God took the man and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it and to keep it' (Gen. i. 27; ii. 15).

² Pâz. âdînô is evidently a misreading of the Pahlavi form of Heb. adonâi, 'Lord.'

³ 'And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die"' (Gen. ii. 16, 17).

⁴ 'Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, . . . "ye shall not surely die"' (Gen. iii. 1, 4).

⁵ 'She took of the fruit thereof, and did eat; and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat' (Gen. iii. 6).

⁶ '"For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil"' (Gen. iii. 5).

⁷ 'And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they *were* naked: and they sewed fig leaves together, and made

garden, *and* called Adam by name thus : 'Where art thou¹?' 30. Adam replied thus : 'Here I am, under the trees, for this reason, because I am naked².' 31. The Lord indulged *in* wrath, (32) *and* spoke thus : 'Who could have informed *thee* that thou art naked?' 33. Mayest thou not ever yet³ *have* eaten of that tree of knowledge, *of* which I said that you shall not eat⁴?' 34. Adam spoke thus : 'I have *been* deceived *by* this woman, who *was* given to me by thee, and I ate⁵.' 35. And the Lord enquired of Eve thus : 'Why *was* it so done by thee?' 36. Eve spoke thus : 'I have *been* deceived *by* this serpent⁶.' 37. And Adam and Eve and the serpent are, all three, forced out of the garden of paradise by him with a curse⁷. 38. And he spoke to Adam thus : 'Thy eating shall be through the scraping off of sweat⁸

themselves aprons . . . and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God, amongst the trees of the garden' (Gen. iii. 7, 8).

¹ 'And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day. . . . And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, "Where *art* thou?"' (Gen. iii. 8, 9).

² 'And he said, "I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I *was* naked; and I hid myself"' (Gen. iii. 10).

³ Assuming that Pâz. agarat stands for Pahl. akvarikāt; see § 139.

⁴ 'And he said, "Who told thee that thou *wast* naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?"' (Gen. iii. 11).

⁵ 'And the man said, "The woman whom thou gavest *to be* with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat"' (Gen. iii. 12).

⁶ 'And the Lord God said unto the woman, "What *is* this *that* thou hast done?" And the woman said, "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat"' (Gen. iii. 13).

⁷ 'Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man' (Gen. iii. 23, 24).

⁸ Sans. has 'through the spreading of sleep.'

and the panting of the nostrils, (39) until the end of thy life; (40) and thy land shall grow all bodily refuse and dung¹. 41. He also spoke to Eve thus: 'Thy pregnancy shall be in pain and uneasy, and thy bringing forth in grievous hastening².' 42. And he spoke to the serpent thus: 'Thou shalt be accursed from amid the quadrupeds and wild animals of the plain and mountain; (43) for thee also *there* shall be no feet, (44) and thy movement shall be on *thy* belly, and *thy* food dust. 45. And betwixt thy offspring, with *those of* the woman, *there* shall be such hatred and conversion to enmity that they *will* wound the head of that offspring³.'

46. This, too, they say, that this worldly *existence*, with whatever is in everything, was made and produced by him for mankind; (47) and man *was* made by him predominant over all creatures and creations, wet and dry⁴.

48. Now I *will* tell *you* a story (nisang-i) about

¹ 'And unto Adam he said, "... cursed *is* the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat *of* it all the days of thy life: thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; ... in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground"' (Gen. iii. 17-19).

² 'Unto the woman he said, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow, and thy conception: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children"' (Gen. iii. 16).

³ 'And the Lord God said unto the serpent, "Because thou hast done this, thou *art* cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life: and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel"' (Gen. iii. 14, 15).

⁴ 'And God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth"' (Gen. i. 26).

the contents of their twaddle and the faultiness of their statements, (49) that is, where and with what limits did that earth without form and void¹, the darkness, the sacred being and his breathing², and the black water arise? 50. Or *of* what description was the sacred being himself? 51. *It is* manifest that he was not light, (52) because, when the light was seen by him, (53) stooping he considered *it*³, for the reason that he had not seen it *before*. 54. If they say that he was dark, that manifestly *implies* that the origin of darkness is uttering⁴ a word *and* there is light. 55. If they say that he was not dark, but light, (56) why, when the light *was* seen by him, did he admire *and* consider it, though he was light himself? 57. And if they say that he was neither light nor dark, (58) it is necessary for such to specify that third *state* which is not light and not dark.

59. Then *as to* him whose position and abode were in darkness and black water, and light was never seen by him, how was it possible for him to look *at* that light? 60. And what *was* his divinity owing to? 61. Because even now *it* is not possible for any one who remains in darkness to look *at* the light. 62. *Observe* also this, that if his origin and abode were darkness, how was it possible for him to remain opposite the light? 63. Because this is known, that *it* is not possible *for* darkness to remain opposite the light, since *the latter* puts it aside harmless.

64. Again, *I ask* this, that is, was that earth, which

¹ See § 6 n.

² See § 7 n.

³ See § 10. The scripture merely says that 'God saw the light, that *it was* good;' but this difference does not really affect the author's argument as to the previous non-existence of light.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. frâi is a misreading of Pahl. parâs.

was without form and void, limited or unlimited? 65. If it were limited, what was there outside of it? 66. If it were unlimited, whither did that unlimitedness of it go, (67) when, as we see, this earth and worldly *existence* are not those of the first existence?

68. *As to* that which the Lord spoke, (69) that is: 'Let *there* be light,' and it was *so*, (70) it is thereupon appropriate to understand that the Lord *existed* before the *time* that the light arose; (71) *and* when he was wishing to make the light, and he gave the command for it to arise, he then considered mentally *in* what way the light is of good appearance or evil appearance. 72. And if the light, through its own nature, reached into the knowledge and consideration of the Lord, it is evident that the light was existing alike within the knowledge and mind of the Lord, (73) and alike outside of him. 74. For it is not possible to know and obtain anything, unless *it be* a manifestation of an existence. 75. If the light was existing is it¹, on that account, a creation of the Lord? 76. And if they say that the light was not, through its own nature, within *his* knowledge, that light *was* demanded by him, who did not know of what nature *it was*, very unwisely. 77. Or how is it possible to consider in the mind that which one *has* never even thought of *or* known?

78. And *observe* this, too, that that command for the arising of light *was* given *either* to something or to nothing, (79) because this is certain, that it is necessary to give a command to a performer of commands. 80. If *it were* given by him to something existing, which *was* light, that *implies that* the light

¹ Or, perhaps, 'it is.'

itself existed. 81. And if the command *were* given by him to something not existing, then how did the something not existing hear the command of the Lord? 82. Or how did it know that the will of the Lord *was* thus, that 'I *should* become light?' 83. Because the command of the Lord is not heard *by what* does not exist, in the same manner as though *it were* not given by him. 84. Since it is not possible *for* the non-existent even to think in any way, (85) *it was* that which is appointed non-existent, so that it does not exist, but *yet* exists¹, that was really before the sight of the sage²; by which *it was* known *in* what manner the Lord is demanding that it *shall* arise³, and in the manner which *was* demanded by him it arose.

86. If they say that the light arose from the word of the Lord, which *was* spoken by him thus: 'Thou shalt arise,' and it was *so*—(87) that *being* when the Lord and his belongings (khûdîh) were dark, and light had really never *been* seen by him—in what way is it possible *for* that light to arise from *his* word? 88. Because this is known, that speaking is the progeny of thinking. 89. If they say that his word became light, that is very marvellous, because then light is the fruit of darkness, and the source of darkness is thereby the essence of light;

¹ That is something produced as a nonentity which, being produced as nothing, is considered to be something different from nothing at all, which is not produced. Something analogous to the prototypes of the creatures, which 'remained three thousand years in a spiritual *state*, so that they were unthinking and unmoving, with intangible bodies' (Bd. I, 8).

² Who wrote the account of the creation in the book of Genesis.

³ Literally 'that I *shall* arise.'

or *else it is* this, that the light was concealed in the darkness.

90. As I *have* said¹, it is evident that it is of no use to give a command, except *to* a performer of commands, (91) so that it should be *that* the light existed, *and* then the command was expedient *and* given.

92. Again, I *ask* this, *as to* these creatures and creations, sky *and* earth of his, since *they were* prepared and produced by him in six days, (93) *and* the seventh he reposed (khaspīd) therefrom², (94) then, when this world *was* not produced by him from anything, but merely arose by his command, 'thou shalt arise,' and it was *so*, (95) to what *was* that delay of his of six days owing? 96. For when his trouble is merely as much as to say 'thou shalt arise,' the existence of that delay of six days is very ill-seeming. 97. It is also not suitable for trouble to arise for him therefrom. 98. If it be possible to make the non-existent exist, and *he be* capable *of it*, it is possible to produce *it* even a long time back. 99. And if *he be* incapable of producing except in the period of a day, it is not fitting to speak of his producing it from nothing.

100. And, again, I *ask* this, that is, when the number of the days should be known from the sun, whence then is the number of the day, besides the names of the days, known before the creation of the sun? 101. For they say that the sun *was* produced by him *on* the fourth day, which is itself Wednesday³.

¹ In § 79.

² See §§ 12, 13.

³ Pâz. kīhâr sumbad, Sans. katuḥśanaiskariya. 'And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the

102. *I* also *ask* this, to what *was it* owing that it was necessary for him to make *himself* comfortable and reposing *on* the seventh day? 103. When the delay and trouble in his creation and production of the world was *merely* so much as *that* he spoke thus: 'Thou shalt arise,' (104) how are those days accounted *for* by him, so that it was necessary to make him reposing whose trouble is recounted? 105. For if 'thou shalt arise' *were* spoken by him at once, that is his trouble, and he ought to become comfortable immediately.

106. Again *I ask* this, that is, for what purpose and cause is Adam produced by him, *together* with Eve¹, (107) so that while they practise his will², the purpose of it is not so presented by him that they shall not turn *away* from the performance of his desire? 108. For when it is known by him, before the fact, that they *will* not be listening *to* his command, and *yet they* are finally produced by him, that *shows that* for him *now* to become exhausted, and to indulge in wrath about them, is unreasonable, (109) because *it* is evident *that* the Lord himself was not fully proceeding *with that* which is desirable for his own will, and is manifestly an opponent and adversary to his own will. 110. If they are not understood by him before the fact, and it is not even known by him that they *will* not listen *to* his command, then he is ignorant and badly informed. 111. If they say that his will itself was for non-performance, why then is the command for performance given by him? 112. Also what is the sin in not performing

lesser light to rule the night. . . . And the evening and the morning were the fourth day' (Gen. i. 16, 19).

¹ See § 15.

² The command mentioned in §§ 19, 20.

it, and how goes (113) a horse whom they yoke with *another* in confinement (lag) and hurry on with a whip (tâzânak)¹. 114. From this statement signs and tokens of deceivers are manifested, (115) whose will and command are inconsistent *and* unadapted, one to the other.

116. And if his will and desire were this, that they *shall* not turn *away* from his will, (117) still their power and desire for turning *away* from his will are much stronger and more resistant than those which he *gave* for not turning. 118. If the will for their turning *away* from his will, and also the knowledge of it, were his, and the command for not turning *away* *were* given by him, how was it still possible *for* the distressed Adam *to act* so that they *should* not turn *away*? 119. Also, the origin and maintenance of his will ought not to exist, (120) because by turning *away* from his command *one* merely falsifies (drûged) it as a command, *while* by not turning *away* it becomes a falsification of both *his* will and knowledge.

121. Again, *I ask* this, that is, on what account and for what advantage *was* that garden, prepared by him, produced²? 122. And *as to* the tree of knowledge itself, about which he commanded thus: 'Ye shall not eat *of it*,' and also *as to* the injunction for not eating *of it*, which *was* issued by him, why was it necessary for him to make them?

123. *It* is also evident, from his injunction and

¹ Illustrating the inconsistency of determining or permitting that anything (such as the abstaining from fruit, or the trotting of a horse) shall not be done, and yet urging its performance by whip or command.

² See §§ 16, 17.

command, that scanty knowledge and ignorance are more loved by him, (124) and *his* desire for them is more than *for* knowledge and wisdom. 125. And *that* even his advantage from ignorance was more, (126) because while the tree of knowledge was not tasted by them they were ignorant, and not disobedient and without benefit unto him, (127) *but* just as their knowledge arose they became disobedient unto him. 128. *There* was also no anxiety for him from their ignorance, *but* just as their knowledge arose (129) he became exhausted and wrathful about them, (130) and, forced out of paradise by him, with grievous discomfort and disgrace, they are cast¹ to the earth. (131) The sum total is this, that the cause of this birth of man's knowledge, in the worldly *existence*, was owing to the serpent and deceit.

132. They also say this, that things of every kind *were* created for mankind—on account of which *it* is evident that even that tree *was* created by him for mankind—(133) and man *was* made by him predominant over every creature and creation². 134. If that be so, why *were they* now to incline *their* desires *away* from that tree which was their own?

135. From this *following* statement this, too, is evident, that knowledge was not really originating with him, (136) because if he came forth to the garden³ and raised his voice, and called Adam by name thus: 'Where art thou,' *it is* just as though he were unaware of the place where he existed; (137) *and* if he had been unanswered by him, *he would have* been unaware of the place where Adam existed. 138. If it were not owing to his (agas)

¹ Or 'admitted.'

² See §§ 46, 47.

³ See § 29.

outcry, too, before seeing *him*, *he would have* been unaware that he *had* eaten of that tree, or not; *and of this also*, that is, *by whom and how it was done*, who ate and who deceived. 139. If he were aware, why *had he* to make that enquiry of him, 'mayest thou not ever yet *have* eaten of that tree, *of which* I commanded that you shall not eat¹?' 140. And at first, when he came forth, he was not exhausted, *but* afterwards, when he knew that *they had* eaten, he became exhausted about them and was wrathful.

141. His scanty knowledge is also *evident* from this, when he created the serpent, which *was* itself his adversary, and put *it* into the garden with them²; (142) or *else why was* not the garden made so fortified by him, that the serpent, and also other enemies, should thereby not go into it?

143. Even his falsity is also evident from this, when he spoke thus: 'When you eat of this tree you die³;' and they *have* eaten and are not dead, but have become really intelligent, (144) and good is well recognised from evil by them.

145. *I also ask* this, that is, how is his knowledge inconsistent *and* competing with *his* will and command? 146. For if *it were* willed by him to eat of that tree, and the command for not eating *were* given by him, the knowledge about it was that *the fruit would be* eaten. 147. Now *it* is evident that the will, knowledge, and command are all three inconsistent, one towards the other.

148. This, too, *is evident*, that, though Adam committed sin, the curse which *was* inflicted by Him (the Lord)⁴ reaches unlawfully over people of every kind

¹ See § 33.² See § 21.³ See § 20.⁴ See §§ 37-41.

at various periods, (149) *and* I consider *it*, in every way, a senseless, ignorant, and foolish statement.

150. On this subject, on account of tediousness, thus much is considered complete.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. My desire is also that I write a story (nisang-1) out of the accompanying inconsistency and full delusion of the same scripture, (2) that is full of every iniquity and demonism; and I *will* disclose a summary of one *part* out of a thousand of *what is* declared thereby, (3) *so as* to notice the commands therein.

4. First, this is what he says about his own nature, (5) that is, 'I am the Lord, seeking vengeance (6) and retaliating vengeance¹, (7) and I retaliate vengeance sevenfold upon the children², (8) and *one* does not forget my original vengeance.' (9). Another place states that, '*having* acquired³ wrath and grievous thoughts, (10) his lips are also full of indignation⁴, (11) *his* tongue is like a blazing fire, (12) and *his* breath (vâyâ) is like a river of rapid water (arvand nâk)⁵. 13. His voice, too, as though for causing

¹ 'To me *belongeth* vengeance, and recompence' (Deut. xxxii. 35). Or, as it is quoted in Rom. xii. 19, 'Vengeance *is* mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.'

² 'Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold' (Gen. iv. 15).

³ Perhaps ayâftak is a misreading of âshuftak, 'distracted by.'

⁴ Literally 'venom.'

⁵ 'Behold, the name of the Lord cometh from far, burning *with* his anger, and the burden *thereof* is heavy; his lips are full of

weeping, is more resembling the shouting of a demon¹, (14) and his seat is in the gloom², the dew, and the cloud³. 15. His charger, also, is the drying (khûskâk) wind⁴, (16) and from the motion of his feet is the arising of a whirlwind of dust⁵. 17. When he walks the arising of fire is behind him⁶.

18. And, elsewhere, he speaks about his own wrathfulness, (19) thus: 'I have been forty years in wrath about the Israelites⁷,' (20) and he said that the Israelites are defiled in heart⁸.

21. Elsewhere he speaks thus: 'Who is blind⁹,

indignation, and his tongue as a devouring fire: and his breath, as an overflowing stream, shall reach to the midst of the neck' (Is. xxx. 27, 28).

¹ 'And the Lord shall cause his glorious voice to be heard, and shall show the lighting down of his arm, with the indignation of *his* anger, and *with* the flame of a devouring fire, *with* scattering, and tempest, and hailstones' (Is. xxx. 30).

² Assuming that Pâz. gûam (Pers. gum, 'invisible') is a misreading of Pahl. tom, 'gloom,' as the Sanskrit is dhûmalatvam, 'smokiness.'

³ 'He made darkness his secret place: his pavilion round about him *were* dark waters *and* thick clouds of the skies' (Ps. xviii. 11). 'Clouds and darkness *are* round about him' (Ps. xcvi. 2).

⁴ 'Who maketh the clouds his chariot; who walketh upon the wings of the wind' (Ps. civ. 3).

⁵ 'The Lord *hath* his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds *are* the dust of his feet' (Na. i. 3).

⁶ 'For, behold, the Lord will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind, to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire' (Is. lxvi. 15).

⁷ Pâz. Asarâsarâ is evidently a misreading of Pahl. Asrâyîlân.

⁸ 'Forty years long was I grieved with *this* generation, and said, "It *is* a people that do err in their heart, and they have not known my ways;" unto whom I swore in my wrath, that they should not enter into my rest' (Ps. xcv. 10, 11).

⁹ Sans. has 'whoever is needy,' both here and in § 23.

unless *it be* my servant? 22. Who is deaf¹, but the messenger (firstak) I am appointing? 23. Who is blind like the king²? *And it is* declared that their king is the Lord himself³.

24. Elsewhere it also says this, that the worshippers (parastakân) of his fire are defiled⁴. 25. Also this, that his deeds bring blinding smoke, (26) *and his* fighting is the shedding of blood⁵. 27. And this, that is, 'I pour forth mankind one upon the other, (28) *and* I sit upon the sky, over their limbs.' 29. Likewise this, that, in one night, a hundred *and* sixty thousand *were* slain by him, through a wretched death, out of the champions and troops of the Mâ-zendarâns⁶. 30. And, *on* another occasion, he slew six hundred thousand men, besides women and young children, out of the Israelites in the wilderness; (31) only two men escaped⁷.

¹ Sans. has 'whoever is prosperous.'

² 'Who *is* blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger *that* I sent? who *is* blind as *he that is* perfect, and blind as the Lord's servant?' (Is. xlii. 19).

³ 'The Lord *is* our king' (Is. xxxiii. 22).

⁴ 'About five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east. Then he said unto me, "Hast thou seen *this*, O son of man? Is it a light thing to the house of Judah that they commit the abominations which they commit here?"' (Eze. viii. 16, 17).

⁵ 'And when Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city, and that the smoke of the city ascended, then they turned again, and slew the men of Ai' (Jos. viii. 21).

⁶ 'Then the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they *were* all dead corpses' (Is. xxxvii. 36).

⁷ 'And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot, *that were* men, beside

32. Again, it shows that his final result is all regret, (33) just as this which it states, that he became among the despondent (*zardakân*), and he spoke thus: 'I am repentant as to the making of men on the earth¹.'

34. This, too, it states, that he sits upon a throne which four angels hold upon *their* wings, from each one of whom a fiery river always proceeds, owing to the load of *his* weight². 35. Now, when he is a spirit, not formed with a body, why then are those four distressed by him, who *have* to sustain with toil the grievous load of that easy *thing*?

36. Again, *it states* this, that every day he prepares, with his own hand, ninety thousand worshippers, and they always worship him until the night time, and then he dismisses them, through a fiery river, to hell³. 37. When trouble and injustice of this description are seen, how is it

children' (Ex. xii. 37). 'Doubtless ye shall not come into the land *concerning* which I swear to make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun. . . . But *as for* you, your carcases, they shall fall in this wilderness' (Num. xiv. 30, 32).

¹ 'And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth' (Gen. vi. 6).

² 'Also out of the midst thereof *came* the likeness of four living creatures. . . . Their wings *were* joined one to another. . . . As for the likeness of the living creatures, their appearance *was* like burning coals of fire, *and* like the appearance of lamps: it went up and down among the living creatures. . . . And under the firmament *were* their wings straight, the one toward the other. . . . And above the firmament that *was* over their heads *was* the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone: and upon the likeness of the throne *was* the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it' (Eze. i. 5, 9, 13, 23, 26). 'A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him' (Dan. vii. 10).

³ This statement may possibly be quoted from the Talmud.

expedient *for* worldly beings to exist in duty, good works, and good deeds? 38. When he casts distressed worshippers who are reverent, listening to commands, *and* pure in action, together with others *who are* sinners, into eternal hell, (39) *it is* like even that which another congregation¹ asserts, that the sacred being, *at* the day of the resurrection, gives the sun and moon, together with others *who are* sinners, to hell for the reason that there are people who *have* offered homage to them.

40. Another place also states this, that when the eyes of the aged (masâtval)² Abraham, who *was* the friend of the Lord, were afflicted, the Lord himself came enquiring for him; (41) and he sat *on* his cushion and asked for peace³. 42. And Abraham called Isaac⁴, who *was* his dearest son⁵, in secret, *and* spoke (43) thus: 'Go to paradise (vahist), *and* bring wine that is light and pure.' 44. *And* he went and brought it. 45. And Abraham made many entreaties to the Lord (46) thus: 'Taste one time⁶ wine in my abode.' 47. *And* the Lord spoke thus:

¹ Probably the Christians, and referring to such texts as 'The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come' (Acts ii. 20).

² Nêr. reads this word as a title, Mehâdar, of Abraham. It is, however, the Huzvâris of dâd-mas (for dâd-i mas, 'great age'), and appears to be a hybrid form, the first syllable being Irânian and the latter portion Semitic.

³ Upon his host; the usual Oriental salutation.

⁴ Nêr. has read Âsînak, which indicates a Pahlavi form that might be read Aîsôk, and points to Syr. 'Îs'hoq as the original of this form of Isaac.

⁵ Sans. has 'his whole-blood brother's son.'

⁶ Assuming that Pâz. shê stands for Pahl. gâs-i, both here and in § 49. Nêr. seems to have understood it as Ar. say, 'somewhat.'

'I *will* not taste *it*, because *it* is not from paradise, and is not pure.' 48. Then Abraham gave assurance thus: 'The wine is pure from paradise, and Isaac, who is my son, brought *it*.' 49. Thereupon the Lord, *on account of* his freedom from doubt in Isaac, and the assurance *given* by Abraham, tasted the wine one time. 50. Afterwards, when he wished to go, *he was* not allowed until one of them *had* sworn *to* the other by a serious oath¹.

51. Observe this twaddle full of delusion; not even a single *detail* is adapted to a sacred being. 52. In what way *was* his coming in bodily form to the abode of Abraham and eating bread, of which not even a single *detail* is adapted to him? 53. This, too, is evident from it, that the suffering of Abraham was not² from the Lord, but from another producer. 54. And even the faultiness³ which *was* owing to his want of understanding of knowledge was such, that the purity of the wine and whence *it came* were not known by him. 55. His falsity *is* also *seen in* this, when he spoke of not drinking the wine, and *at last* drank *it*. 56. Afterwards he is confessing that it is genuine *and* pure. 57. Now, how is he worthy of worship, as a divinity that is all-knowing *and* almighty, whose nature is this?

58. And another place states that *there* was one of the sick who, with his own wife and child, *was*

¹ This tale is perhaps to be sought in the Talmud.

² Reading lâ instead of râî. By reading the latter Nêr. has 'the suffering, which *was* for Abraham, was from the Lord,' which is inconsistent with the context.

³ Assuming that Pâz. bavānî (Sans. vaikalyam) stands for Pahl. zifânîh, which seems more probable than supposing it to be a miswriting of Pâz. dewānagî, 'folly.'

particularly *one* that was suffering, poor, *and* without a stipend. 59. *At* all times he was very diligent and active in prayer and fasting and the worship of the sacred being. 60. And one day, in prayer, he secretly begged a favour thus: 'Give me any enjoyment that is in daily food (*rôzth*), (61) that it may be easier for me to live.'

62. And an angel came down unto him *and* spoke thus: 'The sacred being has not allotted thee, through the constellations¹, more daily food than this, (63) *and* it is not possible to allot anew; (64) but, as a recompense for worship *and* prayer, a throne whose four feet are of jewels is appointed for thee in heaven (*vahist*) by me, (65) *and*, if it be necessary, I *will* give unto thee one foot of that throne.'

66. That exalter of the apostles enquired of his own wife, (67) *and* the unfortunate *one* spoke thus: '*It is* better for us to be content with the scanty daily food and bad living in the worldly *existence*, (68) than if our throne, among *our* companions in heaven, *had* three feet; (69) but if it may occur to thee then appoint us a day's food by another mode.'

70. *At* the second coming of that angel he spoke thus: 'But if I dissipate the *celestial* sphere, and produce the sky *and* earth anew, and construct and produce the motion of the stars anew, *still* thenceforth *it* is not clear whether thy destiny *will* fall out good or bad².'

71. From this statement *it* is, therefore, manifest that he is not himself the appointer of daily food and supreme, (72) distribution is not by his will,

¹ Of the zodiac (see Mkh. XII, 5, 6, 8).

² This tale is probably from the same source as the last.

he is not able to alter destiny, (73) and the revolution of the *celestial* sphere, the sun and moon and stars, is not within the compass of his knowledge, will, and command. 74. And also this, that the throne, as to which it was announced (nivikīnīd) thus: 'I will give it in heaven,' is not of his formation and creation.

75. And in another place he speaks about his own twaddle (76) thus: 'I have slain, in one day¹, an assemblage (ram) of sinners, as well as innumerable innocents.' 77. And when the angels talked much of the unreasonable performance, he then spoke of it thus: 'I am the Lord, the ruler of wills, (78) superintending, unrivalled, and doing my own will, and no one assists or is to utter a murmur (drengisnō) about me².'

79. Especially abundant is the twaddle that is completely delusive, which has seemed to me tedious to write. 80. Whoever would investigate the backward opinions of these statements, should be, for that purpose of his, a high-priest speaking candidly (āzād), (81) until he becomes aware of the nature of the same scripture, and of the truth of that which is stated by me.

82. Now if he be a sacred being, of whom these are signs and tokens, that implies that truth is far from him, (83) forgiveness strange to him, (84) and knowledge is not bestowed upon him. 85. Because this itself is the fiend who is leader of the hell which

¹ Assuming that Pâz. zumaê is a corruption of gumê (see Chap. IV, 101 n) and stands for Huz. yôm-1. But it may mean 'the whole of.'

² This seems to be quoted from the same source as the two preceding tales.

is the den (grêstak) of the gloomy race, (86) whom the devilish defiled *ones and* evil *people* glorify by the name of the Lord, and offer *him* homage.

87. About this subject is here complete.

CHAPTER XV.

1. Another *thing* I publish is a feeble story (ni-sang) about the inconsistency, unbounded statements, and incoherent disputations of Christian (Tarsâk) believers.

2. Since, inasmuch as all three¹ are from the one origin of Judaism—(3) that *implying that*, when *anything* is said within the one, it is for them mutually helping their own delusion of every kind—(4) you should know whence the original sect of Christianity came forth. 5. That in the town of Jerusalem² *there* was a woman of the same Jews who was known for incapacity³, (6) *and* pregnancy became manifest in her⁴. 7. When asked by them thus: ‘Whence is this pregnancy of thine?’ (8) she said in reply thus: ‘The angel Gabriel⁵ came unto me, and he spoke thus: “Thou art pregnant by the pure wind (holy spirit)⁶.”’

¹ The three defects mentioned in § 1.

² Nêr. reads Hurûsarm for Pahl. Aûrûsalem.

³ Sans. has ‘misconduct,’ but this is more than Pahl. dûsâzakîh seems to imply.

⁴ ‘Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost’ (Mat. i. 18).

⁵ Pahl. Gêprîl is misread Sparagar by Nêr. These two names would be written alike in Pahlavi.

⁶ ‘The angel Gabriel was sent from God . . . to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph . . . and the angel

9. *As to* that, you should observe thus: 'Who, apart from that woman, saw the angel Gabriel? *And* on what account is it expedient to consider that woman truthful?' 10. If they say that, on account of the spiritual state of that angel, no one is able to see *him*, (11) that *implies*—if the cause of not seeing that angel be *his* spiritual nature—that the sight of that woman also, for the same reason, is not unrestricted. 12. If they say that the sacred being made *him* visible to that woman, and on account of the worthiness of that woman, (13) no other person *being* made worthy, (14) *observe* this, where is the evidence that the woman spoke truthfully? 15. Or, if that woman were conspicuous to *any* one for truth, it is fitting for him to demonstrate that also to other persons, so that, through that evidence, she might be more fully considered as very truthful by them. 16. *But* now the showing of him (the angel), to that woman only, is not considered *by* any one as true. 17. Now you should also observe *that* the origin of their religion *has* all come forth from this testimony of a woman, which *was* given by her about her own *condition*.

18. *Observe*, again, that if they say the Messiah arose from the pure wind of the sacred being, that *implies*—if the only wind that is pure *and* from the sacred being be that one—that the other wind, which is distinct from that, is not *from* the sacred being and not pure, (19) *and* another producer is manifested inevitably. 20. If the wind be all from

answered and said unto her, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Luke i. 26, 27, 35).

the sacred being and sacred, it ought to be all pure. 21. If only that one wind be pure, the other wind is polluted and not sacred. 22. As there is no producer whatever except the sacred being, that pollution and impurity of the other wind are likewise from the sacred being. 23. And if the other wind be that of the sacred being and sacred, it ought to be all pure. 24. Now, that one *being* considered as purity, why was the other polluted?

25. Again, *observe* this, that, if the Messiah were the son of the sacred being for the reason that the sacred being is the father of all, through productiveness, creativeness, and cherishing, (26) that Messiah, through sonship to the sacred being, is not otherwise than the meaner creatures which the sacred being produced and created. 27. If he were born through the means of male and female, (28) that *implies*—if birth through male and female be suitable unto the sacred being—that it is also *so* unto the archangels *and* spirits; *in* like manner, on account of the existence of birth¹, the occurrence of death also is suitable. 29. Thus, about the arising of *that* same sacred being *there* is no doubt, (30) because there where birth of that kind *exists*, eating, drinking, *and* even death are certain.

31. And there are *some* even who say that the Messiah is the sacred being himself. 32. Now this is very strange, when the mighty sacred being, the maintainer *and* cherisher of the two existences, became of human nature, *and* went into the womb of a woman who *was* a Jew. 33. To leave the lordly throne, the sky *and* earth, the *celestial* sphere

¹ The Pâz. of JE interpolates the words 'from a mother.'

and other similar *objects* of *his* management and protection, he fell (aûpast), for concealment, into a polluted and straitened¹ place, (34) and, finally, delivered his own body to scourging, execution on the tree (dâr-kardîh), and the hands of enemies, (35) while, apart from death, much brutality and lawlessness *were* arranged by them.

36. If they speak of his *having* been inside the womb of a woman for the reason that the sacred being exists *in* every place, (37) that *implies that being* inside the womb of a woman, through existence *in* every place, is not more antagonistic than *being in any* very polluted and very fetid place; (38) and, along with that, that the faultiness of speaking of all places *as having* been the property of the sacred being is manifold, (39) because, if *they were so, in* like manner the speaking of anything whatever that is devoid of the existence of the sacred being is strange².

40. Again, *as to* that which they say, that death and execution on the tree *were* accepted by him, as a yoke³, for the sake of demonstrating the resurrection to mankind, (41) that *implies*—if it were not possible for him to demonstrate the resurrection to mankind, except through that disgrace⁴ and death and brutal treatment of himself—that that omnipotence of his is not effectual. 42. Or, when no opponent and adversary whatever of his arose, why

¹ Assuming that Pâz. u vadang stands for Pahl. va tang.

² Assuming that Pâz. vâhar (Sans. anṛita) stands for Pahl. nâhâr.

³ See Chap. X, 67 n.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. rasûnâî stands for Pahl. rûsvâîh. Sans. has 'binding with cords.'

are they not made without doubt of that sort of clear knowledge which is *imparted* by seeing the resurrection, so that *there* would not have been a necessity for this mode of demonstrating it brutally, disgracefully¹, distressingly, *and* through the will of *his* enemies. 43. If that death *were* accepted by him, as a yoke of a new description, through his own will, (44) that *implies that* now his outcry of woe and curses for the executioners², *and his* considering those Jews as *it were* wrathfully are unreasonable. 45. *He ought*, indeed, not to cause curses and *imprecations of* woe upon them, but it is fitting for them to be worthy of recompense through that deed.

46. Again, *as to* this which they state, that the father and son and pure wind are three names which are not separate one from the other³, (47) nor is one foremost, (48) *and* this, too, that, though a son, *he* is not less than the father, *but in* every knowledge equal *to* the father⁴, why now is *one* to call him by a different name? 49. If it be proper *for* three to be one, that *implies that* it is certainly possible *for* three to be nine and *for* nine to be

¹ Sans. 'by binding with cords.'

² 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! . . . behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and *some* of them ye shall kill and crucify; and *some* of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute *them* from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth. . . . All these things shall come upon this generation' (Mat. xxiii. 29, 34-36).

³ 'For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one' (1 John v. 7).

⁴ 'And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other: none is greater, or less than another' (Athanasian Creed).

three; (50) *and* it is possible to speak of other numbers, in this sequence, unlimitedly.

51. *Observe* this, too, that if a son *be* not less than a father, that father also is not greater than the son. 52. That is possible if the father is said *to be* from the son, or the son not from the father. 53. And this is certain, that it is possible *for* every one *originating* from *any* one to be less than him from¹ whom he is, who is the essential origin² of himself; (54) if *he be so* in *point of* time, *and* likewise if *so* in *point of* relationship. 55. If the son *be* not less than the father, that *implies that* the maker is not before the *thing* made, nor yet is greater; (56) both must be original evolutions, (57) and the creation is not less than the creator, nor the creator greater than the creation, (58) however he *may be* said *to be* unlimited.

59. *Observe* this, too, that if the son *be* equal to the father in all knowledge, that father also is as ignorant as the son who was unaware of his own death and execution on the tree³, (60) until *he was* slain by their capturing *him* and causing *his* wretched death, brutal treatment, *and* disgrace⁴. 61. He did not know about it because they enquired of him thus: 'When is the day of resurrection?' And he answered thus: 'Of this no one is aware but the father⁵.' 62. Just as when the son is formed (tâstik)

¹ Assuming that Pâz. *vas* is a misreading of Pahl. *agas*.

² Literally 'the maternal source.'

³ This is at variance with Mat. xxvi. 2:—'Ye know that after two days is *the feast of* the passover, and the Son of man is betrayed to be crucified.' But the author explains in § 61 that he is thinking of another instance of want of knowledge.

⁴ Sans. has 'binding.'

⁵ 'Tell us, when shall these things be? . . . Of that day and

as *it were* ignorant, the father *must be* as *it were* just the same.

63. *Observe* this, too, that all the creatures and creation, *and* even his own adversary, being created and produced by him out of nothing, the executioners of his son are themselves deluded *by him*.

64. *And* if the sacred being himself created the executioners of his son, *and* even his own adversary, without a purpose *and* without a cause, (65) and the son *was* slain by them altogether with his knowledge, (66) that *implies that* it is now possible to be without doubt that the slayer of his son was he himself, (67) if he knew that when he produces¹ a son they *will* then slay him, and *in* the end he produced *him* foolishly and unwisely. 68. If he did not know *it*, *he* is deficient in knowledge.

69. Again, *observe* this, that, if the sacred being created these creatures and creation out of nothing, and created and produced even his adversary similarly out of nothing, that *implies that* their nature ought to be one. 70. Now, why is not the adversary preserved *in* the *same* manner as the other creatures?

71. Another *point* is about the inconsistency of the statements *derived* from the scriptures of their high-priest², (72) and that which he says that no *one* falls, nor anything from a tree, and no outcry arises in a district³, nor two birds fight together

that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father' (Mark xiii. 4, 32).

¹ Literally 'I produce.'

² In § 91 Paul is called 'their high-priest,' but the term may be here applied to any other writer of the Christian scriptures.

³ So in Sans., but the Pâz. of JE has merely 'no district arises.'

without the command of the father¹, (73) which is a demonstration² of these statements, that the original evolution is single and all *things* are by his will.

74. Now for what purpose *was* the Messiah appointed, who is his son; and which way is the demonstration, through that, of his (the father's) *being* unwilling; (75) when all is *by* his will, and nothing whatever is said *about* his *being* unwilling?

76. Even this is *evident* from the same explanation, that the Jews slew the Messiah, who is his son, through the will of the father.

77. Again, he speaks inconsistently about the free will (âzâd-kâmîh) of the faithful, (78) that mankind are produced by him *with* free will. 79. Thus the iniquity of the sin which mankind commit is freely willed, (80) and the freedom of will *was* produced by him himself for mankind. 81. That *implies that* it is fitting to consider him likewise a sinner who is the original cause of sin. 82. If mankind commit sin and crime by their own free will through the will of the sacred being, (83) through what free will and sin are the sin and crime of the lion, serpent, wolf, *and* scorpion—the stinging *and* slaying noxious creatures—which are the natural actions that ever proceed from them?

84. So also, who *has* maintained the origin of the deadly poison which is in the Bêsh *herb*³ and other species of plants, the cause of which is not owing to free will? 85. If they say that those poisons

¹ Compare Mat. x. 29, 30 :—‘Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.’

² Literally ‘demonstrator.’

³ A poisonous plant, Napellus Moysis (see Bd. XIV, 22, XXVII, 1).

are advantageous *and* suitable in many medicines which are removers of the disease of the sick, (86) it should be asked of them thus: 'Who produced the disease itself and the harm that *arises* from it, and what is the necessity of it, (87) that, afterwards, medicine and deadly poison *were* created by him for it, and were necessary?' 88. Or, *as to* that disease, 'it would be more expedient if he had produced an antidotal (anôsh) medicine for carrying *it* away than a medicine of poison.' 89. Also this, that is, 'from what origin is the term itself "doing harm," and against whom is the advantageousness necessary?' 90. On this subject it is possible to speak abundantly for a summary compiled.

91. Another *instance* is from the words of Paul (Pâvarôš), who *was* their high-priest—(92) that *one* who was afflictive with¹ them at their own beginning²—even this, they say, (93) is thus: 'Not the good works which I desire, but the iniquity (94) which I do not desire, I do³. 95. And *it* is not I *that* do *so*, but that which is collected within me does *it*, (96) because I always see that *it* is striving with me day and night⁴.'

97. Again, they say, from the words of the

¹ Reading hanbêshin, but it may be 'well-afflicting to' if we read hû-bêshin.

² 'As for Saul, he made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed *them* to prison. . . . Saul who also *is called* Paul' (Acts viii. 3 ; xiii. 9).

³ 'For the good that I would, I do not : but the evil which I would not, that I do' (Rom. vii. 19).

⁴ 'It is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. . . . I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members' (Rom. vii. 20, 23).

Messiah, that the original evolution *from* the sacred being is light and goodness; (98) evil and darkness are separate from him¹. 99. Also this, that is, 'just as a shepherd who provides protection for his hundred sheep, (100) *and* the wolves carry *off* one from him, (101) goes after that one which the wolves carried *off* until he leads it back to the flock, (102) and leaves the ninety-nine of them in the wilderness (dast)², (103) even so I am come to take care of the defiled, not for the just, (104) because *it* is needless to bring him who is just into the *right* way³.' 105. That *implies*, if the original evolution *be* one, and his will *be* wholly *that* no one whatever of it *shall be* astray and defiled, (106) *that* even the wolf's slaying the sheep is likewise his will, (107) and the wolf itself *was* also created by him.

108. The word of the Messiah is specially inconsistently a demonstrator as regards the two original evolutions. 109. As they say this is one of *those* same statements of the Messiah, that there is another original evolution, 'an enemy of my father, *and* I am of that sacred being doing good works⁴.' 110. From this statement *it* is evident that his own father separates from that enemy, *and* acts differently.

¹ 'God is light, and in him is no darkness at all' (1 John i. 5).

² 'What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it?' (Luke xv. 4).

³ 'For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost' (Mat. xviii. 11). 'They that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick. I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance' (Luke v. 31, 32).

⁴ 'He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man: the field is the world: the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked *one*: the enemy that sowed them is the devil' (Mat. xiii. 37-39). •

111. This, too, *he* says, that is, 'I am produced by the sacred being for truth and through truth¹; (112) and Aharman, the iniquitous, came for my death (*vađardanö*), (113) and I am desired by him to deceive in many ways².' 114. Now, if the original evolution *be* one, and there be nothing competing with it, why *was* Aharman so powerful that he desired to delude the son of the sacred being? 115. If the sacred being himself created that iniquitous *one*, then the producing of that delusion by the *latter was* with the knowledge and will of the *former* himself, (116) and the deluder of the son *was* in like manner himself.

117. This, too, it says, that, when the Jews stood disputing against *him*, he spoke to the Jews thus: 'You are from that which is a lower *region*, and I am from an upper *region*; (118) you are of this country, I am not of it³.' 119. And he also said this, that is, 'I know that you are of the seed of Abraham, *and* he⁴ who had slain mankind from aforetime (120) *has* wished to slay even me. 121. I do that which is seen of my father, *and* you do that which is seen by you as to your own father⁵.' 122. This,

¹ 'And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us . . . full of grace and truth' (John i. 14).

² See the account of the temptation of Jesus in Mat. iv. 3-10.

³ 'And he said unto them, Ye are from beneath; I am from above: ye are of this world; I am not of this world' (John viii. 23).

⁴ The iniquitous one of § 125, whom he calls their father, the devil.

⁵ 'I know that ye are Abraham's seed: but ye seek to kill me, because my word hath no place in you. I speak that which I have seen with my Father: and ye do that which ye have seen with your father' (John viii. 37, 38).

too, *he said*, 'If the sacred being be that father of yours, he would be a friend of me *for your sake*, (123) because I have sprung from the sacred being; I have not come of my own will; (124) I am appointed *by* that sacred being doing good works¹. Why do you not hear those words of mine? 125. Only because you are from the iniquitous *one* it is not possible for you to hear them, (126) and you wish to do the will of your own father. 127. By him truth is not spoken; whatever he speaks he tells a lie of it, therefore you are false yourselves *together* with your father. 128. *As for* me, who speak the truth, you do not believe it of me². 129. And he who is from the sacred being hears the words of the sacred being, but you, because you are not from the sacred being, do not hear my words³.' 130. By all these sayings it is demonstrated by him that there are two original evolutions, 'one by which I am produced, *and* one by which the Jews *are*,' (131) and that *latter* is not his doer of good works, but is called by him the iniquitous *one*.

132. And this, too, *was* said by him, that 'not

¹ 'If God were your Father, ye would love me: for I proceeded forth and came from God; neither came I of myself, but he sent me' (John viii. 42).

² 'Why do ye not understand my speech? *even* because ye cannot hear my word. Ye are of *your* father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it. And because I tell *you* the truth, ye believe me not' (John viii. 43-45).

³ 'He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear *them* not, because ye are not of God' (John viii. 47).

unrestricted (*atang*) is the tree of merit (*kirfak*) to produce the fruit of offensiveness (*bazak*), nor yet that of offensiveness *as to* the fruit of merit¹. 133. This, too, *he said*, that 'he either makes the whole tree with fruit of merit, or the whole tree with fruit of offensiveness², (134) for every tree becomes manifest by *its* fruit, if *it be of* merit and if *it be of* offensiveness³.' 135. And the whole tree *was* mentioned by him, not half the tree. 136. Now, how is it suitable *for* half a tree *to be* light and half dark, (137) half merit and half offensiveness, (138) half truth and half falsehood? 139. When these remain both competing together, (140) they cannot become one tree.

141. And, again, a Jewish *sect was* called by him 'the hill-serpent of the Jews⁴,' (142) and he spoke thus: 'How is *it* possible for you to do good works when you are Jewish evil-doers⁵?' 143. And *it was* not his own father he called an evil-doer⁶.

¹ 'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither *can* a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit' (Mat. vii. 18).

² 'Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit' (Mat. vii. 17).

³ 'For every tree is known by his own fruit: for of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes' (Luke vi. 44).

⁴ 'But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? . . . *Ye* serpents, *ye* generation of vipers! how can ye escape the damnation of hell?' (Mat. iii. 7; xxiii. 33).

⁵ 'O generation of vipers! how can ye, being evil, speak good things?' (Mat. xii. 34).

⁶ As he would have implied if he considered him the father of those Jews. The author is still arguing that the New Testament really confirms the existence of two creators.

144. This, too, he says, that 'every tree which the father *has* not sown should be dug *up*, and should be cast into the fire¹.' 145. Wherefore it is fitting to understand from these words that there is a tree, which the father *has* not sown, *that* it is necessary to dig *up* and cast *away*.

146. Again, *he says* this, that 'I am come to my own, and I am not received *by* my own².' 147. Wherefore it is fitting to understand that *what is* his own and *what is* not his own are two *things*.

148. This, too, he says, that is, 'Our father, that *art* in the sky, let thy empire arise! And may it be thy will *that* shall take place on earth as in the sky! 149. Also give us daily bread! And do not bring us to a cause of doubt³!' 150. From these words *it* is evident that his will is not so unalloyed (*avêzak*) on earth as in the sky. 151. Also this, that the cause of the doubt of mankind is not owing to the sacred being.

152. And this, too, *was* said by him at first, that 'I am not come for the *purpose* that I *may* destroy the law of Moses (*Mûshâê*), (153) but I am come for the *purpose* that I *may* make *it* altogether more complete⁴.' 154. And *yet* all his sayings and

¹ 'Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire. . . . Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up' (Mat. iii. 10; xv. 13).

² 'He came unto his own, and his own received him not' (John i. 11).

³ 'Our Father which art in heaven. . . . Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as *it is* in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. . . . And lead us not into temptation' (Mat. vi. 9-11, 13).

⁴ 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil' (Mat. v. 17).

commands were those that are dissipaters and afflictive for the rules and laws of Moses.

155. Upon this subject, however, as far as here is complete.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. Again, about the delusion of Mânî, one out of the thousands *and* myriads is written; (2) for I am not unrestrained (anatang) as to writing more fully of the delusion, twaddle, and deceit of Mânî and the Mânichæans, (3) and much trouble and long-continued daily work is necessary for me therein.

4. Now you Mazda-worshippers of Zaratûst should know that the original statement of Mânî *was* about the unlimitedness of the original evolutions, (5) the intermediate *one* about *their* mingling, (6) and the final *one* about the distinction of light from dark, (7) that which is much more like unto want of distinction¹.

8. Again, *he states* this, that the worldly existence is a bodily formation of rudiments of Aharman; (9) the bodily formation *being* a production of Aharman. 10. And a repetition of that *statement* is this, that the sky is from the skin, (11) the earth from the flesh, (12) the mountains from the

¹ Except the belief in the two original existences (whose main characteristics are, respectively, light and darkness) the account of Mânî's doctrines, given in the Fihrist of Muhammad bin Is'hâq (see Flügel's *Mânî seine Lehre und seine Schriften*), appears to contain none of the details mentioned in this chapter.

bones, (13) and the trees from the hair of the demon Kuni¹. 14. The rain is the seed of the Mâzen-darâns² who are bound on the *celestial* sphere. 15. Mankind are two-legged demons, and animals four-legged. 16. And Kuni is the commander of the army of Aharman, (17) who, to be liberated by³ his nails from the divinity Aûharmazd in the first conflict, swallowed the light; (18) and, in the second conflict, the demon Kuni *was* captured by them, *together* with many demons. 19. And it is *in* binding the demon Kuni on the *celestial* sphere *he* is killed, (20) *and* these magnificent creatures are preserved from him and formed.

21. And the sun *and* moon are arranged in supremacy *in* the outer sky; (22) so that, as regards that light which the demons swallowed, they filter and excite⁴ *it*, little *by* little, through the exciting and filtering of the sun and moon. 23. Then Aharman knew, through foresight, that they *would* rapidly filter and release this light through the exciting of the sun and moon. 24. *And*, for the purpose of not rapidly releasing the light from the darkness, he prepared this lesser world which, like mankind, cattle, *and* the other living creatures, is a wholly-copied similitude of the greater world

¹ So read by Nêr. in Pâz. and Kûnî in Sans. But there is little doubt that he is the demon Kunda or Kundi of Vend. XI, 28, 36, XIX, 138, whose Pahlavi name is Kûnd in Pahl. Vend. XIX, 138, and Kûndak in Bd. XXVIII, 42, in which latter he is said to be 'the steed of wizards.' Kûndak is written like Kûnîk in Pahl., and this latter becomes Kuni in Pâz.

² Who are called demons (see Mkh. XXVII, 20, 40).

³ Sans. has 'having scratched *it* with.'

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. âharâminend stands for Pahl. a-âramînenend, 'they do not leave at rest.'

with the other bodily creations¹. 25. He confined life and light in the body, and made *them* prisoners; (26) so that, while that light which is excited by the sun and moon is again exhausted through the cohabitation and birth of living creatures, (27) *their* release would become more tardy.

28. And the rain was the seed of the Mâzendarâns (29) for the reason *that* when the Mâzendarâns are bound on the *celestial* sphere², (30) whose light is swallowed by them, (31) and, in order to pass *it* from them through a new regulation, discrimination, and retention of the light of Time³, the twelve glorious *ones*⁴ show the daughters of Time *to* the household-attending male Mâzendarâns, (32) so that while the lust of those Mâzendarâns, from seeing them, is well suited to them, (33) and seed is discharged from them, (34) the light which is within the seed is poured *on* to the earth. 35. Trees, shrubs, *and* grain have grown therefrom, (36) and the light which is within the Mâzendarâns is discharged in the seed. 37. That which is within the earth is discharged from the earth as the cause of the trees.

38. Again, about the difference of nature of life and body, this *is stated*, that the life is confined and imprisoned within the body. 39. *And* as the producer and maintainer of the bodily formations of all material existences is Aharman, (40) for the same reason it is not expedient to occasion birth *and* to propagate lineage—(41) because it is co-operating

¹ The spiritual world and its inhabitants.

² As stated in § 14.

³ Personified as Zurvân.

⁴ The signs of the zodiac, the celestial leaders appointed by Aûharmazd (see Mkh. VIII, 18).

with Aharman in the maintenance of mankind and cattle, and *in* causing the exhaustion of the life and light within *their* bodies—nor yet to cultivate trees and grain.

42. Again, inconsistently, they also say this, (43) that the destroyer of the creatures is always Aharman; (44) *and*, for the same reason, it is not expedient to kill any creature whatever, (45) because it (killing) is the work of Aharman.

46. Again, *they say* this, that, as the world is maintained by Aharman, *and in* the end the sacred being is triumphant (47) through the departure of lives from bodies, (48) this worldly existence is dissipated in the end, (49) *and* is not arranged anew; (50) nor does *there* occur a restoration of the dead *and* a future existence.

51. Again, *they say* this, that those two original evolutions are perpetually remaining, *and* existed as contiguously as sun and shadow, (52) and no demarcation¹ and open space existed between them.

53. Now I speak first about the impossibility of the occurrence of any existing thing *that is* unlimited, (54) except only those which I call unlimited, *that is*, empty space and time. 55. Those, indeed, which are for existence within *them—that is* beings *and* things in locality and time—are seen *to be* limited.

56. This, too, *I say*, that, if unity and duality be spoken *of* about them, *it is* owing to this, because unity, except through the perpetual encompassing of something, does not then exist therein. 57. For the one is this, namely, not two; (58) *and* the two

¹ Reading *nisânîh*; Nêr. has Pâz. *nisâmî* (for *nisîmî*), Sans. *âsanatvam*, 'resting-place.'

are these, namely, the original *one and* the one that is the difference of *this* one from the other (59) which is not called two. 60. When the one is not understood, except through the whole compassing of unity, (61) and duality cannot occur, except through the separation of unit *from* unit, (62) the one is that one in the unity, and is steadfast in unity. 63. One and two are in the pedigree (tôkhmak) of quantity *and* numerousness; (64) and quantity, numerousness, aggregation, and separation, which, as I *have* said, cannot occur without limitation, (65) are clear even to medium understandings.

66. Again, *I say* this, the unlimited is that which is not compassed by the understanding. 67. When it is not possible to compass by any understanding, *it* is inevitable *that* it was not possible to compass in the understanding of the sacred being. 68. It is itself the peculiarity of the sacred being, *and* even that of the gloomy original evolution is not wholly compassed within the understanding. 69. To speak *of* him whose own peculiarity is not compassed within his own understanding *as* all-good and all-seeing is strange¹, (70) because it describes a whole aggregate, (71) and an aggregate is called a whole on account of encompassment *on* all sides. 72. *But what* is encompassed *on* all sides is inevitably limitedness. 73. Is it fitting to account that *as* a sacred being when aware, from all its own encompassment, *that* it is limited? 74. *And* if unlimited *it* is unaware *of it*. 75. The first knowledge of a sage is owing to his well-arranging² comprehension of his own pecu-

¹ See Chap. XV, 39 n.

² Assuming that Pâz. *vas hvazîrasni* stands for Pahl. *agas*

liarity, nature, and quantity; (76) *and* to speak of *him* who was unaware of all his own peculiarity, nature, and quantity, *and* yet wise about another nature and quantity, is strange¹.

77. This, too, *I say*, that as the unlimited, on account of non-encompassment, is not compassed by the understanding, (78) that *implies* this, that all its peculiarity *may be* wise, or there *may be some* that is ignorant; all *may be* light, or there *may be some* that is dark; all *may be* alive, or there *may be some* that is dead; and *one* is unaware of it.

79. Again, *I say* this, that the light and the life which I obtain here are an allotment that exists owing to the selfsame Time², or *they are* not. 80. If *they be* an allotment that exists owing to a peculiarity of Time, that *implies that men* should well recognise this, that anything owing to whose allotment it is possible to ordain them must be provided with allotments. 81. *As to what is* provided with allotments, except when united it is then not possible *even* for it, (82) and *as to what is* united, except through the uniter bywhom that united *thing* is united it does not then determine it. 83. And when the allotment made is seen *to be* limited, the origin from which the allotment is *in* like manner made is doubtless a limited existence. 84. As regards that, since they say that all allotment of a result is a giver of evidence *as to its* origin, (85) that *implies*, when I obtain an allotment made *and* limited, *that* an origin even of that, except when made and united

hû-âzîrisn; the latter word can scarcely have been hû-âzîrisnîh, 'good arrangement.'

¹ See Chap. XV, 39 n.

² See § 31.

from allotments *and* limited, is then not possible to exist.

86. This, too, *I say*, that the unlimited is not bestowed, (87) because an allotment is bestowed from an aggregate, (88) and aggregation is an evidence as to limitation, (89) as I *have* shown above¹. 90. So that *as to* the existence *and* nature of the origin, except by the likeness and similitude of the result, I do not then attain to them. 91. Whatever is obtained in the result (92) is certain to exist *in* like manner in the origin. 93. That *implies* likewise from *this* explanation, when the formation and limitation are obtainable in the result, *that* the origin also, from which the result *arises*, is without doubt as to limitation.

94. Again, *I say* this, that the unlimited is that which *has* an undisturbed position and an unbounded² individuality, (95) and there is no other position *or* resting-place for it disturbed *apart* from it. 96. That *implies*, when two original evolutions are said *to be* unlimited and of unbounded (asâmân) individuality, *that* the skies *and* earths, the rudimentary bodily formations, growths, *and* lives, the luminaries, divinities, *and* archangels, *and* the many congregations (hambarisnân) whose different names are owing to the difference of each one of *those two* from the other, cannot be limited. 97. What produced all those within them, and where *is it*, (98) when the two original evolutions have been eternally *in* an undisturbed position? 99.

¹ See § 64.

² Assuming that Pâz. avamân stands for Pahl. avîmand, as it is translated by Sans. amaryâda; otherwise it might be agûmân, 'undoubted.'

Unless that individuality of theirs, which is unlimited, *be* made limited, how is it possible *for* a place to exist for all these *things that* are *and* were *and will* be made? 100. If a nature that is always unlimited can become limited, that certainly *implies that* it could even become nothing; (101) *and* that which they say about the unchangeableness of a nature is strange¹.

102. This, too, you should understand, that the unlimited becomes that which *has* disturbed it, which *was* not appointed by it *at* first; (103) nothing different from it can exist separate from it. 104. Apart from the boundary of unlimitedness it is not understood, (105) or, stupidly, *one* does not know that thing, that is, of what *it is* he always speaks and contends and bandies words about, *and* thereby deludes those with a trifle of the trifles of knowledge into *some way and* whither. 106. If he uncritically² says even this of it, that its individuality is unlimited, and its knowledge also, *being* unlimited, knows through unlimited knowledge that it is unlimited, (107) that is a strange *thing* which is two-fold strange³. 108. One is this, that of knowledge, except about things acquired by knowledge and compassed within knowledge, (109) nothing whatever is understood until complete, except that which is wholly compassed within knowledge and acquired, (110) which knowledge of anything arises through entire understanding of the thing. 111. *And* entire

¹ See Chap. XV, 39 n.

² The first part of this word is a blank in JE, as if copied from an original that was illegible here. JJ has *ahvaraidihā*.

³ See Chap. XV, 39 n.

understanding of anything arises through entire compass of the thing within knowledge¹.

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¹ The most complete MSS., yet discovered, break off at this point, without concluding the subject. It is quite uncertain how much of the work is lost, but, supposing that all existing MSS. are descended from AK, supposing that that MS. was originally complete,¹ and supposing that it was divided into two equal portions (the latter of which is now lost) in consequence of some division of family property, we might then conclude, if all these assumptions were correct, that very little of the work is missing, because the portion of AK still extant extends no further than Chap. XI, 145, which is very little beyond the middle of the extant text.

SAD DAR,
OR
THE HUNDRED SUBJECTS.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The division into dars, ' chapters or subjects,' is indicated in the original manuscripts ; but for that of the sections the translator is responsible, as the subdivisions of the alternating Persian-Gugarâti text are often at variance with its meaning.

2-6. (The same as on page 2.)

7. All Arabic words are quoted in parentheses on their first occurrence in the text. And the spelling of names approximates more closely to modern Persian than to the older Pahlavi.

8. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

B29 (written A. D. 1679) in a Persian Rivâyat, No. 29 in the University Library at Bombay.

J15 (undated) Persian, No. 15 in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji at Bombay. It has been only occasionally consulted for this translation.

La (dated A. D. 1575) Persian, in Avesta writing, alternating with Gugarâti, No. 3043 of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library at London ; upon the text of which this translation is based.

Lp (undated) Persian, No. 2506 of the Persian manuscripts in the same library.

SAD DAR.

INTRODUCTION.

1. *In* the name of Hôrmazd, the lord, the greatest *and* wise¹, the all-ruling, all knowing, *and* almighty.

2. This is a book (kitâb), about the proper and improper, which is extracted from the good *and* pure² religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 3. What is expedient (vâgib) is this, for every one to know *and* keep this in practice. 4. And it is not desirable that he become independent ('hâlî) of this *for* a single hour (sâ'hat). 5. Because, when *one* becomes independent, the sin for each one may become abundant; *and* when *it is* brought into practice the reward becomes abundant.

6. On this occasion (vaqt) I, a servant of the religion—like the môbad Erân-shâh³, son (bin) of

¹ It is possible to translate the original (which is the same as in Sg. I, 1) as follows:—‘The name of Hôrmazd is “the lord, the greatest wise *one*,”’ as though these epithets were the meaning of Hôrmazd, which is not far from the truth; but this would not be a probable form for an invocation. Lp and B29 have a different invocation.

² Lp, B29, J15 omit ‘*and* pure.’

³ This is the name of the writer who composed the Sad Dar Na'hm, or metrical Sad Dar, in A.D. 1495. He calls himself, however, a son of Malik-shâh in the introduction to his verses (see Hyde's *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*, Oxon, 1700, p. 433); and in his postscript he mentions Mard-shah as his own name, which Dastûr Jâmâspji understands to mean Shah-mard, in the introduction to his Gugarâti translation of the Sad Dar-i Ba'hr-i Tavîl, or long-metre Sad Dar (2nd ed., Bombay, 1881). The date

Yazad-yâr, son of Tistar-yâr, son of Âdar-bâd, *son of Mâraspend*¹—*have* sent a reward to their souls, unto every one who reads and is bound by duty². 7. Thus much (în qadar), which *has* come written, is a good work they know, whosoever are superior; *but* it is not possible for every one inferior to know of this. 8. If it were more (ziyâdat) it is proper, but if (immâ) less than this it is not proper to know³; while, *in* gratitude *for* the benefits (sukr-i ni'hmat) of the sacred being, they become increasing in action, and the sacred being, the most high (ta'hâlâi)⁴, makes benefits occur on the spot on that account.

of composition of this long-metre Sad Dar is A. D. 1531, according to Dastûr Jâmâspji, and its authors state that they compiled it from the Sad Dar Nahr, or prose Sad Dar, which was composed by three celebrated Dastûrs near the time of the Arab conquest. The names in our text are found here only in La, which is either the original, or an early copy, of a version of the prose Sad Dar compiled by Râma, son of Kanhaksha, in which the Persian is written in Avesta letters, and alternates with an old Gugarâti translation composed by his son Padama. This version was prepared A. D. 1575, and the occurrence of the name of Erân-shâh, who lived only eighty years earlier, indicates that this part of the introduction was probably written by the editor Râma, and not copied from the original prose Sad Dar. In Lp 'the môbad Erân-shâh, son of Yazad-yâr,' is mentioned at the end of the work.

¹ The last two names are introduced merely to show that Erân-shâh traced his ancestry back either to the celebrated Âtûr-pâd Mâraspend, prime minister of Shâpûr II (A. D. 309-379), or to another priest of the same name who lived about A. D. 900 (see Bd. XXXIII, 11); but very many intermediate names have been omitted in this genealogy.

² J15 omits the whole of § 6, and Lp, B29 have merely 'and a reward is sent to their souls, &c.,' to be read in connection with § 5.

³ Lp, B29, J15 have 'so that no hesitation arises' instead of 'to know.'

⁴ Lp, B29, J15 omit this epithet.

9. And, secondly, the kindness (*luṭf*) and generosity (*karm*) of the sacred being, the most high¹, are manifest from this, that he created us with each member (*âlat*) complete (*tamâm*), and did not keep anything from the maternal *nature*. 10. And whatever was necessary for use he gave us. 11. At the head, likewise, he appointed a master, which is² the wisdom for the purpose that they *may* keep these members in action.

12. May the peace of the sacred being, the most high, be on the souls of those acquainted with the religion of the pure Zaratusht, the Spitamân, and of those *who are pure and* virtuous. 13. For the souls of those persons it is desirable that every duty they perform they *shall* perform through the authority (*dastûrî*) of the wisdom of the high-priests³.

CHAPTER I.

1. The first subject is this, that it is necessary that they become steadfast in the religion, and do not introduce any hesitation (*sakk*) and doubt into the heart. 2. And *that* they make a statement (*'haqîqat*) with confidence (*i'h tiqâd*), that the good religion, the true and perfect, *which* the Lord sent into the world (*'halq*), is that which Zaratusht has brought; which is this I hold⁴.

3. Every time⁵ that mankind are like this, and do

¹ Lp, B29, J15 omit this epithet. ² J15 has 'who possessed.'

³ For §§ 12, 13 Lp, B29, J15 have merely the following:—'And peace is possible for that person who does every duty that he performs, through the authority of the high-priests.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit these five words.

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'for every time.'

not introduce any hesitation *and* doubt into the heart, of every duty *and* good work that *others* have done, from the days of Zaratusht until these days, and of whatever *one* does after this until the resurrection, *there* is a share¹ *for* that person. 4. When the soul, on the fourth night², arrives at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, the angel Mihir and the angel Rashn³ make up its account ('hisâb) and reckoning. 5. And, if the good works it has done *be* deficient *in* quantity, of every duty *and* good work that those of the good religion have done *in* the earth of seven regions they appoint it a like portion (naštb), till the good works become more in weight⁴; and the soul arrives righteous in the radiant locality of heaven.

6. For it is declared in revelation, that of the duty⁵ *and* good work which they perform in doubt—that is (ya'hnt), they entertain a suspicion like this, that 'I do not know that this faith, which I possess, is better *in comparison* with other faiths'—no merit whatever comes to their souls. 7. Therefore, the first (avval) thing is to become steadfast in the religion; and this is the chief of all good works.

CHAPTER II.

1. The second subject is this, that it is necessary to make an effort (*gahd*), so that they *may* not

¹ Lp, B29 have 'an equal share.'

² The older books say at dawn on the fourth day (see Mkh. II, 115).

³ See Mkh. II, 118, 119.

⁴ Lp adds, in the margin, 'by one filament of the hair of the eyelashes;' but this phrase seems to have been taken from Chap. II, 3.

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'of every duty.'

commit any sin. 2. If even a trifling sin occurs it is not desirable to assume that this small quantity does not possess harm hereafter.

3. For it is said in revelation, that if such *be* the quantity of sin that the sin is one filament of the hair¹ of the eyelashes more in weight than the good works are, that person arrives in hell. 4. And if such a quantity of good works be in excess, he arrives righteous in the radiant locality of heaven.

5. Therefore, even if a sin be trifling it is not desirable to commit *it*; and it is requisite to refrain, so that they *may* not commit *it*, and *may* become without doubt as to the religion.

CHAPTER III.

1. The third subject is this, that it is necessary *for* man that he be continuously employed (*maṣ-ghûl*) on his own work, and then the work becomes his own.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that every one who hereafter becomes employed² *on* his own work, if in the midst of that work any trouble and discomfort happen to him, obtains in that *other* world twelve recompenses³ for every single *instance*. 3. If he becomes employed *on* iniquity (*fasâd*), and in the midst of that work any trouble and harm happen to him, he so⁴ obtains in that *other* world only torment (*'huqûbat*) and punishment.

4. Similarly (*maṭhalâm*), if any one be himself going, employed on his own work, and a robber falls

¹ Compare Mkh. II, 121.

² B29 has 'hereafter may be.'

³ La omits 'recompenses.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit 'so.'

upon him on the road, and carries off his property (qumâs), or he be slain¹, they give him back in that *other* world four *things* for each one² of whatever they have carried off. 5. If he be slain he becomes righteous, any sin that he has committed goes clean *away* from him, *and* they convey him to heaven. 6. But (ammâ) if he becomes faulty (bâtîl) in any duty, and a robber falls upon him on the road³, and carries off his wealth (mâl), or he be slain, when he descends to that *other* world⁴ all the property that *other* carried off from him becomes just as *though it were* his who has carried it off from that person⁵; and, besides, *there* occur, as a substitute ('hiva) *for* that property, the punishment and torment they give him. 7. *And* if he be slain it is just as *though* he who has carried it off from that person *were* *one* who had innocently slain that person who arrives in hell as retribution (mukâfât) for sin.

CHAPTER IV.

I. The fourth subject is this, that it is not desirable for any one that he *should* become hopeless of the pity (ra'hmat) and forgiveness of Hôrmazd, and fix *his* heart outwardly⁶ on this, that our sin is excessive *and it is* not possible to arrive in heaven. 2. Because it happens that a small quantity of duty *and* good work is performed, *and* it may be that for that

¹ Lp, B29, J15 have 'or they shall slay him anywhere.'

² Lp, B29 omit the rest of this sentence.

³ Lp, B29 omit 'on the road.'

⁴ That is, to hell.

⁵ That is, the person robbed loses all claim to his property, on account of his neglect of duty.

⁶ Lp, B29 omit 'outwardly.'

quantity Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, *may* have pity on him *and may* make *him* arrive in heaven.

3. For it is declared in revelation¹, that one time when Zaratusť was in conversation *with* the sacred being, the most high, he saw a man whose whole² body was in hell, and one foot—the right *one*³—was outside of hell. 4. Zaratusť enquired of the sacred being, the most high⁴, thus: 'What person has this man been?' 5. Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, gave a reply (*gavâb*) thus: 'He has been a king, and possessed the sovereignty of thirty-three towns, and was conducting that sovereignty many years. 6. And he never did any virtuous action, but was committing much oppression, lawlessness, and violence (*thulm*). 7. By chance (*qašârâ*) he was one day going on the chase, *and* arrived out at a place (*maûš'a'h*) *and* saw a goat *that* was tied. 8. A morsel of hay *was* placed very far *off*, and that goat was hungry. 9. Owing to this the goat was trying to eat the hay, but did not reach the hay. 10. This the king saw, *and* kicked *his* foot at that hay *and* cast *it* in front of the goat. 11. Now, in recompense for that, that one foot of his is outside of hell, and the remaining (*bâqt*) limbs⁵ are in hell.'

12. Therefore, although a sin has happened to any one, it is not necessary *for him*⁶ to become hopeless. 13. And whoever has the power (*tâqat*)

¹ The Spend Nask (see Sls. XII, 29). The story is also told in AV. XXXII.

² Lp, B29 omit 'whole.'

³ Lp, B29 have 'and his right foot.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit this epithet.

⁵ Lp has 'the rest,' and B29 has 'the whole body.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have '*for* the same.'

is to endeavour to perform good works, so that *there* may be an atonement for the sin thereby; because the sacred being, the good *and* propitious, is kind to every one.

CHAPTER V.

1. The fifth subject is this, that it is necessary for all those of the good religion that they make a thorough effort, so that they celebrate the ritual and become Navazûd¹.

2. For in our religion there is no good work more ample than this. 3. And it is declared in revelation, that, although much duty and good work be performed, it is not possible to attain to the supreme heaven (*garôdmân*)², except *on* that one occasion when the Navazûd *ceremony* is performed, *or* they have celebrated a Gêtt-kharîd³. 4. And *on* any occasion ('hâl), if they are not able to perform *it* with their own hands, it is requisite to order *it*; *and* then it is inevitably necessary that the celebration of⁴ the Gêtt-kharîd should be *in* the same manner as they *would* have performed *it* with their own hands.

¹ Apparently 'newly born' (see Sls. XIII, 2 n), a term applied to one who has been duly initiated. After preparatory performances of the Bareshnûm purification and the ordinary ceremonial, the ceremonies are carried on four days longer by two priests. The first day's ceremony is that of the Nônâbar, the second is the Srôsh yast, the third is the Sîrôzah, and the fourth is the Visparad (see Vigirkard-i Dînik, ed. Peshotan, p. 147).

² Ordinary good works, when in excess of the sins, are a passport only to the ordinary heaven (vahist).

³ Literally 'purchased *in* the worldly *existence*' (see § 11). A ceremony somewhat resembling the Navazûdî (see Bd. XXX, 28 n), but celebrated either late in life, or after death.

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'that they celebrate.'

5. Man and woman are both¹ equal in this good work; therefore², it is not proper to neglect this duty, for it is the chief of all the good works of the religion. 6. Because it is declared in revelation, that on the day that they are performing the *Navazûd ceremony*, or are celebrating a *Gêtt-kharîd* on his account, three times the soul of that person arrives at heaven, and they show it a place therein, and offer it a profuse greeting (*nîthâr*)³.

7. The explanation (*tafsîr*) of the *Gâhs*⁴ is this, that a *Gâh*—that is, that his own place—becomes visible to him⁵ in heaven that day.

8. And if *one* does not perform a *Navazûd ceremony*, or does not order the celebration of a *Gêtt-kharîd*, it is the same as when a poor (*gharîb*) man makes *for*⁶ a town, and does not obtain a spot where he *may* alight *in* that place. 9. Although it is his own town he is in this trouble. 10. Therefore, it is not possible to bring to hand a place in heaven through any good work, except by the performance of the *Navazûd ceremony*, or *by* ordering the celebration of a *Gêtt-kharîd*.

11. And a *Gêtt-kharîd* is this, that heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven.

¹ Lp, B29 omit 'both.'

² Lp omits 'therefore,' and B29 has 'certainly.'

³ Lp, B29, J15 add 'and, afterwards they bring the *Gêtt*,' and Lp continues thus: 'the meaning is adduced in *Pâzand*.'

⁴ This explains 'the heavenly *Gâhs*' of Bd. XXX, 28. The *Sad Darband-i Hush* (as quoted in B29, fol. 458 b) says that it is stated in revelation 'that the day when one celebrates the *Gêtt-kharîd* of any one, the soul of that person seizes upon the heavenly *Gâhs* three times in that one day, *and* is conveyed to heaven and the supreme heaven.'

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'is brought into sight.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'arrives at.'

CHAPTER VI.

1. The sixth subject is this, that of the many good works there are those which, when they accomplish *them*, obtain great ('*hathim*) rewards; *and* if *one* does not perform *them* severe punishment seizes upon *one* at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge¹. 2. One is *the celebration* of the season festivals²; the second is keeping *the days* of the guardian spirits³; the third is *attending* to the souls of fathers, mothers, *and* other relations⁴; the fourth is *reciting* the *Khûrshêd Nyâyis*⁵ three times every day; the fifth is *reciting* the *Mâh Nyâyis*⁶ three times every month, once when it becomes new, once when it becomes full, and once when it becomes slender⁷; *and* the sixth is celebrating the *Rapithwin*⁸ *ceremony* once every year. 3. If not able to celebrate *them* oneself, it is requisite to order *them*, so that they *may* celebrate them every single time⁹.

4. These six good works are things indispensable unto every one. 5. When any one of *them* is not *performed*—be it that which, if omitted at its own time¹⁰, it is not possible to accomplish, or if it be that one time *one* omits an occasion, *and* another time¹¹ they accomplish twice as much—*one should* consider¹² that as an advantage, *which* occurs in retri-

¹ See Sls. XII, 31.

² See Mkh. IV, 5 n.

³ See Mkh. LVII, 13 n.

⁴ See Chap. XIII.

⁵ The salutation of the sun (see Chap. XCV).

⁶ The salutation of the moon.

⁷ In *Gugarâti* 'on the last day.'

⁸ The mid-day period.

⁹ Lp, B29 have 'celebrate them on his account.'

¹⁰ B29 inserts 'or if it be that which, one time omitted.'

¹¹ B29 has merely 'if another time.'

¹² Lp, B29 have '*one* does not consider;' the copyists having

bution for it, or *as* atonement for the transgression. 6. Because they call the transgression of each of these six a bridge-sin; that is, every one *through* whom a transgression of these may have arisen they keep back, at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, till punishment for it happens to him, and no good work is possible¹ in this place, which is torment and punishment for him².

7. Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, that they *may* be performed each one at its own time, so that they *may* obtain a recompense, *and* not a severe punishment.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The seventh subject is this, that, when a sneeze (*'ha tsat*) comes forth from any one, it is requisite to recite one *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô*³ and one *Ashem-vohû*⁴. 2. Because there is a fiend in our bodies, and she is an adversary who is connected with mankind, and strives so that she *may* make misfortune (*'hillat*) and sickness predominant (*mustaûlî*) over mankind. 3. And in our bodies there is a fire which they call a disposition—in Arabic they say *tabî'hat*—and they call *it* the sneezing instinct (*ghartzi*). 4. *It is* connected with that fiend, *and* they wage warfare, and it keeps her away from the body of man. 5. Then, as the fire becomes successful over

failed to notice that retribution and atonement are advantageous in this case, because they save the soul from punishment.

¹ Lp, B29 have 'no good work resides.'

² Lp, B29 have 'which will liberate him from torment and punishment.'

³ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n, Sls. XII, 32.

⁴ A formula in praise of righteousness, which begins with these two Avesta words, and is in constant use (see Bd. XX, 2).

that fiend, *and* puts her to flight (*hazîmat*), a sneeze comes because that fiend comes out.

6. Afterwards, because it is necessary, they recite these *inward* prayers¹ and perform the benediction (*âfrîn*) of the fire, so that it may remain *for* a long period while thou art keeping² this fiend defeated. 7. When another person hears the sneeze, it is likewise requisite for him to utter the said prayers, and to accomplish the benediction of that spirit³.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. The eighth subject is this, that it is necessary to maintain the religion by rule (*dastûr*), and to practise obedience to the commands of the high-priests; *and* every duty that *people* perform they *should* perform by their authority.

2. For it is declared in the good religion, that, if they accomplish as many good works as the leaves of the trees, *or* the sand-grains of the desert, *or* the drops (*qatrah*) of rain, which they do not perform by command of the high-priests, *or* to their satisfaction, no merit whatever attains to their souls, and *for* the good works they have done they obtain sin *as* a recompense. 3. While *such a one* is living it is not proper to call him righteous, and when he dies he does not attain to heaven, and not a single archangel comes⁴ near him. 4. He does not make his escape from the hands of the demons and Aharman, and he

¹ The formulas are muttered as a spell.

² B29 has 'it is making.'

³ In some parts of Europe it is still the custom to invoke a blessing, by means of some formula, on hearing a sneeze.

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'goes.'

does not obtain a release from hell. 5. Because duties *and* good works¹ attain to the soul *on* those occasions when they perform *them* with the authority of the high-priests and those acquainted with the religion, and *when* they give them one-tenth of those good works².

CHAPTER IX.

1. The ninth subject is this, that it is necessary to practise abstinence from committing *or* permitting unnatural intercourse³. 2. For this is the chief of all sins *in* the religion: there is no worse sin than this in the good religion, and it is proper to call those *who commit it* worthy of death in reality.

3. If any one comes forth to them, and shall see them in the act, *and* is working with an axe⁴, it is requisite *for him* to cut *off* the heads or to rip up the bellies of both, *and* it is no sin for him. 4. *But* it is not proper to kill any person without the authority of high-priests and kings, except on account of committing *or* permitting unnatural intercourse.

5. For it says in revelation that unnatural intercourse is on a par with Aharman, with Afrâsiyâb⁵, with Dahâk⁵, with Tûr-i Brâdar-vakhsh⁶ who slew

¹ That is, the merit of performing them.

² The principles of blind submission of the laity to the priesthood, and complete abnegation of private judgment, which pervade the whole of the Sad Dar, are especially conspicuous in this chapter. They are the ideas prevalent in the darkest ages of the religion, which have now nearly disappeared with the spread of true knowledge as in other faiths.

³ *Ghulâmbârâgî u mûâgarî*.

⁴ B29, J15 have 'takes a look,' and J15 adds 'he shall kill *them*.'

⁵ See Mkh. VIII, 29 n.

⁶ One of five brothers of the Karap tribe (see Byt. II, 3, Dd. LXXII, 8).

Zaratust, with Malkôs¹ who will arise, with the serpent Sruvar which existed in the days of Sâm Narîmân², and as many sins as are theirs. 6. And Aharman, the evil *one*, becomes more joyful, owing to this practice, than owing to the other sins *which* have made high-priests necessary³; for the soul itself of that person becomes extinct.

7. And when they commit *the sin* with women, it is just the same as that with men.

CHAPTER X.

1. The tenth subject is this, that it is incumbent on all those of the good religion, women and men, every one who attains to fifteen years, to wear the *sacred thread-girdle*⁴. 2. Because the *sacred thread-girdle* is to be a girding of the loins and to preserve obedience (*tâ'hat*) to the Lord, may he be honoured and glorified (*'hazza va galla*)!

3. The first person who set the wearing of this *sacred thread-girdle* in view was Jamshêd⁵. 4. And it may be the whole (*gumlah*) of the demons and fiends who are made extinct by the glory of wearing the *sacred thread-girdle*.

5. Every one who *has* tied the *sacred thread-girdle round* the waist is out of the department of Aharman, and is established in the department of

¹ See Mkh. XXVII, 28 n.

² Sâmâ and Naremanau are two titles of the hero Keresâspa who slew the serpent Srvara (see SBE, vol. xviii, pp. 369-371). In the Shâhnâmah he is called Sâm, son of Narîmân.

³ J15 has '*which* the high priests have made manifest.'

⁴ See Dd. XXXIX, 1 n. A modification of the age is recommended in Chap. XLVI.

⁵ Av. Yima khshaêta (see Mkh. XXVII, 24 n).

Hôrmazd. 6. And also, while he keeps the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist, *there* is a share for him of all those duties and good works which they perform in the earth of seven regions. 7. It is like that *which occurs* when they are performing hamâ zôr and hamâ ashô¹, and have put *on* this *sacred thread-girdle* on that account, *or* when, similarly, some one in Kasmîr, or Erân-veg, or Kangdez, or the enclosure formed by Jam², performs a good work, *and* we are not able to perform *it* with hamâ zôr, then they and we, *who* wear the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist, are mutually connected and equally meritorious, one *with* the other. 8. As no good work attains to him *who* does not wear a *sacred thread-girdle*—excepting that which he performs himself—it is therefore necessary that any one of mankind *should* not put *it*³ away from the waist on any occasion, so that the associated good works of those of the good religion *may* attain to him.

9. And those four knots⁴, *with* which they tie *it* on, are on this account, that *it may* give four attestations.

¹ These words form part of a benedictory formula which concludes certain ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 407, 409), and the recital of them implies that the ceremony, which is a good work, has been fully and satisfactorily completed. If this good work be in excess of what is wanted to balance its performer's sins, it can be imputed to any other member of the good religion who may be in want of it, provided he wears the girdle. The MSS. have hamâ for hamâ.

² These four localities are considered to be isolated from the seven regions to some extent (see Bd. XXIX, 4), probably implying that they were supposed to contain Mazda-worshippers independent of Iranian rule, or that their position had become unknown. (See also Mkh. XXVII, 27-31, 58, 62, XLIV, 17-35, LXII, 13-19.)

³ Lp, B29 have 'that mankind *should* not put the girdle.'

⁴ That is, two double knots, one before and the other behind (see SBE, vol. xviii, pp. 386, 387).

10. The first knot is that which preserves¹ constancy (qarâr), and gives attestation as to the existence, unity, purity, and matchlessness of the sacred being, the good *and* propitious. 11. The second knot is that which gives attestation *that it is* the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers which is the word of the sacred being. 12. The third knot is that which gives attestation as to the apostleship and mission (rasûlî) in the just ('haqq) Zaratust, the Spitamân. 13. The fourth knot is that which adduces more pleasantly, gives assurance (iqrâr), and openly accepts that I *should* think of good, speak of good, and do good. 14. And from the whole I become established; and the pure, good² religion is this, that I persist in those *views*.

15. And, again, when the archangels came meeting Zaratust they likewise wore the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist; and the distinctive *characteristic* (farq) amid the laws of the sacred being is the wearing of the *sacred thread-girdle*. 16. It is incumbent both on woman and on man, *and* it is altogether (al battah) improper when they do not wear *it*.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The eleventh subject is this, that it is necessary to maintain the fire-place³ properly, and to keep watch⁴, so that *the fire shall* not die out, and *that* nothing polluted and impure *shall* attain to the fire; and it is necessary to make a menstruous woman avoid *being* within three steps *of it*.

¹ Altered into 'brings' by a later hand in La, and so written in Lp, B29.

² Lp, B29 omit 'good.'

³ Or, perhaps, 'the house-fire.'

⁴ B29 omits these four words.

2. Because every time that they maintain a fire properly, which is within a dwelling, every fire which is in the earth of seven regions becomes pleased with those persons, and, when they ask a favour, or beg a necessity ('hâgat), it becomes quickly operative.

3. And every time that *one* does not maintain *it* properly, every fire which is in the earth of seven regions receives injury from that person, and the necessity he begs does not become operative. 4. If any one does not maintain the fire-place properly, if he gives a hundred dinârs¹ to the fire Gusasp² *there* is no acceptance *of it*, and that sin does not depart from him.

5. For it is declared in revelation³, that the creator Hôrmazd has given sovereignty in heaven to Ardi-bahist⁴, the archangel, and has spoken thus: '*As to every one with whom thou art not pleased, do not let him escape into heaven.*' 6. And this is also declared in revelation, that, every time that they do not maintain the fire properly, pregnancy becomes scarcer for the women, fewer male children are born, and honour ('hurmat) in the vicinity of the king becomes less for the men, and *there* is no approbation (qabûl) of *their* words.

7. *For* every single fire which dies out in a dwelling a loss of three dirhams and two dângs⁵ falls

¹ The dinâr is a gold coin which, if it contained a dirham weight of gold, and if the dirham were 63 grains (see Dd. LII, 1 n), was equal to about half-a-sovereign.

² One of the three most sacred fires (see Bd. XVII, 7).

³ Lp, B29 have 'in the good religion.'

⁴ Av. asha vahista, 'perfect rectitude,' who is supposed to protect fire (see Bd. I, 26, Sls. XV, 12).

⁵ That is, three dirhams and a half in silver, or nearly one rupee and a quarter.

on the property of that person, or it becomes the loss of this dwelling, or it does not reach him from the place whence wealth comes to him.

CHAPTER XII.

1. The twelfth subject is this, that, when any one dies, an order is necessary¹ *that* how much soever scantier² clothing they are able to make a beginning *of*, the better they act. 2. Beside (illâ)³ something become old *and* washed, anything new is not proper for *the purpose* that they *may* let *it* go upon a dead body.

3. For in the commentary of the Vendîdâd⁴ it asserts that, if they *shall* pass on to a dead body as much as a woman's spindle makes for a single thread, with the exception of that which is unavoidable, for every single thread a black snake hangs, in that *other* world, on to the liver of that person who has made a beginning of the clothing. 4. Likewise, that dead *person* becomes his antagonist ('haṣm), and hangs similarly⁵ upon *his* skirt, and speaks thus: 'This clothing, which thou hast put on my body, devours *me*, *having* become worms and noxious creatures. 5. *My* name *was* put upon a sacred cake⁶, the fourth *day*, with a Yast, so that *there*

¹ B29 has 'it is necessary to utter two orders.'

² Lp, B29 have 'older.' Compare Sls. XII, 4.

³ Lp, B29 have 'that is.'

⁴ Pahl. Vend. V, 170-177, where, however, the penalty here mentioned is not now extant.

⁵ Lp, B29 omit 'similarly.'

⁶ Referring to the cake consecrated to the righteous guardian spirit on the fourth day after death (see Chap. LXXXVII, 2, Sls. III, 32 n, XVII, 5 n).

might be alike a benefit therefrom for my soul, and it might be alike unnecessary for thee to bear this torment ('haḍḥâb).'⁶ 6. Owing to that, many sorrows come to that person, and he has no advantage from it. 7. Therefore, it is necessary to act *with* caution (i'htiyât), so that, how much soever the clothing be scantier¹, they *may* make a beginning *of it*.

8. And as many as shall be able to walk after the bier (tâbût) and corpse shall walk. 9. Because every step that they go after a corpse is a good work of three hundred stîrs²; *and* every stîr is four dirhams, in such manner that three hundred stîrs are a thousand *and* two hundred dirhams³. 10. For every single step *there* is thus much good work.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. The thirteenth subject is this, that it is necessary to maintain the souls of fathers, mothers, and relations properly. 2. And, when any day of theirs⁴ occurs, it is necessary to make an endeavour, so that they *may* accomplish the ceremonial (yazîsn), the sacred feast (myazd), *the consecration of* the sacred cakes (drôn), and the benedictions (âfrîngân).

3. For it is declared in revelation, that, every time that any day of theirs occurs, they will bring with

¹ Lp, B29, J15 have 'older.'

² An amount which would counterbalance a Tanâvar or Tanâ-pûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

³ B29 omits these fourteen words.

⁴ That is, on the monthly and annual anniversaries of their deaths, when ceremonies are requisite (see Sls. XVII, 5 n). Compare Chap. XXXVII.

themselves 9999 guardian spirits of the righteous, like that *case* when any one goes home himself, and brings people (qaûm) in hospitality. 4. And, when they utter¹ *the consecration* of the sacred cakes and sacred feast and the benedictions, those people become joyful and utter blessings on that house and master of the house, and on the house-mistress and any persons who are in that house.

5. But if they do not celebrate the sacred feast, *the consecration* of the sacred cakes, the ceremonial, and the benedictions, *the spirits* will remain for them *in* that place from dawn as long as the period of a day, and are maintaining a hope that 'perhaps they *will* have us *in* remembrance.' 6. Then, if they do not bring them² *into* remembrance, the souls turn upwards from that place, go very quickly on high, and will say, 'O creator Hôrmazd! they do not know that we are such as we are³, and *that* it is necessary for them⁴ to come into this world, and in this world they will not give any one acquittal. 7. For them there is need of the good works in *consecrating* the sacred cakes and *celebrating* the sacred feast and benedictions; there is no need of them for such as we. 8. Yet (va lîkin), if they would have maintained a place *for*⁵ the duty of those days, we should have turned away from them misfortunes of various kinds; but, as they have not maintained⁶ observance of us *in* the day's duty, we are not able to come in friendship *to* this house.'

¹ B29 has 'celebrate.'

² Literally 'us.' Lp, B29 omit this and the next two words.

³ Lp, B29 have 'that just like us are they.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit 'for them.'

⁵ B29 has 'maintained observance of us *in*.'

⁶ B29 inserts 'proper.'

9. Thus much they say, and turn *away* in anger, and go away from that place.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The fourteenth subject is this, that, when the nails *are pared* according to custom (ba-'*hilâl*)¹, it is necessary that they put *the parings* into a paper.

2. And it is further necessary to take the Srôsh-bâz² *inwardly*, and *to utter* three Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs³.

3. And for the speaking *of this*—to say with each Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁴—the Avesta is this:—Paiti tê, meregha Ashô-zusta! imau srvaû vaêdhayêmi, imau srvaû âwaêdhayêmi; imause tê srvaû, meregha Ashô-zusta! hyâre arstayaskâ, karetayaskâ, thanvarekâ, ishavaskâ erezifyô-parena, asnakâ fradakhshanya paiti daêvô-Mâzainyân⁵; ashâ vohû mananghâ yâ sruyê pare magaonô⁶. 4. Afterwards, *one* completes the Bâz in the manner that *it was taken inwardly*.

5. At those two Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs, *with which one* completes the Bâz, at each one, he makes lines ('*hatthâ*) *in* a little dust in the midst of the nail-

¹ B29 has 'when the nails and a toothpick ('*hilâl*) *are* pared;,' and the Gugarâti translator takes '*hilâl* in the same sense.

² A particular form of prayer.

³ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n.

⁴ B29 omits these eleven words.

⁵ Vend. XVII, 26-28 :—'Unto thee, O bird Ashô-zusta! do I announce these nails, do I introduce these nails' (or, according to the Pahlavi, 'do I make known these nails, these nails do I make *thee* known to'); 'may these nails be such for thee, O bird Ashô-zusta! *as* spears and knives, bows, falcon-feathered arrows, and sling-stones against the demon Mâzainyas.'

⁶ Yas. XXXIII, 7b :—'Through the righteous good thought, by which I am heard before the mighty *one*.'

parings. 6. And, if he does not know this Bâz¹, on uttering the Srôsh-bâz and those three Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs *he is* to furrow three lines, with the nail-cutter², around the nail-*parings*, and then *he is* to complete the Bâz with those Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs, and to put the dust, with the end of the nail-cutter, into the midst of the nail-*parings*, and carry *them* to a desert *spot*. 7. It is necessary that he *should* carry a *hole* down *through* four finger-breadths of earth, and, *having* placed the nail-*parings* in that spot, he puts the soil overhead.

8. For Hôrmazd, the good and propitious, has created a bird which they call Ashô-zust³, and they call *it* the bird of Bahman⁴. 9. They also call *it* the owl, and it eats nails.

10. It is altogether necessary that they do not leave *them* unbroken, for they *would* come into use as weapons (silâ'h) of wizards⁵. 11. And they have also said that, if they fall in the midst of food, *there* is danger of pulmonary consumption.

CHAPTER XV.

1. The fifteenth subject is this, when *one* sees anything that is welcome to the eyes, it is requisite to say 'in the name of the sacred being.' 2. Because, if they do not say 'in the name of the sacred being,' and an injury happens to that

¹ The formula quoted in § 3.

² B29 omits these four words.

³ See Bd. XIX, 19, 20.

⁴ The archangel Vohûman (see Bd. I, 23, 26 n). His bird is the cock according to Sls. X, 9.

⁵ See Sls. XII, 6.

thing, or a disaster occurs, *one* becomes a sinner; so far is notorious (ma'hlûm).

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The sixteenth subject is this, that, when a woman becomes pregnant in a house, it is necessary to make an endeavour so that *there may* be a continual fire in that house, and to maintain a good watch *over it*. 2. And, when the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp *for* three nights *and* days—if they burn a fire it would be better—so that the demons and fiends *may* not be able to do any damage and harm; because, when a child is born, it is exceedingly delicate *for* those three days.

3. For it is declared in revelation¹, that, when Zaratusht, the Spitamân, became separate from *his* mother, every night, *for* three nights, a demon came on, with a hundred and fifty *other* demons, so that they *might* effect the slaughter (halâk) of Zaratusht, *and*, when they had beheld the light of the fire, they had fled away, and had not been able to do any damage and harm.

4. During forty days it is not proper that they *should* leave the child alone; and it is also not proper that the mother of the infant *should* put *her* foot over a threshold in the dwelling, or cast *her* eyes upon a hill, *for* it² is bad *for her* menstruation.

¹ Lp, B29 have 'in the good religion.' This is quoted probably from the Spend Nask (see Sls. X, 4, XII, 11).

² B29 has 'which they have said.'

CHAPTER XVII.

1. The seventeenth subject is this, that when they cut a toothpick (*'hilâl*), or a splinter which they wish to apply to the root of the teeth, it is necessary that they retain no bark. 2. For if a small quantity of bark be on it when they apply *it* to the teeth, and they cast *it* away, if a pregnant woman puts *her* foot upon it, the danger of that may be that the child comes to harm¹.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. The eighteenth subject is this, that it is necessary for mankind to make an endeavour, so that they *may* espouse a wife in *their* youth and beget a child. 2. And for women, in like manner, it is necessary that *there* should be a longing (*raghbat*) for espousing a husband.

3. Because it is declared in revelation², *that* every duty and good work a child performs becomes the father's and mother's, just like those which they have performed with their own hands. 4. The meaning (*ma'hni*) of *pûr* ('a son') is that which signifies *pûl* ('a bridge')³, for by this bridge they arrive at that *other* world. 5. If *there* be no child for any one they call *him one with* a severed bridge, that is, the

¹ Owing to her fear of having stepped on dead matter (see Sls. X, 20, XII, 13).

² In the Spend, Nihâdûm, and Dâmdâd Nasks (see Sls. X, 22, XII, 15).

³ This fanciful explanation must be derived from a Pahlavi source, as it is only in that language that the two words are written precisely alike.

way for him *to* that *other* world is severed, and he is not able to attain to that world. 6. At the head of the *Kinvað* bridge he shall remain; although he has performed much duty and good works he is not able to make a passage over the *Kinvað* bridge, and they do not make up his account and reckoning. 7. And every archangel that comes forward *to* that place first asks these words, that is, 'Hast thou brought thy own substitute visibly into the world, or not?' 8. When he has not brought *it*, they will pass over him, and his soul will remain, *in* that place¹, full of anguish and grief (*gham*).

9. A similitude (*miṭhâl*) of it is like that which *happens when* any one may be in a wilderness, and *there* may be fear of wild animals and creatures, and near to him may be his own town, *but* a river of water is in front², and it is not possible to make a passage over that river, *as* a bridge is fallen in, and he is not able to arrive at that town, *but* he is always upon the bank (*sart*) *speaking* thus³: 'Would that the bridge would become perfect!'

10. The duty as to children⁴ is in this aggregate⁵.

11. Therefore, the creator Hôrmazd *has* granted unto men that, if *there* be any one to whom sickness from heaven may occur, and *there* be no provision of a child for him, he *has* commanded him that he *should* make some one a son of his own, as⁶ a friend of *his* soul, and *should* receive a child, because every duty *can be* delegated. 12. That person is in place of a

¹ Lp, B29 add 'on the bridge.'

² La omits these eight words.

³ Lp, B29 have 'always in regret ('hasrat) thus.'

⁴ Lp has 'as to the command.'

⁵ Lp has 'manner,' and J15 has 'endeavour.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'some one through his own affection.'

child, and every duty and good work that he performs shall be just like that *which* is performed by one's own hand.

13. And, finally, if any one departs from the world (dunyâ)¹ and possesses no adopted child, it is incumbent on the priests and high-priests and his relations to appoint his adopted son, and it is necessary to bring some one in sight on that account, so that his soul *may* spring away from the torment of hell. 14. Because, every time that his relations do not pay attention *to this*, when they proceed to that *other* world, the soul of that person hangs about them and speaks thus: 'I left with you something that I had collected and borne trouble for in many years, and you seized upon *it*, and put *it* into your own expenditure ('*harg*'), and did not seek for² mercy (*safqat*) on my soul. 15. *In* the same manner as I have remained, delayed (*maûqûf*) *in* this place, I *will* not let you pass; so that you *will* make no passage over the *K'invad* bridge till the sacred being takes my rights away from you.' 16. Then the angel Rashn and the angel Mihir³ make up their reckoning, *and, as to* whatever those persons have seized upon from the *other's* property⁴, for every single *dnâr* the account makes four, and they take away the equivalent. 17. And, *as in* that world *there* are no gold and silver, they take away from their souls the good works that they have done, and they give *them* to the soul of this *other*. 18. Still, while *others* do not appoint the adopted son, they are not able to pass over the *K'invad* bridge, nor to arrive at their own station.

¹ La omits these nine words.

² B29 has 'bring.'

³ See Mkh. II, 118, 119.

⁴ Lp, J15 insert 'and have expended.'

19. There is no duty whatever more incumbent on relations than this duty, and every time that they appoint an adopted son *for* any one it is just as though they have made the deceased alive; and there are no limit ('hadd) and end (nihâyat) of their good works.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The nineteenth subject is this, that the performance of agriculture is like that when some one is performing the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and it is necessary to maintain much respect *for* agriculturists; it is also necessary to keep trouble and strife far from them.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that, *as to* every one who replants a shrub, while that shrub *or* tree exists at the place, every good work that every one, who eats of that shrub, does in that *state of* repletion becomes the agriculturist's, just like those which are done by his own hand. 3. If any one orders *it*, just as that good work occurs¹ much new repose (râ'hat) and comfort reach his soul². 4. *As to* corn and grain ('hubûb) and whatever they sow, it is just like this³, because, *as regards* every one who eats wheat, barley, and other grains, and performs duty *and* good works, they become *those* of the sower of⁴ those grains, just as those which are performed by his own hand. 5. Because, for the life of mankind a crop was necessary, the creation of a

¹ Lp, B29 have 'is performed.' ² Lp, B29 add 'therefrom.'

³ B29 adds 'way.'

⁴ La omits the rest of this chapter, as well as the words 'they become,' by mistake.

creator¹ after the sacred being, the most high², owing to the work of the agriculturist. 6. For every one who eats anything dies, therefore, *as regards* that person by whose work the life of mankind is established, it is necessary to consider him valuable and precious.

CHAPTER XX.

1. The twentieth subject is this, that it is incumbent on those of the good religion that they continually give something to the worthy to eat, on account (*gihat*) of that which it says in revelation³ thus: 'When thou givest things to some one that he *may* eat, every duty and good work that he performs in that *state of* repletion become *those* of that person, who has given that bread or food to him, just like those which he has performed with his own hand.' 2. And if he commits a sin, he who may have given food to him is innocent. 3. But it is necessary that he be of the good religion and worthy; they *should* give something to *one of* a different religion only in case of extreme necessity (*ṣarûrat*), lest it become as a sin.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The twenty-first subject is this, that, when they eat bread, it is necessary that *one should* recite

¹ B29, J15 omit these five words.

² J15 has 'after its creation *by* the sacred being, the creator.' The alteration of this sentence, in B29 and J15, seems due to their writers' reluctance to attribute the power of creating, even figuratively, to the mere producer of a crop.

³ In the *Nihâdûm Nask* (see Sls. X, 23, XII, 16).

the Ithâ-âd-yâzamaidê¹ and three Ashem-vohûs², especially (ba-'hâḡḡatam) in the benediction-ceremonies (âfrîngân).

2. For it is declared in the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, that, when they wish to celebrate the sacred feast (myazd) and benediction-ceremonies, it is necessary that all persons who are seated at the feast *should* take up the *inward* prayer.

3. For each man an angel is stationed, on the right-hand *side*, and two angels for the priests. 4. *But* when they eat chatteringly, *or* relate the news ('hadîth)³, the angels depart from them, and a demon seizes on the place of each angel⁴.

5. And in former times the custom ('hâdat) of the people would have been in this manner, that, if any one should have come to the door in the middle of the feast, that person whose Âfrîngân-precinct it might have been, *or* whoever should have gone to the expense of that Âfrîngân, would have had words with that *intruding* person⁵, and would have also spoken thus: 'As thou hast brought my feast to harm, give me back whatever has been the cost⁶.'

6. And *in* one place in revelation *it is* declared

¹ Yas. V, 1, 2, of which these are the first three words. This, with the three Ashem-vohûs, constitutes the inward prayer, or grace, before eating (see Dd. LXXIX, 1 n).

² See Chap. VII, 1 n.

³ By which they commit the sin of breaking the protective spell of the inward prayer.

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'a demon is (B29 stands) in place of the angel.'

⁵ B29 has 'would have spoken to that person who had uttered words, would have taken *something* away from him.' Lp merely adds 'would have taken *something*' to the words in the text.

⁶ B29 has only, 'As it is my feast, give *it* back.' The interruption having destroyed the merit of the ceremony.

that from eating chatteringly itself is the sin, for¹ every one who is chattering during the eating of bread is just like him who is smiting and harassing the angels of the spiritual *existences*.

7. Therefore, if *there* be any one who is not able to consecrate a sacred cake², it is necessary to eat bread with the *inward* prayer of Hôrmazd, that is, the archangels. 8. And, if he does not altogether know *it*, he recites the Ithâ-âd-yazamaidê³ and three Ashem-vohûs, and eats up the bread. 9. Afterwards he makes *his* mouth clean, and, four Ashem-vohûs and two Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs *being* spoken out⁴, *he is* then to utter words.

10. For, every time that this custom (qâ'hîdat) is carried *on* in a place, through the first Ashem-vohû so much good work *has* arisen that it has propitiated the sacred being, the good *and* propitious; through the second Ashem-vohû so much good work *has* arisen that it has revered and⁵ propitiated Srôsh, the righteous⁶; through the third Ashem-vohû so much good work *has* arisen that it has revered and⁵ propitiated Khurdâd *and* Ameredâd⁷, the archangels; and through the fourth Ashem-vohû so much good work *has* arisen that whatever the creator Hôrmazd has created becomes revered and propitiated. 11. And with each mouthful (luqmah) that is eaten, while the *inward* prayer subsists, they

¹ B29 has 'from eating chatteringly is so much sin that.'

² See Mkh. XVI, 17 n.

³ See § 1 n.

⁴ These formulas begin the grace after eating, and, being uttered aloud, break the spell of the inward prayer now no longer necessary; after them the eaters are at liberty to speak.

⁵ B29 omits these two words.

⁶ See Mkh. II, 115 n.

⁷ See Horvadađ and Amerôdađ (Mkh. II, 34).

proclaim a blessing *for* Khurdâd and Ameredâd, the archangels. 12. *But*, if it be eaten without the *inward* prayer, as demons are *in* that place¹, they say, 'Thou mightest have eaten the poison of a serpent.' 13. Therefore, take notice as to which is the better of these two.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. The twenty-second subject is this, that the performance of *Gâdangôî*² ('intercession') is like that when some one is occasioning the ceremonial of the sacred beings. 2. Therefore, it should be expedient that it be continuous, *and that*³ they perform *Gâdangôî* as regards the priests and high-priests and the worthy.

3. For, in the commentary of the *Hâdôkht Nask*, it says that every one who performs *Gâdangôî*, and extracts anything from a person on their account, and conveys *it* to them, is as much without dishonesty ('*hiyânat*'), towards them⁴, as he who may

¹ See § 4.

² The original Pahlavi of this word can be read either *dâdô-gôbîh*, 'a speaking of the law,' or *yêdatô-gôbîh*, 'a speaking of the sacred being;' in either case it implies 'pleading for the proper observance of religious duties,' especially the duty of supporting the priesthood and the poor, and it is for such purposes that the 'intercession' with those possessing property must be understood as being exercised. As the traditional mode of reading Pahl. *yêdatô* is *gâtan*, or *gâdan*, it is evident that the Pâzand inventors of the word in the text must have understood the Pahlavi in the latter of the two meanings mentioned above.

³ Lp, B29 have merely 'that continuously.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit these two words. But the meaning of *La* seems to be that he who bestows charity out of the contributions of others, without mentioning the contributors, does not act dishonestly towards the recipients.

have given to them out of his own property. 4. And *in* the spiritual *existence* they take¹ account of that profit for him, and just as they make *out* the account of the good work of that person who may have given *it*, even so much is his good work.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. The twenty-third subject is this, that it is requisite to restrain a tethered *animal* from misbehaviour, and to keep watch *over* one's own *creatures*, especially *at* the time when they have eaten meat.

2. Therefore, if they have eaten meat *and* they commit an assault, every offence that the animal ('haivân) commits may be that person's whose meat may be eaten. 3. For example, if a horse lashes *out* a kick (lakad) at any one, the offence may be that person's whose food may be eaten and caused the offence.

4. Therefore it is necessary to make an endeavour that they *shall* commit no offence whatever, especially at a time when they have eaten meat.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. The twenty-fourth subject is this, that when an infant is born from *its* mother it is necessary that they give *it* the consecrated Hâm-juice², on this account, that understanding ('haql), wisdom, and

¹ Lp, B29 have 'the spirits take.'

² See Mkh. I.VII, 28 n, Sls. X, 16.

knowledge *may* more abundantly get to it, and the want (ablat) of them *may* come more scantily upon *it*¹.

2. If, at that time, they do not perform the consecration, they *should* take forth a little Hôm for it², and recite³ a Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁴, and put a trifle of water into *it*, and make Hôm-juice of that, and give *it* to the infant, and afterwards⁵ milk.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. The twenty-fifth subject is this, that any agreement and promise (qaûl) they make with any one it is necessary so far to perform and bring to pass.

2. Although many things *may* go⁶ to harm by means (sabab) of it, it is not desirable to perform that agreement with duplicity.

3. Because, in our religion, they call this a Mihir-drug ('breach of promise'), *and* in revelation it decrees, *as to* any one *who* commits a Mihir-drug, that the way *to* heaven becomes closed for him, and that person himself goes discomforted out of this world, so that a warning ('halâmat) becomes quite manifest unto him.

4. And a Mihir-drug is attached⁷ *in* such a manner that, *if* fortune (tâli'h) may have befallen any one⁸

¹ B29 omits these eleven words.

² B29 adds 'in the Hôm-mortar.'

³ B29 adds 'and utter.'

⁴ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n.

⁵ Lp, B29 insert '*they are to give.*'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'come.'

⁷ Lp, B29 have 'understood,' and another copy in B29 has 'considered.'

⁸ Who has broken his promise.

happily, or an insufficient quantity of his life ('humr) may have remained, the Mihir-drug extends to his children without opposition ('hilâf). 5. And every household that becomes extinct, or race whose issue fails, or *any of* the great misfortunes that happen to mankind—from which misfortune *one* obtains release with difficulty—may all be owing to the *fact* that they have committed a Mihir-drug.

6. If *committed by* oneself, it is declared, *in* one place in revelation, that the glorified Zaratust, the Spitamân, enquired of Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, thus: 'Of any of the sins that mankind commit which is the worst?' 7. Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, decreed thus: 'No sin whatever is worse than this, that two persons make a covenant with one another *in* such a manner that no one whatever is between them, except me who am Hôrmazd; *and*, afterwards one of those two persons deviates *from it*, and says, "I have no knowledge ('habar) *of it*," and no one whatever is a witness, for that *other* person, except me.' 8. No sin whatever is worse than that, and that person himself *will* not go out of this world until retribution overtakes him, and in that *other* world his punishment is more severe than all; *so* that person becomes unfortunate *in* both worlds. 9. And it is the same *if* this covenant *be* with a righteous *person or* a wicked *one*.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. The twenty-sixth subject is this, that the wise and the ancients say that when a man becomes fifteen years *of age* it is necessary that he takes

one of the angels¹ as his own protection², *that* he takes one of the wise as his own sage, and *that* he takes one of the high-priests and officiating priests as his own high-priest. 2. So that, if, any time, a bereavement (*âstânah*) approaches, he *may* beg a favour from the archangels³, in order that it *may* furnish⁴ an escape *from that* bereavement. 3. And⁵, any time any affair comes forward, and *he has*⁶ to have opinion (*rât*) *and* advice (*masvarat*), he holds a consultation with that sage, while the sage tells him *his* opinion (*tadbîr*). 4. And, if any *question as to* proper and improper comes forward, he speaks with that high-priest, so that he *may* tell him *in* reply.

5. When the instructions of these three persons are brought to pass, carrying *out* the commands of the sacred being is accomplished. 6. Especially the instructions of the high-priests, because their satisfaction is connected with the satisfaction of the sacred being; and the high-priests possess so much dignity (*martabat*) *in* the presence of the sacred being, the good *and* propitious, that they are quite able to forgive *any* trivial one of the sins of mankind⁷, and Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, quickly⁸ forgives that sin for the high-priest. 7.

¹ La, Lp have 'ancients,' but this seems inconsistent with § 2.

² La has 'ancestor,' having read *ba-niyâh* instead of *panâh*.

³ Lp, B29, J15 add '*and they may provide health of body and safety.*'

⁴ Lp, B29, J15 have '*that they may furnish him.*'

⁵ Lp, B29 insert '*if.*'

⁶ Lp, B29 have '*it is necessary.*'

⁷ B29 has '*to forgive one-third of the sins which mankind commit.*'

⁸ Lp has '*likewise.*'

Therefore, carrying *out* the commands of the high-priests becomes¹ incumbent on every one; and the fulfilment of this maxim is *better* than *that of* a whole assemblage of maxims.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. The twenty-seventh subject is this, that is, if any affair comes forward, that they *should* thoroughly understand² whether it be a good work, or a sin.

2. In that manner it becomes better that they make an evasion on the spot³, until a time *when* they make *it* known with accuracy⁴ that that affair is a sin or a reward. 3. If they perform any affair without knowing *this*, although it be a good work, it becomes a sin for them.

4. For it is declared in revelation, that, except that which they enquire of the high-priests, no affair whatever is proper to perform. 5. Whatever wisdom *there be* for any one from his own head is only one; then, *as* two wisdoms are more than one⁵, it therefore makes *it* expedient to enquire of the high-priests.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. The twenty-eighth subject is this, that, when they teach the Avesta, it is *in* like manner neces-

¹ Lp, B29 have 'is.'

² Lp has 'that they *should* be told,' and B29 has 'that *one should* realise.'

³ See Sls. X, 25, 27.

⁴ Lp adds 'and truly,' and B29 has 'make known *that* it is false or true.'

⁵ Lp, B29 omit these eight words.

sary that they teach *it* properly and truly, *and* recite *it* with deliberation and composure (sâkinî). 2. And it is necessary *for* those who are taught to recite *it* connectedly, and to keep *it* ever *in* remembrance.

3. For it is declared in revelation, that the sacred being *has* decreed thus: '*As to every one who puts the Avesta away from his memory, I will put his soul as far from heaven as the width of the earth*¹.'

4. And in the commentary of the Avesta it is related *that*, in former times, *as to* any one who had been taught the Avesta and had put *it* away from *his* memory, until the time he had again made *it* easy, they would have given him bread like that which they give to the dogs. 5. *And in* another place I have read that they would have given bread to him *on* the point of a spear.



CHAPTER XXIX.

1. The twenty-ninth subject is this, that, when they provide any munificence (sa'hâvat) *or* liberality, it is necessary that they provide *it for* the worthy; and *one is* to consider thus: 'Is this person, to whom I am giving this thing, worthy or not?'

2. Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, so that they *may* not give to the unworthy. 3. For in revelation, as regards² that person who provides any munificence for the unworthy, they call *it* a vain work *and* a gift without advantage; and day by day *it is*³

¹ Compare Chap. XCVIII, 3.

² Lp, B29 have 'for in the good religion it is declared.'

³ Lp, B29 have 'it increases.'

the punishment *and* torment of that person. 4. And, whatever they give to the unworthy, they have made that thing extinct.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. The thirtieth subject is this, that it is not proper to pour *away* water at night, especially from the northern side (*gânib*) which would be the worst¹.

2. Therefore, if it become a necessity in the end (*ba-'hatam*)², it is requisite to recite one *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô*³, and, *when* they make a light ready (*hâjir*)⁴, to pour *away* the water gently.

3. *In* like manner it is not proper to swallow water at night, because it is a sin. 4. *But*, if a necessity arises, it is necessary to make a light ready, and *one* first eats some morsels of food (*ta'hâm*) so that the sin may be less.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. The thirty-first subject is this, that, every time they eat bread, it is necessary to withhold three morsels from their own bodies, and to give *them* to a dog. 2. And it is not desirable to beat a dog. 3. For, of the poor no one whatever is poorer than

¹ Lp has 'side it would be,' to which B29 adds 'bold.' The reason of the impropriety is that the demons are supposed to come from the north, and anything thrown out northwards might be of use to them (see Sls. X, 7, XII, 18, 19).

² B29 has 'necessity to pour.' ³ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n.

⁴ Lp, B29 omit these seven words. Both the recitation and light are supposed to frighten away any demons.

a dog, *and* it is necessary to give a tethered *animal* bread, because the good work is great.

4. And in revelation it is declared in this manner, that, if a dog is asleep upon the road, it is not proper that they put a foot violently on the ground, so that he becomes awake. 5. And, in former times, an allowance (*râtib*) of bread would have been made every day for the sake of the dogs, three times in summer *and* twice in winter, on this account, that *one* wishes *them* to come to the assistance of his soul at the *Kinvad* bridge.

6. In the worldly *existence* they are the guard of men and cattle. 7. If *there* had not been a dog they would not have been able to keep a single sheep. 8. Every time that he barks, just as his bark goes forth, the demons and fiends run away from the place.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. The thirty-second subject is this, that, when a hen utters a crow in a house, or the cock crows unseasonably, it is desirable that they do not kill it¹, and do not consider *it* a bad habit (*fa'hl*). 2. Because it is uttering that crow *for* the reason that a fiend has found a way into that house, and the hen or the cock, *alone*, does not possess the power (*tâqat*) that *would* keep the fiend away from that house, and the hen is going to give the cock assistance, and utters the crow. 3. Therefore, if any time the chance (*ittifâq*) happens in that manner, it is requisite to bring another cock, so that they

¹ See Sls. X, 30.

may drive away that fiend through the assistance of one another. 4. And if a cock crows unseasonably it is likewise not desirable to kill *it*, because the reason may be this which I have stated.

5. For it is declared in the good religion, that there is a fiend whom they call Sêg¹, *and*, in every house *where* an infant exists, that *fiend* strives that she *may* cause some misfortune to come upon that house. 6. *So* it is necessary that they *should* keep a cock *on* the watch for her, so that it *may* smite that fiend and force *her* to the road *away* from that house.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. The thirty-third subject is this, that, when *there* is a place and any risk *or* fear exists that a corpse² is concealed beneath the ground, *one is* to make *it* apparent *and* visible³, because it is a great good work.

2. For it is declared in the good religion, that, *when* they conceal a corpse beneath the ground, Spendârma⁴, the archangel, shudders; it is just as severe as a serpent *or* scorpion would be to any one in private sleep⁵, and *i* is also just like that to the ground. 3. When thou makest a corpse

¹ Av. ithyêgô, Pers. *sîk*. In Pahl. Vend. XIX, 4, 6 she is said to be 'a secret-moving deceiver'; in Bd. XXVIII, 26 she is said to 'cause annihilation.'

² Or 'dead matter.'

³ B29 has 'it is necessary to make *it* apparent.'

⁴ Av. spenta ârmaiti, 'bountiful devotion,' the female archangel who is supposed to have special charge of the earth (see Sls. XV, 20-24).

⁵ B29 has 'in a sleeping garment.'

beneath the ground as *it were* apparent, thou makest *the ground* liberated from that affliction.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. The thirty-fourth subject is this, that it is greatly necessary to refrain from much slaughter of animals and the cattle species¹. 2. Because it says in revelation² that, *for* every one who slaughters many animals *and* cattle³, every fibre of the hair of a goat becomes, in that *other* world, like a sharp sword, *and* adheres in the soul of that person.

3. And there are several things the slaughter of which is very bad, and the sin very abundant, *as* the lamb, the kid, the ploughing ox, the war horse, the swallow bird that catches the locust, and the cock; and of the whole of these the sin is most *as regards* the cock. 4. If it becomes a necessity⁴, it is proper to kill a cock *that* does not crow⁵, and it is necessary to consecrate their heads. 5. Any head of an animal, not consecrated, it is not desirable to eat, so that it becomes so far⁶ a righteous gift. 6. If *one* be not able to consecrate the head, it is requisite to consecrate one kidney *as* a substitute (*badal*) for it.

¹ Lp, B29, J15 omit 'species.'

² In the Stûdgar Nask (see Sls. X, 8, 9).

³ Lp has 'slaughters much.'

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'if it becomes inevitable.'

⁵ Lp has 'that has not crowed.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'when it is not *along* with.'

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. The thirty-fifth subject is this, that, when they wish to wash the face¹, they *should* recite one Ashem-vohû², *and* set the mouth firmly closed, so that the water, not staying *away* from it³, *shall* not go into the mouth. 2. *And*, as *one* washes over the face, they *should* recite the Kem-nâ-mazdâ⁴, so that the fiend Nasrust⁵ *may* become smitten.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. The thirty-sixth subject is this, that it is strictly incumbent on mankind, on man⁶ and woman, to perform the Bareshnûm *ceremony*⁷, because mankind feed on menstruous *matter* in the womb of the mother. 2. For that reason it is necessary to perform the Bareshnûm once, so that *one may* become pure from that pollution. 3. For if *one* becomes fifteen years *of age*, and does not perform the Bareshnûm, whatever he puts a hand on, the glory and purity of that thing will diminish; and it

¹ Compare Chaps. L, LXXIV.

² See Chap. VII, 1 n.

³ B29 omits these five words.

⁴ A stanza of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLV, 7) beginning with those three words (see SBE, vol. xviii, p. 443).

⁵ Or nistrûst, 'contamination' (see Sls. X, 32); probably the same as the demon Nas or Nasu (see Bd. XXVIII, 29). Also mentioned in Chap. XXXVI, 7.

⁶ B29 omits 'on man.'

⁷ A tedious ceremony of purification that lasts nine nights (see SBE, vol. xviii, pp. 431-453). Its name is Av. (acc.) bareshnûm, 'top' of the head, the first part of the body to be washed.

is not proper that they put a hand on a sacred cake or any *thing* washed *with ceremony*.

4. In revelation it says, if any one *who* has not performed the Bareshnûm shall die, the demons make *him*¹ as though *he were* a corpse *kept* one month in the hot season. 5. And, when the soul arrives at the head of the *K'invad* bridge, the arch-angels and angels complain of the stench of that soul, *and* are not able to make *up* its account and reckoning. 6. It remains at the *K'invad* bridge *and* is not able to pass; it experiences much repentance and has no advantage from it.

7. If it be necessary for any one to perform the Bareshnûm of the head, and he be able to do *it*, *but* does not do *it*, if he performs the *ceremonial* ablution of the head a thousand times, it does not become pure from that pollution², and that is the pollution of Nasrust³, which is amid the veins and sinews, and the flesh and bones; it does not become pure *through* any other thing except through *the liquid consecrated by* the religious formula⁴.

8. And *as to* that person, also, who performs the Bareshnûm *for* mankind⁵, it is necessary that he be a man, a friend of the soul, a truthful speaker, *and* an abstainer, because through chastity and modesty (*mastûrî*) he becomes employed. 9. If complaint of any perfidy in him is publicly diffused⁶, in that disgrace (*malâ mat*) it is necessary that the high-priests

¹ B29 has 'it makes his soul.'

² Lp omits 'pollution.'

³ See Chap. XXXV, 2. B29 has 'that is bodily refuse (*hî'har*) and pollution.'

⁴ That is, bull's urine, the liquid that is first used, in a consecrated state, for sprinkling the body in the Bareshnûm purification. Compare Chap. LXXVII, 9, 10.

⁵ That is, the purifying priest. ⁶ B29 has 'publicly comes on.'

should dislocate his joints one by one, and it is requisite that they give him as food to the dogs. 10. So that by this action they *may* make a man observe more chastely and continently, that this result ('hâjil) of sin *may* not occur.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. The thirty-seventh subject is this, that, when *the days* of the guardian spirits¹ come on, it is necessary that all persons, among their own food and devotion, *should* order *and* provide the sacred cakes and ceremonial, the sacred feast and benedictions (âfrîngân). 2. *For* these ten days it is incumbent on every one; *and* those are better which they prepare in their own houses, because the souls² go every one to its own house. 3. And they *should* have an ear for them³, so that they *may* prepare the sacred cakes and feast and benedictions.

4. Those ten days any one of all the souls—*that* are in this *way*⁴ in every house where they provide the feast more abundantly—proclaims, as to that master of the house⁵, that family, and the whole who are in that house, and the year's affairs of every kind, *that* they are very good, and their entry (da'hl) and coming in are very good. 5. And every single

¹ See Mkh. LVII, 13 n.

² Which are supposed to revisit the earth during those days.

³ Or 'for these words,' as the Gugarâti translator assumes.

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'those ten days all the souls are in this worldly existence.'

⁵ Lp omits these five words, and B29 adds 'the mistress of the house.'

good work, on account of which we have spoken of the souls of the departed, becomes just like those we have done for our own souls. 6. And, when they pass away from this worldly *existence*, those souls come again, meeting them, and cause gladness, maintain¹ their courage, and also render *them* honour in the presence of the creator Hôrmazd, and speak *thus*: 'These righteous souls did not put us away from remembrance while they were in the world, *and* we have been satisfied with them; now we are unanimous that thou *shouldst* provide them equal shares of those good works of ours, *and* make their souls attain to the position of the righteous.' 7. They utter these words, and give those souls confidence, while they make out their account. 8. Afterwards, with them, they make the passage of the *K'invad* bridge, till they arrive at their own position, *and* then they return.

9. Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, so that they *may* maintain the guardian spirits properly, and the souls of *their* fathers and mothers and relations *may* exist with honour from them. 10. For if they retire with dissatisfaction they utter a curse, *and*, as the soul departs from this world, they administer reproaches to it, and speak *thus*: 'Thou thinkest that they wish continually to make a way² for thee *to* that place, *but* it is not necessary for thee to come into this world³. 11. Now, hadst thou performed duty *and* good works on our behalf, and hadst thou recollected us, we would also have come to thy assistance, and would have released thee from

¹ Lp, B29 have 'restore.'

² Lp, B29 have 'an escape.'

³ That is, into heaven. Compare Chap. XIII, 6, 8.

this fearful position.' 12. And that *soul* experiences much repentance, and has no advantage whatever *from it*.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. The thirty-eighth subject is this, that, so far as effort and endeavour prevail¹, it is requisite to abstain from the same cup as those of a different religion, and it is not desirable to drink the water of any goblet of theirs. 2. And if the goblet be of copper or of tin², it is requisite³ to wash *it* with⁴ water, so that it *may* be proper to drink the water⁵. 3. If the goblet be of earthenware *or* wooden, it is altogether improper⁶.

4. Because, when⁷ any one drinks with a stranger, it makes *his* heart inclined (*ma'ill*) towards him, for it would be a sin; and, on account of the sin committed, he becomes bold, and *his* soul has an inclination for wickedness.

¹ Lp has 'are necessary,' and B29 has merely 'with the endeavour necessary.'

² B29 has 'of metal.'

³ Lp inserts 'to expose *it* to fire, to polish *it* with ashes, and afterwards;' J15 inserts 'to polish *it* with fire, and, afterwards.'

⁴ B29, J15 insert 'ceremonial ablution and.'

⁵ Lp, J15 add 'if the cup or goblet be of copper or of brass, *one* makes the water *that is* drunk likewise pure in this *manner*; if it be earthen *or* wooden, *one* puts *it* far *away* from the house, *or* they present *it* to *one of* a different religion; just like that *one* performs the ceremonial ablution of *what is* altogether polluted.' (J15 has '*what is* polluted like a metal *one*.')

⁶ J15 adds 'to drink.'

⁷ Lp, B29, J15 have 'every time that.'

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. The thirty-ninth subject is this, that it is necessary to properly maintain the sacred fire¹ which they have established in a town or village. 2. And *at* night it is necessary to make *it* blaze up once, and by day twice.

3. For it is declared in revelation, that, if *there* had been no sacred fire, no one would have been able to go from town to town; because it is *owing to* the glory of the sacred fire that no one on the roads is able to commit an excess upon any one *else*.

4. It is necessary that they *should* present the whole of the firewood; and, *as to* the person who makes *it* blaze, they *should* give him bread and a salary (nafaqah). 5. For, every time that that fire is satisfied, and they maintain *it* properly, every fire that may exist in the earth of seven regions becomes satisfied with that person.

CHAPTER XL.

1. The fortieth subject is this, that it is not desirable to distress *one's* priest, *or* father, *or* mother; and, if *people* perceive much trouble, disquietude, and harm *arising* from them, it is certainly not desirable that they *should* give them back a reply with any aggravation. 2. Because their satisfaction is connected with the satisfaction of the sacred being, *and* every time that *people* distress them they have

¹ Literally 'the fire of Bahirâm.' Compare Chap. XCII.

distressed Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious. 3. It is not possible *for* any duty *or* good work to extend to the spiritual *existences* while *one* does not make those *guardians* satisfied, and it is not possible (mumkin) that any one *should* repay these three persons all *their* dues.

4. In the commentary of the Hâdôkht *Nask* it says:—Mâ âzârayôis, Zarathustra! mâ Pourushaspem, mâ Dughdhôvâm, mâ aêthrapaitis¹, 'it is not desirable that thou, O Zaratust! *shouldest* distress *thy* father, *or* mother, *or* priest.'

5. Therefore, three times every day it is indispensable *for one* to fold *his* arms² in the presence of these three persons, *and* to say:—'What is your will (murâd)? So that I *may* think and speak and do it. 6. If *what* was not proper has come from me of itself, it is necessary that you make a righteous gift on our behalf.'

CHAPTER XLI.

1. The forty-first subject is this, that it is greatly requisite to avoid a menstruous woman, while they give *her* bread and food moderately. 2. As soon as

¹ This Avesta passage is not known to be extant elsewhere, and its orthography has been corrected in accordance with the translation attached to it by the author of Sd. In La, Lp, J15 the first two names are in the genitive, and the third is accusative; B29 differs by putting the third name also in the genitive; the last word being accusative in all. Pourushaspa and Dughdhôva (?) were the names of the father and mother of Zarathustra, and the latter name has not previously been found in the Avesta texts, but is known only from Pahlavi and Persian writings.

² That is, to stand in an attitude of obedient reverence.

she is not able to eat¹ they *should* not give *her* more, and *in* the same manner *as regards* water, on this account, that whatever remnant comes from that menstruous *woman* does not come to any use².

3. When they wish to provide³ bread they put the hand into the sleeve, or they place something on the top of the sleeve, *and* it is necessary that her bare hand *should* not come *forth* again in any place. 4. Because every drop of water that trickles on to a limb of a menstruous woman becomes a sin of three hundred stirs⁴. 5. And it is requisite *for* a menstruous woman to avoid everything that is washed *with* ceremony by fifteen steps. 6. It is *also* necessary *for her* to be *at least* three steps distant from a righteous man, and on whatever her eye casts a look it diminishes the glory⁵ of that thing.

7. And on every woman the twelve ceremonials⁶, *atoning for* the offence of menstruation, are incumbent. 8. One on account of the offence that has occurred as regards the spiritual *existence*⁷. 9. The second on account of the offence that has occurred

¹ That is, as soon as her hunger is satisfied.

² Lp, B29 have 'it is not possible to make of any use.'

³ Lp, B29 have 'bring.'

⁴ The amount of a Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

⁵ Lp, B29 add 'and purity.'

⁶ These resemble the celebration of the Hôrnâst, but are shorter and less onerous. The Hôrnâst consists of a Yasna each day for 144 days in honour of twelve angels, each angel being revered for twelve successive days. The angels are nearly the same as stated in the text, but the celebration of the Hôrnâst is twelve times as long. The cost of this latter is said to be 350 rupis (see Byt. II, 59 n). Occasionally a still more onerous celebration is said to be incumbent on such women as can afford it (see Chap. LXVI).

⁷ Lp has 'the spirits,' and B29 has 'mankind.'

as regards the stars¹. 10. The third on account of that which² has occurred as regards the sun. 11. The fourth on account of that which has occurred as regards the moon. 12. The fifth on account of that which has occurred as regards the spirit of fire. 13. The sixth on account of that which has occurred as regards the spirit of water. 14. The seventh on account of that which has occurred as regards the spirit of earth. 15. The eighth on account of that which has occurred as regards the spirit of the wind. 16. The ninth on account of that which has occurred as regards Khurdâd³. 17. The tenth on account of the offence that has occurred as regards Ameredâd³. 18. The eleventh on account of the offence that has occurred as regards meal-time ('hurdağ gâh)⁴. 19. The twelfth on account of the offence that has occurred as regards bodily refuse *and* dead matter. 20. Therefore it is incumbent on every one *in* this manner⁵; if any one be more opulent eighteen *ceremonials* are indispensable, and if she has silver in excess (ba-ghâyât) *there should be* twenty-one, *and in* one place I have read that twenty-four are indispensable; but, for lesser people, this that I have noted is necessary.

21. That which they provide in *their* lifetime is better⁶; *and*, just as would occur when any one

¹ B29 has 'the rain.'

² Lp, B29 use the same form of words in §§ 10-16 as in §§ 8, 9.

³ See Mkh. II, 34.

⁴ Doubtful, and not understood by the Gugarâti translator.

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'thus much.'

⁶ The author evidently implies, by this paragraph, that the celebration of these ceremonials was only occasional, perhaps once in a lifetime, but the earlier the better, so as to admit of a larger growth of merit before death.

plants a tree anew, *and* is eating the fruit of it every year, even so much is that good work increasing every year. 22. If she shall live ten years, *or* if a hundred years, even so long it is becoming every year much more¹. 23. If they provide *it* after her *lifetime*, that which would be the increase departs; and in *her* lifetime, also, that occurs which every one, who *has* done a duty on his own account, has seen, that *the thing* itself *which others* accomplish after his *lifetime* is very different; so that she *should* provide *it* with her own hands, not after her decease (vafât).

CHAPTER XLII.

1. The forty-second subject is this, that it is necessary to practise strict abstinence *from* that sin *which affects* accusers². 2. That would be when any one slanders (buhtânad)³, or any one commits a rape on the wife of some one⁴, or causes a woman *to occupy* a separate bed from her own husband.

3. These are sins *for* which there is no retribution, except when thou beggest forgiveness of that person whom thy sin has assailed. 4. Afterwards, they keep back the soul, *at* the *K'invad* bridge, till the time when its antagonist arrives and exacts justice from it; then it obtains release.

5. Every time that any one applies a falsehood or a slander to some person, so that *people* are after-

¹ Lp, B29 have 'it is proceeding every year to a head.'

² Any sin that injures another party who, thereupon, becomes an accuser and must be satisfied, by atonement, before the sin can be expiated (see Sls. VIII, 1 n).

³ Lp, B29 have 'applies falsehood and slander to any one.'

⁴ See Chap. LXIII, 11. Lp omits these twelve words.

wards telling that falsehood again, and it vexes the heart of that person, they are bringing punishment ever anew on the soul of that *former* one. 6. The sin does not depart through *the performance of duties* and good works, so long as he does not make *his* antagonist satisfied.

7. This is a grave sin, *and* it is requisite to be careful that they do not commit *it*.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. The forty-third subject is this, that it is necessary to make an endeavour to kill noxious creatures *and* reptiles ('hasarât) of the earth; because, in revelation¹, it is put *forth as a great good work*.

2. Especially these five things:—One is the frog in the water, the second is the snake and scorpion, the third is the ant (*markis*)² that flies, the fourth is the *common* ant (*môrkeh*), and the fifth is the mouse. 3. Therefore³, every time that they bring a frog up, out of the water, and make *it* dry, and, after (*ba'hd*) that, kill it, it is a good work of a thousand *and* two hundred dirhams *in weight*⁴.

4. And every time that they kill a snake, and recite the Avesta that is *appointed* for that *occasion*⁵, it is

¹ See Vend. XIV, 9-17, XVIII, 144-146.

² If *markis* were Pahlavi, it would mean 'the deadly thing.' Possibly 'the locust' (*mala'h*) is meant, but the description in § 6 is rather perplexing.

³ Lp omits 'therefore,' and B29 has 'and.'

⁴ See Chap. XII, 9 n. The frog is considered noxious because it is supposed to injure the water, being generally found in stagnant pools which are unwholesome.

⁵ An Avesta passage of about thirty words, to be used on such occasions, is to be found in the Rivâyats, but is still unedited.

just as though they have slain an apostate (*âsh môgh*). 5. *For* every one who kills a *flying* ant (*markis*) it is as much good work as *for* any one who is reciting *inward* prayer *for* ten days. 6. Among the creatures of Aharman nothing whatever is more harmful than this; for, if it dies in the air (*havâ*) it becomes a gnat, if it dies in the dust it becomes a worm, if it dies in the water it becomes a leech¹, if it dies among the excavators of flesh it becomes a venomous snake (*mâr-i af'hat*), and if it dies in dung it becomes creeping *things*. 7. *For* every one who kills a corn-dragging ant it is as much good work as *for* any one *who* recites the Hôrmazd Yast. 8. And *for* every one who kills many noxious creatures it is as much good work as *for* a priest who performs the ceremonial of the sacred beings; both good works are equal. 9. *For* every one who kills a mouse it is as much good work as *if* four lions are killed². 10. Therefore, it is incumbent on every one to make an effort to kill a noxious creature.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. The forty-fourth subject is this, that it is not desirable *for* those of the good religion, so far as they are able to manage *it*, to put a bare foot upon the ground³, because it is a sin, *and* injury⁴ occurs to Spendârmad⁵, the archangel. 2. And they call that the sin of running *about* uncovered.

¹ B29 has 'hedgehog.'

² Ants and mice (or rats) are considered noxious on account of the damage they do to certain crops and farmers' stores.

³ See Sls. X, 12.

⁴ Lp has only 'because injury.'

⁵ See Chap. XXXIII, 2 n.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. The forty-fifth subject is this, that it is continually necessary that *people should* keep in remembrance the accomplishment of repentance (taûbat).

2. Every time that a sin leaps from control it is necessary to act so that they go before the priests, high-priests, and *spiritual* chiefs, and accomplish repentance.

3. And¹ in accordance with the sin *should be* the good work, just as though the good work *were* due to that occasion when they accomplish it. 4. While mankind are living, it becomes every year a further benefit. 5. Sin is also, *in* like manner, going *on* to a head every year; and when they accomplish repentance, so that it *may* not increase further, it is just like a tree that becomes withered, and they extirpate its further growth.

6. And that repentance is better which they accomplish before high-priests and *spiritual* chiefs, and when they accomplish the retribution that the high-priest orders every sin that exists departs from them.

7. The repentance *that* high-priests accomplish they likewise call repentance². 8. If *there* be no high-priest it is necessary to go before some persons who are commissioned *by* high-priests; and if those, also, do not exist, it is necessary to go to a man *who is* a friend of the soul, *and* to accomplish the repentance.

¹ Lp, B29 have 'for.'

² Here and throughout the rest of the chapter B29 has patit, 'renunciation *of sin*,' instead of taûbat. The outward form of repentance consists of the recitation of the patit, in which all imaginable sins are mentioned and renounced.

9. At the time when *one* shall depart from the world it is incumbent on sons and daughters and relations, that they give repentance into the mouth of the afflicted *one*, and *that* they give the Ashem-vohû¹ into *his* mouth. 10. For the high-priests have said that, when they have accomplished repentance because they have committed many sins, they do not arrive in hell, *but* they administer punishment *to them* at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, and afterwards conduct *them* to their own place.

11. Repentance is that when they accomplish repentance of the sin which they have committed, and do not commit that sin a second *time*; if they do commit *it*, that *first sin* then comes back².

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The forty-sixth subject is this, that, when people become fourteen years *of age*, it is necessary to tie on the *sacred thread-girdle*³, because the high-priests have said that it is likewise necessary to take into account those nine months that they have been in the womb of the mother.

2. For in our religion there is no duty better than wearing the *sacred thread-girdle*, and it is incumbent

¹ See Chap. VII, 1 n.

² That is, repentance is not a mere penance, but requires a change of will, a veritable renunciation of that sin for the future; otherwise it is useless.

³ See Chap. X, which mentions fifteen years in accordance with Vend. XVIII, 115, 120. But Sls. X, 13 recommends fourteen years and three months as more prudent, no doubt for the reason stated here in the text.

on man and woman. 3. And, in former days, if any one should have become completely fifteen years *of age*, and should not have worn the *sacred thread-girdle*, they would have done for him by stoning, as bread and water are forbidden ('harâm) for him.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. The forty-seventh subject is this, that, when a child of seven years shall die, an order is necessary *that* it is requisite to perform a ceremony (yast) *for* Srôsh¹ on account of it, *and* to consecrate the sacred cake of the fourth night².

2. For it says in revelation that the souls of children go with the souls of *their* fathers and mothers ; if the father is *fit* for heaven *the child* goes to heaven with him, if he be *fit* for hell it arrives in hell ; if the mother be *fit* for heaven it reaches heaven with her, if she be *fit* for hell it reaches hell with her³.

3. Therefore, every time that they accomplish the ceremony *for* Srôsh, the soul of that child becomes separated from the souls of *its* father and mother, and goes to heaven, and is imploring intercession (sifâ'hat) for *its* father and mother in the presence of the sacred beings in that *other* world.

¹ See Mkh. II, 115 n.

² That is, most of the ceremonies requisite after the death of an adult, as detailed in Chap. LXXXVII, are also to be performed in this case, for the reason here given.

³ Lp omits these twenty-three words.

CHAPTER XLVIII¹.

1. The forty-eighth subject is this, that, when they boil a cooking-pot, it is necessary to make the water two parts of one-third *each*, that one-third of the pot may be empty; so that, if *at* any time the pot shall boil, *the water* shall not go to the top². 2. For if they do not act so, and the³ water, owing to not stopping, goes into the fire⁴, it is a sin of a thousand and two hundred dirhams *in weight*⁵; therefore it is necessary to keep watch that this sin does not arise.

CHAPTER XLIX⁶.

1. The forty-ninth subject is this, that, when *one*

¹ There is some confusion in the MSS. as to the arrangement of a few of the following chapters. The order here adopted is that of B29, J15, which is here in accordance with the metrical MSS., although Chaps. 48-56 are numbered 52-60 in the latter, owing to variations in the earlier part of the work. In La Chaps. 48-50 have been originally omitted, but part of 48, prefixed to a portion of 50, has been afterwards inserted in the margin, and Chap. 49 has been similarly added after the last chapter in the book. In Lp the chapters are arranged as follows:—48, 51-53, 49, 54, 56, while 50, 55 are omitted.

² Lp, B29, J15 add '*and the water not go into the fire.*' La, Lp add '*at least one-third should be water [in such a manner that it becomes wet from ear to ear. It is necessary to keep the mouth continually closed, so that the water shall not go into the mouth],*' but the passage in brackets is clearly a portion of Chap. L, 2, 3; it was originally written also in J15, but has been struck out of that MS.

³ La has 'if a drop of.'

⁴ La has 'mouth;' the passage in that MS. being evidently the end of Chap. L, 3.

⁵ La has 'of three hundred stirs,' as in Chap. L, 3, and omits the rest of the text. The two amounts are identical, and are equivalent to a Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

⁶ Inserted in La after the last chapter in the book, and numbered C. In Lp it is numbered LII.

gathers up a fire, it is requisite to leave *it* for a time, so that the ash-bed (bûm) of the fire *may* become cold; afterwards, *one is* to take *it* up and carry *it* to the precinct of fire. 2. It is not proper that they carry the ash-bed (zamîn) of a hot fire to the precinct of fire; so far is notorious.

CHAPTER L¹.

1. The fiftieth subject is this, that, every day *at* dawn, when they rise up from sleep, it is not proper to wash the hands first with water.

2. The *ceremonial* ablution is to wash the hands, face, nose, eyes, and feet thoroughly, either with fruit (mîvah)² or some grass upon which no water has come; afterwards, to make *them* dry, *and* to wash *them* three times with water *in* such a manner that it becomes wet from the face as far as the ear³.

3. It is necessary to keep the mouth closed, so that the water *shall* not go into the mouth; for if a drop, owing to not stopping, goes into the mouth, it is a sin of three hundred stîrs⁴. 4. Afterwards, *one is* to wash the hands three times with water, as far as the *upper* arms; first the right hand, *and* afterwards the left hand; and, *in* like manner, *he is* to wash the right foot and left foot.

¹ Omitted in La, Lp, though the former contains a portion of this chapter annexed to part of Chap. XLVIII, and most of its contents are repeated, in other words, in Chap. LXXIV.

² Perhaps mîvah may be taken as an adjective from mîv, 'hair,' in which case we should have 'with *something* either hairy or grassy.' According to the long-metre Sad Dar, the liquid to be used for this first wetting is either goat's or bull's urine.

³ La has 'from ear to ear' (see Chap. XLVIII, 1 n).

⁴ A Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Slş. I, 2).

5. Then they recite the Kəm-nâ-mazdâ¹, for, every time that they wish to recite anything as an *inward* prayer, it is necessary that the hands be washed with *ceremonial* ablution², and, if *they are* not, the Avesta is not accepted, and the fiend of corruption (nasus) does not rush *away*, *and* it becomes a Tanâvar sin.

CHAPTER LI.

1. The fifty-first subject is this, that it is incumbent on every one to send a child to school, and to teach *it* something. 2. Because every duty and good work that a child performs is just as though the father and mother had performed *it* with their own hands. 3. Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, so that they *may* teach them something good, and make *them* aware of good works and sin; for they are doing that on account of their own souls, so that those *children may* be courageous in doing good works.

4³. If they are not taught, they then perform less duty *and* good works, *and* less reaches the souls of the father and mother. 5. And it also happens that if they do not deliver children to school, and do not teach *them* anything, and they become bold in committing sin, that sin⁴ becomes *fixed* on the necks of the father and mother.

6. Therefore they have decided rightly who⁵ teach

¹ See Chap. XXXV, 2 n, which chapter, as well as Chap. LXXIV, treats of nearly the same subject.

² As described in §§ 2-4.

³ Lp, B29 insert 'because.'

⁴ B29 has 'that commission of sin.'

⁵ B29 has 'rightly for the children, *at* the time when they.'

them something, especially *what* is proper and improper according to revelation; because the chief principle is this, whether, through the duty of this world, a good *or* bad result is coming hereafter.

CHAPTER LII.

1. The fifty-second subject is this, that it is incumbent on every one that, every year *when* the month Fravardîn comes on, *he is* to provide a sacred cake *on* the day Khurdâd¹, and whatever they are able to bring to hand, *a little* of everything, *they are* to place by that sacred cake, and to consecrate *it* with the dedicatory *formula* Ayaranâmkâ², so that

¹ That is, on the sixth day of the first month of the Parsi year, a day which is called Khurdâd-sâl and kept sacred, because it is said to be the anniversary of many remarkable events, of which the following are mentioned in a Pahlavi tract that is also translated in the Persian Rivâyats (B29, fol. 401):—On that day worldly life was created, Gâyômarð came into the world and slew Arezûr, Mashya and Mashyôî grew up from the ground, Hôshâng appeared, Takhmôrup made Aharman his steed, Yim made the world free from death and decay, brought on a truce (? padmânak) with hell, and established depositories for the dead and new year's day, Frêdûn divided the world between his three sons, Mânûsêhar slew two of them, and rescued the world from Frâsyâk, Sâm the Narimânian slew the demon Gandarêpak (?), Kaî-Khûsrôî slew Frâsyâk and went to heaven, leaving the sovereignty to Lôrâsp, Zaratûst came to converse with Aûharmazd and received the religion from him, Kaî-Vistâsp accepted the religion, eighteen things come in eighteen years to Khûsrô son of Aûharmazd, Vâhrâm the Vargâvand comes from the Hindûs, Pêshyôtanû, son of Vistâsp, comes from Kangdez, Hûshêðar comes to converse with Aûharmazd, Sâm slays Az-î Dahâk and rules till Kaî-Khûsrôî reappears to reign for fifty-seven years, with Sôshâns as supreme high-priest, after which Kaî-Vistâsp resumes the sovereignty, and Zaratûst the priesthood, and the resurrection takes place on the same day of the year.

² Corrected from airyanâmkâ in all MSS. See Âf. I, 1 as far as saredhanâmkâ, then gâthâbyô, &c. (Âf. II, 1).

the affairs of that year may be better through that day's provision and the entry and coming in *of guests*.

2. For it is declared in revelation¹, that, every year, when the day Khurdâd of the month Fravardîn comes on, they allot a daily provision *for* mankind, and whatever *one* wishes to pass to the lot of mankind in that year they write down that day. 3. Therefore, when they shall consecrate this sacred cake, the archangel Khurdâd² is making intercession for that person.

CHAPTER LIII.

1. The fifty-third subject is this, that, when, in former³ times, any one wished to go on a journey (safar) that might have been at least⁴ twelve leagues (parasang), they would have consecrated a sacred cake, so that no affliction might happen in that journey, and affairs might be according to *their* wish, and employments (*sughl*)⁵ cheerful. 2. And it is *still* incumbent on every one that, when they wish to go on a journey, *they are* to consecrate this sacred cake.

3. *And*, while the person is on the journey, he *should* order the consecration of this sacred cake, in his house, every Bahirâm day⁶, so that that person *may* arrive in safety (salâmat) at *his* house. 4.

¹ B29 has 'in the good religion.'

² See Horvadað (Mkh. II, 34).

³ La, B29 omit 'former.'

⁴ B29 has 'less than.'

⁵ Lp, B29 insert 'might become.'

⁶ The twentieth day of the Parsi month.

The dedicatory formula is this—A mahê hutâstahê¹—*and* is known to the priest himself.

CHAPTER LIV.

1. The fifty-fourth subject is this, that if any one has a serving wife², *and* if the acquisition of a male child results³ from her, it is suitable for adoption *by* that person⁴, and the bridge⁵ is not severed *for* that person. 2. *But* if it be a female *child* it is necessary that the man *should* not be negligent (*ghâfil*) in appointing an adopted son for his own sake. 3. He *should* himself appoint a son of some relation, *who is* a friend of the soul, so that the bridge may not be severed *for* his soul.

CHAPTER LV⁶.

1. The fifty-fifth subject is this, that when a Navazûd⁷ ceremony is performed, and it happens that it is not possible to consecrate a sacred cake, it is necessary that *one should* eat bread with the Hôrmazd *inward* prayer; *and*, afterwards, he *should*

¹ The dedication to the angel Bahirâm, which begins with these words (see Sir. I, 20).

² A childless widow who has married again, and half of whose children, by her second husband, belong to her first one, to whom she also belongs in the other world (see Bd. XXXII, 6 n).

³ B29 has 'if a male child be born.'

⁴ The child being considered to belong to its mother's first husband, can be only an adopted son of her second husband.

⁵ The *Kinvad* bridge, which is the passage to heaven.

⁶ Lp omits this chapter.

⁷ See Chap. V, 1 n.

complete the prayer just as when they complete *it* as regards the sacred cake, so that the sin *may* be less.

CHAPTER LVI.

1. The fifty-sixth subject is this, that, when any one wishes to make an evacuation of water, it is necessary that he *should* not make the evacuation of water *while standing* on *his* feet. 2. Because, in the commentary of the Vendîdâd¹, it is said, concerning that, *that it is* a serious sin.

3. When they squat for evacuating water it is necessary that *it extend only*² from the heel as far as the end of the toes; for, if it be more, every drop is a Tanâvar sin. 4. And, when they wish to squat for the evacuation of water, *they are* to utter one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô³; *and*, when the action is over, *they are* to recite the Ashem-vohû⁴ three times, the Humatanâm⁵ twice, the Hukhshathrôtemâi⁶ three times, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô four times, and the Ahunem-vairîm⁷ to the end. 5. Because, every time that they act like this, they are pleasant in the eyes and hearts of mankind, and their words are more approved *in* the vicinity of kings.

¹ Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 98.

² Lp, B29 have 'that they do not make the evacuation of water more *than*.'

³ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n.

⁴ See Chap. VII, 1 n. The recitation of this and the four following formulas is commanded in Vend. XVIII, 97.

⁵ Yas. XXXV, 4-6.

⁶ Yas. XXXV, 13-15.

⁷ Yas. XIV, end.

CHAPTER LVII.

1. The fifty-seventh subject is this, that it is not proper to kill a hedgehog; and, everywhere that they see *it*, it is necessary to take *it* up and carry *it* into the wilderness (sa'hrâ), so that it *may* go into a hole, which is ever considered a great good work. 2. Because, when a hedgehog is in *their* nest¹, some ants will die; it will *also* catch and eat thousands of snakes and² other harmful *creatures*, and it eats all noxious creatures. 3. Therefore, owing to the whole *of this*, these words are expedient.

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. The fifty-eighth subject is this, that it is ever necessary that those of the good religion *should* make an effort that they *may* celebrate *a ceremony for their* living souls. 2. *For* the soul, *for which* they have celebrated *a ceremony*³, just as much good work as it then becomes each year, it is twice as much good work the second year. 3. So that, *in* this manner, the merit of *the ceremony for* the living soul is increasing just so much every year, while the man is living. 4. And, after that, this also occurs, that, if at the time when that person becomes an immortal soul *there* be no one *at hand*—Srôsh⁴ *being* the angel when *the ceremony for* the living soul is celebrated—Srôsh, the righteous, receives the soul by

¹ Lp, B29 have 'goes into an ant's nest.'

² B29 omits these four words.

³ B29 has 'for every time that they have celebrated *a ceremony for* the living soul.'

⁴ See Mkh. II, 115 n.

himself, and is keeping watch *over it* during the three days¹, and does not forsake *it*, so that no danger *or* harm happens to it. 5. And the fourth night he is a helper, with the angel Rashn², at the *Kinvad* bridge, while they make up its account and reckoning, and it goes *to* its own place.

6. And this *ceremony* for the living soul is appointed for the reason that, just in the manner *that*, when an infant becomes separated from the mother, a midwife (qâbilat) is necessary for it, so that they *may* keep watch over it, *and* just in the manner that she takes up the infant³ from the ground—and, *at* the time when it is born, it is ever necessary that *there* be a woman present ('hâjirat), or they *may* perform work *for* the infant at a time *fit* for the demon—in this same manner, when the soul is becoming separated from the body it is like an infant (*tifl*), *and* does not know any way to its place. 7. When they celebrate *a ceremony* for the living soul, and have propitiated the righteous Srôsh, the righteous Srôsh becomes like the midwife, so that he receives that soul by himself, and keeps watch *that it is* out of the hands of Aharman and the demons. 8. When they do not celebrate *a ceremony* for the soul *when* living, *but*, after that⁴, the priests perform *it* before Srôsh, it is like that *which occurs* when a woman brings forth a child⁵, *and* after that they set *her* before the midwife. 9. And it happens that while some one is coming in, who takes up that child and wraps *it* up, it has perished.

¹ While it is supposed to stay near the body.

² B29 adds 'and the angel Mihir.' See Mkh. II, 118, 119.

³ Lp, B29 have merely 'and she takes *it* up.'

⁴ Lp adds 'it is necessary that.'

⁵ Lp adds 'they make no enquiry (*talab*) about it before her.'

10. Therefore, as she does the needful which they *should* do earlier by the hand of some one, *in* this same manner it makes *it* incumbent on every one to celebrate *a ceremony* for his own living soul, so that it *may* be free (īman) from these misfortunes. 11. *And*¹ that, if his decease occurs *in* any place where *there* may be no one who *will* celebrate *a ceremony* for his soul, since *a ceremony* for the living soul is celebrated, *there* are no arrears for him, and he is free. 12. And, in many things, it is that *ceremony* for the living soul which is expedient, especially in these times when the priests have remained few *in* number; *and*, when it is celebrated by one's own hands, it is a great duty.

CHAPTER LIX.

1. The fifty-ninth subject is this, that, in the good *and* pure religion of the Mazda-worshippers, they have not commanded the women to perform the Nyâyises². 2. *And*³ their Nyâyises are these, that three times every day, *at* dawn, mid-day⁴ prayer, and evening prayer, they stand back in the presence of their own husbands, and fold their arms and speak thus: 'What are thy thoughts, so that I *may* think them; what is necessary for thee, so that I *may* speak it; and what is necessary for thee, so that I *may* do it?'

3. For, any command, and whatever the husband

¹ B29 adds 'this also happens.'

² Periodical salutations of the sun and moon (see Chap. VI, 2), fire and water.

³ Lp, B29 have 'for.'

⁴ Literally 'former, early.'

orders, it is requisite to go about that day. 4. *And*, certainly, without the leave (riâ) of the husband *she is* to do no work, so that the Lord *may* be pleased with that wife. 5. For the satisfaction of the sacred being is in a reverence (ya st) for¹ the satisfaction of the husband; so that every time that they perform work *by* command of the husband they call them righteous in the religion; and if not, what do they call them?

CHAPTER LX.

1. The sixtieth subject is this, that we are keeping the good *and* pure religion of the Mazda-worshippers with us², so that escape from hell *may* be possible for our souls³. 2. And we are completely united in hope, and through investigation (ta'hqîq) we fully understand that, when we are steadfast in the good religion, we arrive in heaven. 3. And we know that arrival in heaven occurs through virtuous actions, and through them we are saved; so that we think of good⁴, speak of good, and do good.

4. And no doing of good is better than that which *offers itself* when a difficult duty comes before one of the good religion as his soul wishes to depart. 5. Since it comes to thee, do thou give help *to* that which has escaped *his* hand, so that he *may* come out of that hindrance; and do thou not forsake *him*

¹ Lp has merely 'is in,' and B29 has 'is connected with.'

² Lp has 'through hope.'

³ B29, J15 have 'that in the good *and* pure religion of the Mazda-worshippers it is declared that we are maintaining a hope that the soul *may* obtain escape from hell.'

⁴ La puts the thinking of good last of the three.

so that he relinquishes the religion. 6. For after that, while he is in the religion, *and* while his children, after him, are in the religion¹, every duty and good work that he does—and *his* children—is just like those which are done by *thine* own hand.

7. And *it is* just like that with regard to poll-tax, it is also indispensable to give *it* in semblance of help, so that they *may* give that person *his* release ('*halâḥ*), and he *may* stay in his own place, *and* the advantage of a good work (THAVÂB) *may* come to that *other person*.

CHAPTER LXI.

1. The sixty-first subject is this, that it is requisite to abstain strictly from speaking falsehood; so that, every time that mankind indulge in the speaking of falsehood with fondness², it is not proper to do *so*; and³ falsehood is the chief⁴ of all sins.

2. Zaratusht enquired of Hôrmazd thus: 'Who is a liar like?' 3. Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, said: 'A liar is a co-operator with Aharman.'

4. In revelation it says that *there* is no hereafter (*â'hîrat*) for the speakers of falsehood, and in the midst of mankind they are contemptible (*'haqîr*).

5. If *such* a man be powerful (*mu'htasim*), *and there* be no avoiding (*'hadhar*) him in the vicinity

¹ B29 omits these ten words.

² Lp omits these fourteen words.

³ B29 omits these twenty words.

⁴ This seems to have been the meaning intended, judging from §§ 2-6; otherwise it might be translated 'end' or 'result,' especially as the writer has characterised other sins as 'the chief' (see Chaps. IX, 2, XXV, 8).

of mankind, they do not have any respect *for him*, and he is clearly (*farḡâm*) an evil liar. 6. Although he possesses much wealth, it will all depart from his hands, and, finally (*'hâqibat*), begging of mankind occurs to him, and his progeny also becomes scanty¹.

CHAPTER LXII.

1. The sixty-second subject is this, that it is necessary to take early to the speaking of truth and doing of justice, and to maintain oneself therein, for nothing whatever is better among mankind than truth.

2. Owing to truth Hôrmazd created this world and that *other* world, and truth has remained on the spot, and on account of truth it becomes pure.

3. And the accursed Aharman, *being devoid* of anything good, does not issue from that which is owing to truth. 4. It is requisite to occasion the resurrection owing to truth; and, *as to* every place where truth is not taken up, the glory in that place *has* found a way *out*, and *as to* every household where much *of this* resides, it is on account of truth, and Aharman does not find a way into that place.

5. It is said in revelation that one truthful man is better than a whole world (*'hâlam*) speaking falsehood; and Gâvah of Ispahân²—when he kept *his* stand upon the truth, and was speaking words with truth until *the time* when Dahâk³, who possessed the

¹ Lp omits these six words.

² B29 adds 'he was a blacksmith.' His revolt against Dahâk is detailed in the Shâhnâmah.

³ See Mkh. VIII, 29 n.

whole realm, *and* the whole of the demons and mankind have been afraid of him, through the truth of the words spoken—was bold with them in every speech, and became victorious (*mut/haffar*) over them, by reason of the true words that he was speaking.

6. The accursed Aharman, when he perceived the spirit of truth, had fallen senseless three thousand years¹. 7. From fear of truth he never managed to hold up *his* head, and from fear of truth he did not manage to come into this world². 8. And everything that thou settest *thy* gaze (*na thar*) *upon* therein, that has remained on the spot when thou seekest again an examination of it, has remained through truth. 9. And the interpretation of the Ashem-vohû³ is in truth, *and*, for that reason, they recite the Ashem-vohû frequently.

CHAPTER LXIII.

1. The sixty-third subject is this, that it is necessary to practise strict abstinence from adultery on this account, that *through* every one who beguiles the wife of another, and commits iniquity with her, that woman becomes, in a moment, unlawful as regards *her* husband. 2. And, after that, every time her husband comes round about her, it is just as though she had gone near to a strange man. 3. The righteous bestowal⁴ *of herself* on her own husband, in this

¹ See Bd. I, 22. The spirit of truth was his opposite, the *spentô mainyus* or 'bountiful spirit' of Hôrmazd.

² See Bd. III, 1-5.

³ See Chap. VII, 1 n.

⁴ Lp inserts 'he shall wish.'

situation, is always worse *than his going*¹ with women of a different religion, on this account, that, if that wife becomes pregnant, it is just as though one of the good religion had fallen *away* into a different religion, and² thereby that man becomes worthy of death.

4. And it also happens, when that wife becomes pregnant, *that* she *may* effect the slaughter of the infant, from fear of a bad reputation. 5. Then, *for* that person whose child it is, it is just as though he had effected the slaughter of the child with his own hand; therefore, he is worthy of death. 6. If the infant be born, and it remains³ in the religion, every sin that that child of his commits is, for that person, just as though it were committed by his own hand.

7. And if a woman of those of the good religion commits *adultery*, she becomes in a condition unlawful as regards *her* husband; *and* if an infant be born it is illegitimate. 8. And the sin owing to this will depart *at* the time when that person goes near to her husband *and* shall say: 'What is *there* in me befitting thy wife?' 9. A calamity (*âk*) *has* occurred, and a crime (*'ha tât*) *has* come into *my* body; thou knowest if thou *wilt* exercise forgiveness (*'hafû*), and if not, when *it is* not for me, do thou kill *me*; my blood is lawful (*'halâl*) unto thee.' 10. If he shall kill her, her sin will depart owing to this;

¹ B29 has 'it never becomes a righteous bestowal of herself on *her* husband, and if, in this situation, he is also.'

² B29 omits 'and.'

³ Lp, B29 have 'it does not remain,' but the text seems to be assuming that the illicit origin of the child is unsuspected, in which case it would undoubtedly remain in the religion, as it would probably do in any case.

otherwise, this sin will not depart from her in any manner (navat)¹.

11. And *one* calls this sin a sin *affecting* antagonists², *and*, so long as the antagonist does not become satisfied, the sin flows on³, *and* they keep his soul back at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, till the time that its antagonist shall arrive and himself accomplishes *his* antagonism, and they give him back a reply⁴.

CHAPTER LXIV.

1. The sixty-fourth subject is this, that it is necessary to practise great abstinence from committing theft⁵ and seizing anything from mankind by force.

2. For it is declared in revelation that, *as to* every one who steals one dirham⁶ away from another, when they really know *it*, it is necessary to take two dirhams away from him; one dirham *being* that which *was* carried off, and one dirham as the fine of him who committed the theft. 3. It is also requisite to cut *off* one ear, and it is necessary to strike ten *blows with* a stick, and to detain *him* one period in prison.

¹ B29 omits these eleven words.

² Or accusers (see Chap. XLII, 1, 2).

³ B29 has 'it flows on,' if we read bi-rêzad; but the Gugarâti translator seems to take gunâh-barêzad (Av. berezant) as a technical epithet for the soul, as though he would say 'they keep back the soul of him *whose* sin is rampant.'

⁴ That is, the investigating angels announce their decision as to the proper fate of the soul they have detained.

⁵ B29, J15 have 'violence.'

⁶ A silver coin of 63 grains in weight, or about $5\frac{2}{3}$ annas (see Dd. LII, 1 n); say, seven-pence.

4. And if he shall steal another¹ dirham, in the same manner *one* is to take away two dirhams², to cut *off* the other ear, to strike twenty *blows with a stick*, and to detain *him* two periods³ in prison. 5. And if he shall steal three dirhams and two dângs⁴, it is requisite to cut *off his* right hand. 6. If he shall steal five hundred dirhams⁵, it is requisite to hang *him*.

7. *On* the spot the punishment is this, and among the spirits it brings punishment on the soul itself. 8. And, if the *other* person does not know *it*, they take away twice as much good work, among the spirits, from that *thief*, and give *it* to the soul of this person. 9. If *the thief* possesses no good works, they give the compensation from the constantly-beneficial treasury⁶, and exhibit the punishment *on* the soul of that *thief*.

10. *As to* that person who has seized anything

¹ Lp has 'two.'

² Lp has 'to take four.'

³ The Gugarâti translator takes 'one period' as 'one ghađî (24 minutes),' but 'two periods' as '2½ ghađî (one hour).' The word sâ'hat, 'period,' means also 'an hour,' but so short a term of imprisonment seems improbable.

⁴ That is, 3½ dirhams, nearly 1½ rūpî, or, say, two shillings.

⁵ That is, 175 rūpîs, or, say, £14 12s.

⁶ Where all supererogatory good works are supposed to be kept in store by the angels, for the purpose of granting them to souls who deserve them, but have been unable to acquire a sufficiency. It is said to be situated in the 'endless light' of heaven, and is the misvânô gâtus hvadhâtô, 'ever-benefiting place, the self-sustained,' of Vend. XIX, 122. Perhaps gang, 'treasury,' may have been originally gung, 'space,' which would better suit the idea of a 'self-sustained place' (see Dd. XXVI, 3, XXXI, 24, XXXVII, 22, 24, XXXVIII, 3). The term 'treasurer,' applied to the female personifications of conscience who meet the soul with the stores of its good works and sins (see Sg. IV, 92–96), seems to have no connection with this treasury of other people's good works.

from another by force, among the spirits they seize back four *things*¹ as compensation for every single one. 11. And if, *on the spot where people capture him*, he makes *it* convenient to return four *things* in compensation *for* one, when they have fully understood, as they capture that person who is committing highway-robbery, *that* he makes *it* convenient², they *may* kill him at once.

CHAPTER LXV.

1. The sixty-fifth subject is this, that every one is to practise thanksgiving continually, *and* it is requisite *that* he maintains *it* through good and bad; and *he is* to keep in view³ the benefits of Hôrmazd. 2. Because the creator⁴ Hôrmazd demands two things from mankind, the one is that *one should* not commit sin, and the other is that *one should* practise thanksgiving. 3. And how much soever more grateful mankind become, through virtue *and* worthiness as regards him, they⁵ grant more abundant daily provision for the grateful than that which is for other persons. 4. And *as to* every one who is not grateful *to* him, the bread that he eats becomes unlawful, and it is not proper for any one to do good *in connection* with him.

¹ Twice as much as in cases of theft without violence (see § 2).

² So that they may not interfere with such benefit for his soul as he may obtain by atonement. These old priestly laws having much more consideration for the soul than for the body.

³ La has 'to portray.'

⁴ Lp omits these fourteen words.

⁵ The angels.

5. And it is declared in revelation that when an unthankful person dies, wherever they deposit his corpse, the archangel Spendârmad¹ is trembling like a sheep that sees a wolf. 6. And *as to* a bird that eats that corpse, on whatever tree it rests and settles, it makes that tree wither away, and the person *who* sits down in the shadow of the tree becomes ill.

7. There are different things that it is necessary for those of the good religion to make predominant over themselves. 8. One is to exercise liberality *in connection* with the worthy; the second is to do justice; the third is to be friendly unto every one; and the fourth is to be sincere and true², and to keep falsehood far from themselves. 9. And these four habits (*haḡlat*) are the principles (*aḡl*) of the religion of Zaratusht, and it is necessary, when thou listenest *to them* thyself, *that* thou dost not listen to any one *else*³. 10. Because the creator Hôrmazd says, 'O Zaratusht! if thou wilt that thou become pure and saved, *and that* thou arrive at the place of the pure, do thou accomplish these two duties:—11. One is this, that thou prefer the friendship of the spiritual *existence to that of* the worldly one, and consider the things of the world as contemptible and those of the spirit precious; on this account the glory of the world is sought⁴ with scorn, and do not thou let the spirit escape. 12. The second is this, that thou speak truly with every one and act justly with me,

¹ See Chap. XXXIII, 2 n. Lp, B29 omit 'archangel.'

² Lp omits these nine words.

³ Lp has 'that what thou listenest *to* thyself, thou listenest *to* as regards any one *else*.' B29 has 'that what thou dost not approve *for* thyself, thou dost not do to any one *else*' (see § 12).

⁴ B19 has 'on this account the world is sought again.'

that is, whatever thou dost not approve for thyself do not approve¹ for any one *else*; when thou hast acted in this manner thou art righteous.'

CHAPTER LXVI.

1. The sixty-sixth subject is this, that it is incumbent on all women² to order the days (ayyâm) of the Dvâzdah-hômâst³, because the whole of any sin that may have arisen during menstruation, and *at* other times, becomes cleared away *thereby*.

2. And in the commentary of the Vendidâd it says *that* every one becomes sanctified in the days of the Dvâzdah-hômâst, and all sins become cleared away from her, like that which *occurs at* harvest time, when a great wind comes on and carries it off; just like this the sin departs from her, and the person becomes clean *and* pure.

3. And, for women⁴, there is no duty more indispensable than this; for it is declared in revelation that, when they celebrate a Dvâzdah-hômâst, it is a good work of a hundred thousand Tanâvars⁵, and if

¹ B29 has 'perform.'

² B29 has 'on the wives of every one,' and J15 has 'on every one.'

³ In the Gugarâti version (p. 310) of the long-metre Sad Dar Dastûr Jâmâspji states, in a foot-note, that the Dvâzdah-hômâst consists of a Yazîsn ceremony every day for 144 days, in honour of twelve angels, so that each angel is revered for twelve successive days. He stated formerly (see Byt. II, 59 n) that this celebration was a Hômâst, and that a Dvâzdah-hômâst was a similar celebration for 264 days in honour of twenty-two angels for twelve days each. It appears, however, from Chap. XLI, 7, 20, that the number of ceremonies may vary with the wealth of the individual.

⁴ Lp omits these thirteen words.

⁵ See Sls. XVI, 6.

it be the days of the Dvâzdah-hômâst it is a good work of a thousand thousand Tanâvars, and when they celebrate *it* by day it is a good work just like this.

CHAPTER LXVII.

1. The sixty-seventh subject is this, that it is necessary for women to practise great abstinence from committing adultery. 2. For it is declared in revelation, *as to* every woman who *has* lain with a strange man, thus: 'What is it necessary to call her, and why is the explanation¹ that she is of one nature with all wizards and sinners?'

3. And in the commentary of the Vendîdâd² it says "every woman who consorts with two strange men is the first *down* upon me, who am Hôrmazd.

4. For if she takes a look into a river of water it will make *it* diminish, if she takes a look³ at a tree *or* shrub the fruit of the trees becomes scanty, and if she speaks a word with a righteous man it will make the glory⁴ of the man diminish." 5. Zaratust enquired of Hôrmazd, "What occurs on⁵ her account?" 6. The creator Hôrmazd spoke thus: "It is necessary to kill her sooner than a biting serpent and similar creatures and wild beasts, because she is more harmful to my creatures."

7. Therefore, since she is like this, it is necessary for women to keep themselves *with* great effort, so that they *may* not become unlawful unto their own

¹ B29 has 'and it is by reason of that fault.'

² What follows is a free paraphrase of Vend. XVIII, 123-132.

³ Lp omits these four words.

⁴ Lp, B29 add 'and purity.'

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'what is necessary.' •

husbands. 8. For, every time that *one of them* gives herself four times to another person, she is, after that, unlawful as long as¹ she may be *in* the house of *her* husband², and new sin is increasing *in connection* with her soul³.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

1. The sixty-eighth subject is this, that for a menstruous woman who casts an eye upon a fire it is a sin of twelve dirhams *in* weight⁴; and if she goes *within* three steps of the fire it is a sin of a thousand and two hundred dirhams⁵ *in* weight for her; and when she puts her hand *to* the fire it is a sin of fifteen Tanâvars for her.

2. In like manner, if she takes a look *at* running water it is a sin of twelve dirhams *in* weight for her⁶; if she goes *within* fifteen steps of running water it is a sin of fifteen dirhams *in* weight for her; and when she sits down in running water it is a sin of fifteen Tanâvars for her. 3. And when she walks in the rain, through every drop that drops upon her limbs *there* arises a sin of one Tanâvar for her.

4. *If* she comes to a Khûrshêd Nyâ'is⁷, to observe *it*, it is not proper *for her* to speak a word with a

¹ B29 has 'unlawful when.'

² This seems to be the author's interpretation of the following commentary (Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 124a):—'And it is no matter to her; for, when cohabitation is three times conceded by her, *she is* worthy of death. Gôgôrasp said that this is an adulteress who is *kept* within bounds.'

³ B29 has 'increasing as to water and fire.'

⁴ About 756 grains, possibly four Farmân sins (see Sls. XI, 2).

⁵ A Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

⁶ B29 omits this clause.

⁷ Or salutation of the sun.

righteous man¹. 5. It is not proper *for her* to put a bare foot on the ground. 6. It is not proper *for her* to eat any food with a *bare* hand; it is not proper *for her* to eat bread *when* satisfied². 7. It is not proper *for* two menstruous women to eat together; it is not proper for them to sleep *so*³.

8. And so long as three days *have* not elapsed it is not proper to wash the hands⁴, and three days after that, if she *has* perceived herself clean, it is requisite to remain another day, and *so* until the lapse of nine days, *when*, if she *has* perceived herself clean, it is not necessary *to remain* to the end of⁵ another *interval* of time. 9. If menstruation occurs *for* twenty-nine days, it is necessary⁶ to consider that she is menstruous a second time, and during three other days it is not proper to wash again, and it is necessary to exercise care, just like that which⁷ I first wrote *about*.

10. If she be doubtful whether menstruation is come to her, it is requisite *for her* to strip off *her* dress, and then to take notice if she has become menstruous, *or if* the dress that is stripped off be clean. 11. If she has an infant *to feed* with *her* milk,

¹ § 4 in B29 is as follows:—‘It is not proper *for her* to take a look at the sun, *or* at a righteous man.’

² La, B29 have *sêr*, but Lp has *sîr*, ‘milk,’ which is also the reading taken by the Gugarâti translator who must have understood the clause as follows:—‘It is not proper *for her so* to eat bread *and* milk.’

³ B29 adds ‘and it is not desirable *for their* limbs to touch each other.’

⁴ B29 has ‘head.’

⁵ B29 has ‘it is requisite to remain for.’

⁶ La omits these ten words, as well as ‘a second time’ further on.

⁷ B29 has merely ‘the care which.’

one puts away the dress from the infant, and gives *it* to the mother till it *has* fed *on* the milk, *and* then it is proper to give *it* to other persons. 12. It is pure, but when the mother washes *her* head she also washes¹ the head of the infant.

13. And it is necessary *for* a menstruous woman that she *should* not pass by the end of² anything ceremonially washed, for, if it be a thousand cubits (*gaz*) *in length*, she makes the whole *of it* polluted, *and* it becomes unclean. 14. With any one *who* holds a sacred-twig stand³ she *should* not speak a word; *and* if a priest holds the sacred twigs in *his* hand, *and* a menstruous woman speaks some (*ba'hîê*) words⁴ from afar, or he walks within three steps of a menstruous woman, she makes *it*⁵ unclean.

CHAPTER LXIX.

1. The sixty-ninth subject is this, that it is not proper that sunshine *should* fall on a fire, for, every time that sunshine falls upon a fire⁶, it is a⁷ sin. 2. If thou expose a fire to the sun it is a sin of three

¹ Lp, B29 have 'it is also requisite to wash.'

² B29 has 'pass a look over.'

³ This consists of two metal tripods with crescent-shaped tops, to support the small faggot of sacred twigs or wires that are bound together by a girdle of narrow strips of a date-palm leaflet; the girdle being tied on the faggot in the same manner as that on the waist of a Parsi (see Sls. III, 32 n). The sacred twigs must always be present at ceremonies, sometimes held in the hand of the officiating priest, and sometimes lying on their stand.

⁴ B29 has '*and* if she speaks words with him.'

⁵ B29 has 'it becomes.'

⁶ B29 omits these eight words.

⁷ B29 has 'much.'

stirs¹; and, if thou set down anything on the top of the fire, it is necessary that it *should* not have any hole—so that the light (nûr) and strength of the fire *might* become less—so far as thou knowest.

CHAPTER LXX.

1. The seventieth subject is this, that, *as to* any persons, when they carry a corpse to the appointed place, it is necessary that two suits of clothes be put on, on account of this work. 2. It is requisite *for* those clothes to be on², and it is necessary³ to make a dog gaze at the corpse twice, once *at* the time when life becomes separated *from* it, and once *at* the time when they wish to take *it* up.

3. Then it is necessary that both those persons be connected, *and each of them is* to tie a cord on one of his own hands, so that the hand *may* go away⁴ from *that of* the other one. 4. And, when they are moving, it is necessary for him to be prepared and not to speak a word with any one. 5. And if it be a pregnant woman *they are* to take *her* up by four persons, because there are two corpses⁵.

6. When, avoiding dead matter, *one* comes again upon it, *he has*, in the end, to wash⁶ with *ceremonial* ablution⁷, and that is requisite for the reason that he

¹ The same as the twelve dirhams in Chap. LXVIII, 1, 2.

² Lp, B29 have 'to dress in those clothes.'

³ B29 omits 'it is necessary.'

⁴ That is, the cord must hang quite slack, though B29 states that 'the hand *may* not go apart.'

⁵ See Sls. X, 10.

⁶ B29 has '*he has* to wash *his* head and body.'

⁷ Lp, B29 add 'and water.'

may not thereby be rapidly a *cause of* wickedness or death for any one¹.

7. And if *one* does not show a dog to the corpse, *and* they take *it* up, how many soever *there* be, the whole *of them* become polluted². 8. In the commentary of the Vendîdâd it is asserted, that every one who takes up a corpse that a dog *has* not seen is polluted and worthy of death³, and never becomes clean; his soul *also* would be wicked.

CHAPTER LXXI.

1. The seventy-first subject is this, that, forasmuch as it is not desirable *for* any one to eat dead matter for the sake of medicine and remedy, *let them* beware (zinhâr) when they eat *it*⁴.

2. For it asserts, in the commentary of the Vendîdâd⁵, that it is requisite to demolish the habitation, house, and abode of any one *who* has⁶ eaten dead matter, and to fetch his heart out of *his* body, and it is necessary to scoop out his eyes. 3. And *along* with these torments, which they accomplish on him, his soul is in hell till the resurrection.

CHAPTER LXXII.

1. The seventy-second subject is this, that when any one carries dead matter to water, *or* to fire, he is

¹ Lp, B29 omit 'for any one.'

² B29 has merely 'and if, to make a dog gaze at the corpse, they take *it* up, *it is* on how many soever *there* be.'

³ Compare Sls. II, 65.

⁴ B29 has 'beware that they do not eat *it*.'

⁵ Perhaps alluding to Pahl. Vend. VII, 59-64.

⁶ B29 has 'to demolish his house and abode if any one has.'

worthy of death¹. 2. And² it asserts in revelation, that *any* year when the locust comes profusely³, it comes for the reason that dead matter is brought to water and fire. 3. And, *in* like manner, the winter is colder, and the summer is hotter.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

1. The seventy-third subject is this, that, when a cow or a goat *has* eaten dead matter⁴, in any place, nothing whatever of *its* flesh, *or* milk, *or* hair, *should* come into use for one year. 2. After that one year it is clean: and, if it be pregnant, its young one is likewise not clean *for* one year.

3. And if a domestic fowl *has* eaten dead matter, its flesh and eggs are, *in* like manner, not clean *for* one year.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

1. The seventy-fourth subject is this, that *at* dawn, when they rise up from sleep, it is first necessary to throw something⁵ on the hands, that is the hand-

¹ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 65-71.

² Lp, B29 have 'for.'

³ La has sâl, and B29 san for 'year;' Lp has 'that when the bês and locust come profusely.' The bês may be either a poisonous plant (*Napellus Moysis*), or 'distress.'

⁴ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 189-192, Sls. II, 109.

⁵ According to the long-metre Sad Dar this 'something' (as in Chap. L) is Nîrang, the ritualistic liquid or consecrated bull's urine (see Chap. XXXVI, 7 n). This chapter is, to some extent, a repetition of Chap. L.

cleansing¹. 2. Afterwards, *they are* to wash the hands quite clean with water, *in* such manner that *they are* to wash the hands three times from the forearm (sâ'hid) to the end of the hand; and the face is washed from behind the ears to below the chin *and* up to the crown of the head; and *one* washes the feet three times thoroughly, as far as the leg (sâq); then *one* recites the Kem-nâ-mazdâ².

3. If it be a place where *there* is no water, and the risk be that *the time for* the Nyâyis³ *should* pass by, it is requisite to cleanse⁴ the hands three times *with* dust, and to perform the Nyâyis. 4. Afterwards, when *one* arrives at water, *he is* to wash the hands and face a second time, and to accomplish the Nyâyis⁵.

5. Before *the time* when *one* throws something on the hands it is not proper to wash the hands and face, *and* it is a Tanâvar sin; it is also not possible to work at anything whatever *with* the hands and face not washed.

CHAPTER LXXV.

1. The seventy-fifth subject is this, that, when they wish to provide a supply of water *for* any cultivated *land*, it is first necessary that they make

¹ Lp adds 'or some grass upon which no water has come, or fruit, is also to go into the nose *and* eyes, *and* make *them* clean' (see Chap. L, 2).

² See Chap. XXXV, 2 n.

³ The salutation of the sun (see Chap. VI, 2).

⁴ B29 inserts 'the face and.'

⁵ B29 omits § 4.

an inspection through every course *and* channel¹ of the water, *to ascertain* whether there be dead matter therein, or not; *and*, after that, *through* the water *in* like manner. 2. If they be in the middle of it, when the water is within their cultivated *land*, *and* dead matter comes in sight, if it be possible to ward *it off* *one* wards *it off*, and if it be possible to divert the water *one* diverts *it*. 3. And if the water arrives with dead matter unawares, it is no sin for them. 4. *But* if no inspection of the stream and cultivated *land* be made, and the water arrives with dead matter, those people are polluted, and it is necessary to perform the Bareshnûm *ceremony*² *as regards* their heads.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

1. The seventy-sixth subject is this, when a woman brings forth, it is necessary that she *should* not wash *her* head *for* twenty-one days, nor put *her* hand again on anything, nor walk on a terrace-roof, nor put *her* foot on a threshold in *her* habitation. 2. And after the twenty-one days, if she sees herself *in* such a state that she is able to wash *her* head, she washes *her* head. 3. And, after that, until the coming on of the fortieth day, it is requisite to abstain from the vicinity of a fire and anything that is wooden³ *or* earthen; it is also requisite to abstain from everything of her cooking and pot-boiling⁴. 4. Afterwards, when it is forty days, *she is*

¹ B29 has 'when any one wishes to enter into participation of a cultivated field, it is first necessary to observe in every course.'

² See Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

³ La 'has, B29 kôbîn; Lp has 'hûris, 'food.'

⁴ B29 omits these thirteen words.

to wash *her* head, and it is proper *for her* to do every *kind of* work.

5. Till the lapse of a second¹ forty days it is not proper *for her* husband to make an approach to her, for it is a great sin, and it is possible that she *may* become pregnant a second time, as within a *period of* forty days women become very quickly pregnant².

6. And if after the *first* forty days she sees herself impure, unless she knows with accuracy that it has come from the infant, it is necessary to consider if *she be* menstruous.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

1. The seventy-seventh subject is this, that, when a woman's infant is still-born, it is necessary to give *her* first something washed with ceremony *and* brought *with* fire-ashes³, so that it *may* make the heart within her pure. 2. After that, *for* three days, it is altogether improper to give *her* water, *or* anything in which *there* is water or salt. 3. And these three days are from period to period⁴, *in* such a

¹ Only B29 and the Gugarâti have 'a second.'

² B29 omits these twelve words.

³ So in B29, which agrees with Vend. VII, 163, but La, Lp are defective. The 'something' means consecrated bull's urine, as in Chap. LXXIV, 1; this, mingled with ashes, is prescribed as the first thing to be tasted by the woman.

⁴ That is, from the given hour to the same hour on the third day, although, from what follows, it appears that, if the given hour were in the middle of any period of the day, the third day would expire at the beginning of the third similar period. Whether the three days are to be inclusive, or exclusive, of the day when the term begins, that is, whether the term is to be nearly 48 or 72 hours, is not very clear.

manner that, if the duty of mid-day¹ prayer has occurred, they extend till the mid-day prayer itself, *and she is* to pass over one other hour *and it is then* proper to swallow water. 4. After that, till the lapse of forty days, *she is* to sit apart again, and, afterwards, to undergo the Bareshnûm ceremony².

5. *On* the infant's becoming a four-months' child, whenever it is *still-born* it is a dead *body*³, for the reason that so long as it does not reach the fourth month life does not come to it. 6. And if after three months this affair occurs, *one is* to exercise great caution (i'h'tiyât) and to insist strictly on this matter.

7. For our religion has reiterated on this matter that, if *one* be polluted and do not keep himself pure, so long as he is living he never becomes clean from that pollution. 8. That, if he wash *his* head ten thousand times in *ceremonial* ablution, he certainly does not any *way* become pure from it⁴. 9. Because this pollution is not from without; it is from within every bone and vein and tendon; *and* water makes clean *only* anything that is on the skin. 10. Impurity which is *in* the bones, except *through the liquid consecrated by* the religious formula⁵, does not otherwise become clean.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

1. The seventy-eighth subject is this, that in every habitation *where* any one departs, passing away from

¹ Literally 'former, early.'

² See Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

³ And, therefore, to be treated with all the precautions necessary in dealing with a corpse to avoid the pollution alluded to in §§ 7-10. Hence the necessity of careful enquiry in doubtful cases, as recommended in § 6.

⁴ B29 omits § 8.

⁵ See Chap. XXXVI, 7 n.

the world, it is necessary to endeavour that they *may* not eat and not consecrate fresh meat *for* three days therein¹. 2. Because the danger is that some one else *may* depart, passing away; *so* the relations of that *former* person *should* not eat meat *for* three days.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

1. The seventy-ninth subject is this, that it is necessary to make an effort that they *may* exercise munificence and liberality towards the good and the worthy. 2. For the exercise of liberality is grand, *in* such manner as it is better and pleasanter, *in* like manner, for the ground on which a liberal man walks, better for the wind that blows upon a liberal man, better for the horse on which a liberal man sits, better, *in* like manner, for the cow and goat that² a liberal man eats, *and*³ pleasanter for the sun and moon and stars that shine upon a liberal man.

3. To such an extent is a liberal and munificent *man* precious ('hazîz), that Hôrmazd speaks⁴ thus: 'I have wished that I *might* give a recompense to a munificent man, if it be suitable for him, *but* I have not found any recompense and happiness that are suitable for him, except a blessing.' 4. And virtuous men and the united archangels are perpetually uttering blessings on account of the liberal man who maintains no refusal of his own things to a stranger.

¹ See Sls. XVII, i, 2.

² B29 has 'whose milk,' and Lp further adds 'and butter.'

³ B29 inserts 'better and.'

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'asserts.'

5. For it is declared in revelation, that the creator Hôrmazd spoke to Zaratust, the Spitamân, thus: 'I have created the supreme heaven of heavens for the sake of any of the liberal who provide for the worthy and give them something; and gloomy hell is for all those persons who give anything to the unworthy.'

6. *In* like manner it is declared in revelation, that there are thirty-three ways to heaven, besides *that of* the souls of the liberal. 7. If the soul be of any one else, it is not able to arrive in heaven¹ by that way. 8. Besides *this* happy² way, a soul of the liberal is able to arrive in heaven by means of the thirty-three ways. 9. For no one is it easier to arrive in heaven than *for* the liberal.

CHAPTER LXXX.

1. The eightieth subject is this, that there is a time when thou recitest one Ashem-vohû³, *and* the merit of it may be as much as *that of* ten. 2. There is a time when thou recitest one Ashem-vohû, *and* the merit of it may be as much as *that of* a hundred. 3. A time may be when thou recitest one⁴, *and* the merit of it may be as much as *that of* a thousand. 4. A time may be when the merit of one Ashem-vohû⁵ may be as much as *that of* ten thousand. 5.

¹ B29 omits 'in heaven.'

² B29 has 'besides by the one.'

³ See Chap. VII, 1 n. The contents of this chapter are derived from Hn. I, 11-35 (Yt. XXI, 6-15).

⁴ B29 adds 'Ashem-vohû.'

⁵ La omits 'the merit of; ' and B29 has 'when thou recitest one Ashem-vohû, *and* the merit of it,' both here and in § 5.

A time may be when the merit of one Ashem-vohû is as much as the value (qîmat)¹ of this world and that *other* world².

6. As for that Ashem-vohû whose nature³ is as much as ten, that is when they recite *it* as they eat bread. 7. That which is, from nature, as much as a hundred is when they recite *it* after eating⁴. 8. That which is so much by nature that, *having* turned side over side, they recite *it* correctly may be a merit of a thousand⁵. 9. That which is of the nature of ten thousand is that which thou recitest when thou risest up from sleep⁶. 10. And that whose nature is as much as this world and that *other* world⁷ is when they recite *it* at the time of the dissolution of life; for, if he be not able to recite *it* himself, friends and relations give *it* into his mouth. 11⁸. If he be fit for hell he becomes fit for the ever-stationary, if he be fit for the ever-stationary he becomes fit for heaven, *and* if he be fit for heaven he becomes fit for the supreme heaven⁹.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

1. The eighty-first subject is this, that every duty and good work, which it is requisite to perform, they *should* accomplish while within that day, and not postpone for the morrow.

¹ So Lp, B29, Hn., but La has qîmat, 'share, destiny.'

² B29 omits these four words.

³ B29 has 'value,' both here and in §§ 7, 9, 10.

⁴ La has 'sleeping.'

⁵ B29 omits § 8.

⁶ La omits § 9.

⁷ B29 has merely 'is the price of this world.'

⁸ Lp, B29 insert 'for.'

⁹ See Pahl. Hn. I, 35 a.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that the creator Hôrmazd spoke to Zaratusht thus: 'O Zaratusht! I have created no one better than thee in the world, and after thee I *shall* likewise not create *one*; thou *art* my chosen one, and I have made this world apparent on account of thee. 3. And all¹ these people ('*hâlâtîq*) whom I have created, and the whole of these monarchs who have existed and do exist, have always maintained the hope that I *should* create thee in their days, so that they *should* accept (*qabûl kunand*) the religion, and their souls *should* attain to the supreme heaven.

4. 'Nevertheless I have created *thee* at the present time, in the middle period; for it is three thousand years from the days of Gayômarth till now, and from now till the resurrection are the three thousand years that remain; therefore, I have created thee in the middle. 5. For whatever is in the middle is more precious and better and more valuable, *in* the same manner as the heart is in the middle of the whole body *and* is unquestionably (*lâ-garm*) very precious², *in* the same manner as the land of *Erân*³ is more valuable than other lands, for the reason that it is in the middle. 6. And the country of *Erân*, which is *in* the fourth climate (*iqlîm*)⁴, is better than other places, for the reason that it is in the middle. 7. Therefore, I have created thee in the middle, in the manner of *what is* precious, and I have given thee the apostleship, and have sent *thee* to a monarch, a friend of knowledge and a friend of religion.

8. 'Afterwards, I have sent thee, with thus much

¹ B29 omits 'all.'

² B29 omits these twenty-five words.

³ The Gugarâti pronunciation of Irân.

⁴ The middle one of the seven.

preciousness, to the people; and the knowledge of the good works that mankind perform¹ in life, and have not been able to bring to hand without trouble (mi'hnat), I have made clear *and* plain unto thee; and I have made thee aware of the whole of knowledge. 9. I have taught *it*² to thee in the Avesta, in a language that no one in the world considers plain *and* easy; and I have told thee its interpretation (zand) in a language that is more current among mankind, and thou likewise hast more eloquence (faḥ'h) therein.

10. 'While *thou hast* all this greatness that I have given to thee, O Zaratust! I enact a precept for thee, that "every good work which thou art able to do to-day do not postpone for to-morrow, and accomplish with thine own hand the counsel of thine own soul." 11. Do not be proud (*gharrah*) on the *score* that it is still *the time of youth*, *and* it is quite possible to do *it hereafter*, while thou thinkest thus: "I will do *it* after this." 12. For *there* have been many people whose *remaining* life was one day, and they have been taken *away* in the presence of fifty years' work³.'

13. Therefore, make an effort, so that thou *mayest* not postpone to-day's duty for to-morrow. 14. Because Aharman, the evil wicked *one*, has intrusted two fiends with this matter, the name of one is Tardy (dêr) and the name of the other is Afterwards (pas). 15. Both these fiends are united, *and* they

¹ B29 has 'the knowledge that mankind practise.'

² Lp, B29 have 'taught the whole of knowledge.'

³ It is quite uncertain whether Hôrmazd's exhortation ends here, or elsewhere.

make an effort and exertion¹ with man, so that his duty falls back behindhand². 16. For, *as to* every duty and good work which comes forward, that fiend whose name is Tardy speaks thus: 'Thou wilt live long, and it is possible to perform this duty *at* all times;' and that fiend whose name is Afterwards says: 'Pass on now; it is possible to perform *it* afterwards.' 17. And these two fiends united keep the soul away from its own duty, till the end arrives; all duties have fallen back behindhand, and *it has* to experience regret ('hasarat) and penitence. 18. It has no benefit through duty *and* good works, *and* departs from this world.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

1. The eighty-second subject is this, that, when thou risest up from the bed-clothes, it is necessary to tie the *sacred thread-girdle*³ again *at* that same place, and it is not desirable to put *forth* a step without the girdle.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that every single step which *one* puts forth without the *sacred thread-girdle* is a Farmân sin⁴, *and* through four steps it becomes a Tanâvar sin which would be a weight of a thousand *and* two hundred dirhams⁵.

3. Therefore, it is necessary to keep watch *over* oneself, as regards this sin, and to tie on the *sacred thread-girdle*.

¹ Lp has 'conflict.'

² B29 omits 'behindhand.'

³ See Chaps. X, XLVI.

⁴ See Sls. I, 2, IV, 10, XI, 2.

⁵ The dirham being probably about 63 grains (see Dd. LII, 1 n).

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

1. The eighty-third subject is this, that it is requisite to abstain from the keeping of fasts. 2. For, in our religion, it is not proper that they *should* not eat every day *or* anything, because it would be a sin *not to do so*.

3. With us the keeping of fast is this, that we keep fast from committing sin with *our* eyes and tongue and ears and hands and feet. 4. Some people are striving about it, so that they *may* not eat anything all day, and they practise abstinence from eating anything. 5. For us it is also necessary to make an effort, so that we *may* not think, *or* speak, *or* commit any sin; and it is necessary that no bad action *should* proceed from our hands, *or* tongue, *or* ears, *or* feet, which would be a sin owing to them.

6. Since I have spoken *in* this manner, and have brought forward the fasting of the seven members of the body, that which, in other religions, is fasting owing to not eating is, in our religion, fasting owing to not committing sin.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

1. The eighty-fourth subject is this, when they wish to sleep, it is requisite to utter one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô *and* one Ashem-vohû¹, and to accomplish repentance *one is* to speak thus: 'I am sorrowing for, and repentant and in renunciation of all that sin which I have spoken and *was* imagined by

¹ See Chap. VII, 1 n.

me, and *has* assailed me; of these actions I am in renunciation¹.'

2. Afterwards *one is* to lie down; and every time that *one* acts *in* the manner that I have mentioned, and wears the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist—while *he is* equally sharing the whole of the good works which they are performing in all the world during that night, *and he is* of similar merit²—every single breath that he inhales and exhales is a good work of a weight of three dirhams. 3. *And* when he turns from side to side he *should, in* like manner, recite one Ashem-vohû³.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

1. The eighty-fifth subject is this, that, *in* every matter that comes forward, it is necessary to enquire of the wise and relations, so as to have their advice, and not to transact any business according to one's own idea *and* opinion.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that the sacred being, the good *and* propitious, spoke to Zaratust thus: '*As to* every business that thou wishest to transact, do thou receive wisdom and knowledge at one place with the wise *who* reply, and cast away *what is* unconsidered, so that Aharman *may* not reach *it* midway, and injury (*halal*) *may* not occur to that business.'

¹ This is the general form of a Patit or renunciation of sin.

² B29 omits these six words.

³ See Chap. LXXX, 8. This chapter nearly corresponds to Sls. X, 24.

3. *In* like manner the archangel Spendârmad¹, at the time when *her* gaze passed on to Minôkîhar², issued to him this admonition *and* precept (vašt yat), *and* said: 'O Minôkîhar! although *there* be deliberation *in* an affair, this may be no reason for it as regards the spirits³; although a horse may be good, *there* may be no resource *except* a whip for it; and although *one* may be a wise man, *there* should be no retreat on his part from having advice, so that his business *may* become complete.'

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

1. The eighty-sixth subject is this, that it is not proper to kill a beaver⁴; *but*, if they see *it in* any place, it is necessary to take *it* up and carry *it* to running water. 2. For, in the commentary of the Vendîdâd it is ranked⁵ *as* a great sin for the *killer*⁶; and, *as to* every one who kills a beaver, the source of his seed becomes exhausted.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

1. The eighty-seventh subject is this, that, when

¹ See Chap. XXXIII, 2 n.

² Pahl. Mânûskîhar (see Mkh. XXVII, 41 n). It appears from Sls. X, 28, where a portion of this tale is quoted, that it comes originally from the *Kîdrast Nask*.

³ B29 has 'although a knife be sharp, *there* may be no resource except a whetstone for it,' which follows the next clause in Sls. X, 28. In the original text this change of meaning is produced by a difference in only four words, and the author of the Sad Dar has probably misunderstood the Pahlavi original when translating it.

⁴ Literally 'a water dog.'

⁵ B29 has 'decreed.'

⁶ As shown by the excessive atonements prescribed in Vend. XIV, in default of which he is said to go to hell till the resurrection.

any one departs from the world¹, it is necessary to make an effort, in those three days, so that they *may* continuously perform the ceremonial of Srôsh² and make the fire blaze, and *may* recite the Avesta; because the soul is three days in this world³.

2. The fourth night it is requisite to consecrate three sacred cakes; one *with* a dedication *to* Rashn⁴ and Âstâd⁵, one *with* a dedication *to* the spirit Râm⁶, and one *with* a dedication to the righteous guardian spirit; and one *is* to consecrate a dress and something as a righteous gift for that soul⁷.

3. It is necessary that the dress be new and of uniform quality (*gins*), and such as turban, shirt, vest, girdle, trowsers, shoes (*pasandil*)⁸, and mouth-veil. 4. Since they give those among the spirits a counterpart of those garments, therefore, whatever is more beautiful, *and* more surpassing *in* grandeur for the soul *in* that place, is necessary where that place is, because our fathers and mothers and the whole of *our* relations are *in* that place. 5. *And* since the souls recognise and ask after one another in that world, they are, therefore, more joyful on account of every one whose dress⁹ and grandeur are more surpassing. 6. In a similar manner, when the dress is old and ragged, they are ashamed, and exhibit heaviness of heart.

¹ La omits 'from the world.'

² See Mkh. II, 115 n, Sls. XVII, 3.

³ See Mkh. II, 114, 158.

⁴ See Mkh. II, 118, 119, Sls. XVII, 4.

⁵ Av. arstâd, 'uprightness;' the angel whose name is given to the twenty-sixth day of the Parsi month.

⁶ The angel of the upper air, often called Vâê the good.

⁷ B29 has 'on that cake.'

⁸ B29 has mûzah, 'boots,' and places them last.

⁹ B29 inserts 'is more beautiful.'

7. They call that dress a righteous gift because they consecrate *it*; and it is necessary to give *it* to the priests and high-priests, as it is a righteous gift on account of their position. 8. And it is suitable for them to keep *it* for the reason that the souls are nearer to them; *people should also* make an effort that the dress may be stitched like the dress of a priest.

9. The sacred beings make up the account *and* reckoning for the soul when the priest recites *frasasti ahurahê mazdau*¹ and removes the *Frasast*² from this side to that side. 10. The soul passes over the *K'invad* bridge when, *on* the fourth night, it arrives from the world *at* the *K'invad* bridge. 11. First it goes to the abode of fire (*âtas-gâh*)³; afterwards, one step reaches to the star station, the second step reaches to the moon station, the third step to the sun station, *and* with the fourth step it reaches the *K'invad* bridge⁴, *and* they convey it to its own place.

¹ 'Glory *be* to Ahura-mazda.' Lp adds '*ahunahê vairyêhê* as far as *ashaya nô paiti-gamyâd*,' that is 'to the Ahuna-vairya formula,' &c. as far as 'may he come to us in righteousness' (Yas. VIII, 1-3).

² A *Frasast* is a sacred cake marked on the upper side with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made with a finger-nail while repeating the words *humat hûkht huvarst*, 'well-thought, well-spoken, well-done,' thrice, one word to each of the nine cuts. It is placed before the consecrating priest, but to his right, while the ordinary sacred cakes are to his left (see Haug's *Essays*, pp. 396, 407, 408).

³ That is, when it leaves the vicinity of the body, after hovering about it for three nights (see *Sls.* XII, 5).

⁴ In other accounts the soul has to pass over this bridge before it steps forwards to the stars and moon and sun (see *Mkh.* II, 123, 145, VII, 9-12, Dd. XXXIV, 3, AV. V, 2, VII-IX, 1).

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

1. The eighty-eighth subject is this, that, *as to any piece of wood* on which they carry a corpse, or on which they wash *it*, and that which may be defiled with blood and impurity, that on which menstruous defilement, or a bare limb, is deposited by a *menstruous* woman, and that on which they impale a human being, it is necessary to avoid the whole of these *pieces of wood*, and not to work with¹ them again, because one's dress becomes impure; and it is not proper to burn *them*. 2. It is necessary to put *them* in a place where any one, *who* pulls *them* up and stirs *them*, *will* not² bring *them* into the use of mankind.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

1. The eighty-ninth subject is this, that³ Hôrmazd keeps watch when any one, through imposition (*hîlat*) and unawares, eats dead matter, *or* gives *it* to one of the good religion, or throws dead matter upon one of the good religion. 2. While his will and command are, *that* it is necessary that *such a person should* undergo the Bareshnûm ceremony⁴, and accomplish repentance⁵ before the *spiritual* chiefs and high-priests. 3. So that, after that, *one may* indicate to him the sin in these *actions*, and he *may* perform the retribution which the high-priest mentions, in order that, owing to this, his sin *may* depart.

¹ La has 'to eat on,' Lp 'to buy with,' B29 'to touch on.'

² B29 has 'any one *will* not take *them* up and not stir *them* about, so that he does not.'

³ B29, J15 insert 'the religion of.'

⁴ See Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

⁵ See Chap. XLV, 7 n.

CHAPTER XC.

1. The ninetieth subject is this, that it is not proper that they *should* give anything to a sinful person *or one* worthy of death, because¹ it is like that they have placed in the jaws of a destructive serpent (azdahâ). 2. And, if this be food which he devours *and* they give, they pass into the committing of sin; *and* that person *who* may have given food to him is a participater with him. 3. In eating food, if *there* be no danger and fear of them², it is not desirable to give anything to them, for it would be a great sin.

CHAPTER XCI.

1. The ninety-first subject is this, that is, *in* what mode is it necessary to wash everything that becomes polluted by dead matter?

2. Gold *one is* to wash over once with *ceremonial* ablution³ to make *it* dry once with dust, and to wash *it* over once with water. 3. Silver (nuqrah) *one is* to do twice; copper, tin, lead, and brass *articles* three times; steel four times; stone *articles* six times; turquoise, ruby (yâqût), amber, carbuncle, cornelian ('haqîq), and, like these, whatever is from a mine (ma'hdan) are all to be washed six times in the manner which I have stated. 4. Afterwards they are clean *in* that manner, when every single time *one* washes *them* over with *ceremonial* ablution, makes

¹ B29 omits these six words.

² That is, if the sinners begging assistance be not dangerous.

³ That is, with consecrated bull's urine (see Sls. II, 112-117).

them dry with dust, and washes *it* off¹; and just like this *on* the occasion of the other times—up to three times, or four, or six—as far as whatever is ordered.

5. For pearls two modes² are ordered, but the conclusion is this, that they *should* wash *them* six times, just like stone *articles*. 6. The whole of wooden and earthen *ware* it is requisite to throw *away*. 7. All clothing of the body it is requisite to wash six times *in* the manner that I have stated, *and*, after that, to put *them* in a place where the sun and moon must *shine* on them *for* six months³; after that they are fit for a menstruous woman.

CHAPTER XCII.

1. The ninety-second subject is this, that it is necessary to properly maintain the sacred fire⁴ and some one who *will* work with assiduity (kahdân) to provide⁵ maintenance and sympathy for it. 2. And the supply of its firewood is entirely *in* such a manner that they burn this year the firewood of last year⁶. 3. *At* midnight they make *it* blaze up, *and* put incense upon *it in* such a manner that the wind carries off its scent.

4. The demons and fiends rush away, because there is the glory of the sacred fire that we are able to make a living existence in the midst of this

¹ Lp, B29 add 'with water.'

² Pahl. Vend. VII, 188 gives three opinions.

³ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 36.

⁴ Literally 'the fire of Bahirâm.' Compare Chap. XXXIX.

⁵ Lp, B29, J15 have 'so that some one *may* keep watch over it, and is to provide proper.'

⁶ So that it may be quite dry, as to put anything damp into a fire would be considered sinful (see AV. X, 6-14).

people. 5. For, if no fiend¹ and the glory of the archangels and the day of the sacred fire had not existed, it would not have been possible to produce the living existence any day. 6. And, therefore, it makes *it* expedient that they supply a fire-attendant to maintain the firewood and fire, so that a seeking for *its* safety ('hâfiyat) *may* come into *operation*, and they *may* know a support and protection for it that would be acceptable.

CHAPTER XCIII.

1. The ninety-third subject is this, that it is necessary for all those of the good religion to practise abstinence from uttering slander (*ghaibāt*) behind *one's* back².

2. In the commentary of the Vendîdâd it states, that³ slander is the greatest of all sins. 3. Every one who perpetrates slander *about* any one is like him who has eaten dead matter—and the eating of dead matter is a sin⁴ *that* has likewise been mentioned, before this, in this book⁵—but the statement is like this, while they do not indicate *any* punishment for it in this world⁶, it does not go *without it* in that *other* world. 4. Therefore it is necessary for those of the good religion to make an effort, so that they *may* guard themselves from this slander.

5. In order that they *may* show thy soul, *when*⁷ resigning life, the satisfaction (*igzâ*) for the sin, it

¹ That is, the absence of fiends. B29 has 'if the splendour.'

² Literally 'face.' ³ B29 inserts 'the perpetration of.'

⁴ B29, J15 have 'a great sin.' ⁵ See Chap. LXXI.

⁶ Thereby differing from the sin of eating dead matter.

⁷ Lp, B29 have 'show at the time of.'

states, in the commentary of the Vendîdâd, *as to* any one by whom slander is perpetrated, if *the injured person* goes before him *and* begs a righteous gift from him, and he provides a righteous gift for that *person*, the sin departs from him.

CHAPTER XCIV.

1. The ninety-fourth subject is this, when a person confers a benefit *or* kindness upon any one, it is necessary that *the latter should* understand the value of it, and lay the obligation (minnat) upon himself; and, if he be able, he *should* provide a benefit to that amount (miqdâr) for that *person*.

2. It is declared in revelation, *that*, when a person confers a benefit upon any one, Hôrmazd¹ gives him ten times as much, *as* an equivalent. 3. And, if *the other* be not understanding² the justice *of this*, it is related in the commentary of the Avesta *in* this manner, that it is a great sin for him. 4. And Aharman³ speaks like this, namely: 'That sinner is akin to me; *in* the end he will come into my hands; I will not give him into the hands of any demon, *but* I *will* inflict punishment *with* my own hands.' 5. *And* the chief priest⁴ says it is necessary for all Zaratustians that they keep themselves far from this sin.

CHAPTER XCV.

1. The ninety-fifth subject is this, that it is necessary that it be expedient for all those of the

¹ Lp, B29 add 'the good *and* propitious.'

² Lp, B29 have 'praising.'

³ Lp, B29 add 'the accursed.'

⁴ Probably meaning the commentator.

good religion to perform the salutation of the sun¹ three times every day.

2. If *one* performs *it* once, it is a good work of one Tanâvar²; if he performs *it* twice, it is twice as much; *and* if he performs *it* three times, it is thrice as much. 3. And if he does not perform one repetition, it is a sin of thirty stîrs³; if he does not perform two repetitions, it is twice as much sin; and if he does not perform three repetitions, it is thrice as much sin.

4. And it is the same as this with regard to *the salutations* of the moon and fire⁴. 5. Therefore it is expedient, in the religion, for every one of the good religion to bring the salutations *into* practice.

CHAPTER XCVI.

1. The ninety-sixth subject is this, when any one departs to that *other* world it is not proper for others that they *should* utter an outcry, maintain grief, *and* make lamentation *and* weeping. 2. Because every tear *that* issues *from* the eyes becomes one *drop* of that river⁵ before the K'invad

¹ The Khûrshêd Nyâyis (see Chaps. VI, 2, LXVIII, 4).

² That is, sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

³ Equivalent to an Aredûs sin, or blow with a weapon (see Sls. I, 1, 2).

⁴ The Mâh and Âtash Nyâyis. B29 also interpolates 'the Mihir' Nyâyis.

⁵ 'This river is the many tears that men shed from *their* eyes, as they make lamentation and weeping for the departed. They shed those tears unlawfully, and they swell to this river. Those who are not able to cross over are those for whom, after their departure,

bridge, *and* then the soul of that dead *person* remains *at* that place; it is difficult for it to make a passage there, and it is not able to pass over the *K'invad* bridge. 3. It is therefore necessary that they recite the Avesta and celebrate the ceremonial, so that the passage of that place *may* become easy for it.

CHAPTER XCVII.

1. The ninety-seventh subject is this, that it is expedient for¹ those of the good religion, that they converse, according to their own ability, *in* the presence of officiating priests, high-priests, *spiritual* chiefs, and priests, and hearken cordially to whatever they say. 2. And they *should* understand *their* statements, and, during them, they *should* not utter any reply *or* question (sûâl).

3. For in the commentary of the Avesta it says, *as to* every one who brings altercation ('huggat) into any statement of the elders of the religion, 'one breaks out his tongue, or he goes out from this world abortively (mubattalâ).'

CHAPTER XCVIII.

1. The ninety-eighth subject is this, that it is necessary for all those of the good religion, that they learn the Avesta characters *in* the presence of

much lamentation and weeping were made; and those *who* cross more easily are those for whom less was made' (AV. XVI, 7-10).

¹ Lp, B29 insert 'all.'

priests *and* teachers, so as to read, *and that* no error *may* continue *in* the Nyâyises and Yasts.

2. And it is still more expedient for priests *and* teachers, that they teach the Avesta characters to all those of the good religion¹; and if a priest, while teaching, shows incompetence (taqîr), it is a great sin for him. 3. For Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, spoke to Zaratust thus: '*As to every priest and teacher who commits a blunder in teaching*² those of the good religion, I make him just as far from heaven as the width of the earth³.'

CHAPTER XCIX.

1. The ninety-ninth subject is this, that it is not proper for officiating priests, high-priests, *spiritual* chiefs, and priests, that they teach Pahlavi to every one.

2. For Zaratust enquired of Hôrmazd thus: 'To whom is it proper to teach Pahlavi?' 3. *And* Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, gave a reply thus: '*To every one who is of thy family (nasl), an officiating priest, a high-priest, a spiritual chief, and every one who is an intelligent priest.* 4. ⁴ Besides these that I have mentioned, if *one* teaches *it* to others⁵ it is a great sin for him; *and* if he has performed many duties *and* good works, the end for him may *still* be hell.'

¹ B29 omits these seven words.

² Lp, B29 insert 'the Avesta to.'

³ Compare Chap. XXVIII, 3.

⁴ B29 inserts 'it is not proper for any other person.'

⁵ Lp has 'if *there be* any one of the others, it is not proper that *one* teaches *him*.'

CHAPTER C.

1. The hundredth subject is this, when a person molests or smites any one *who is* innocent, it is a sin of one Tanâvar every day for that *person*, as long as he lives¹. 2. *And*, when he departs from this world, the angel Mihir and the angel Rashn make up his account and reckoning. 3. *He is*² full of affliction, and experiences much regret and penitence, and has no advantage from it³. 4. It is *therefore* necessary to keep oneself far from this sin⁴.

¹ See Sls. X, 17.

² Lp, B29, J15 have 'afterwards, he remains *in* that place.'

³ B29, J15 add '*in* that place.'

⁴ B29, J15 add 'and to do good to every one.' In La this chapter was originally numbered XCIX, and Chap. XLIX was subsequently inserted after it, and numbered C. In Lp it was numbered XCVIII, and occurs again as Chap. C, while Chap. XCIX is a repetition of XLIX (which is numbered LII in Lp). The discrepancy in the numbering of the chapters, of one in the case of La, and two in Lp, extends backwards as far as the confusion mentioned in p. 311, note 1, and was evidently due to that confusion.

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OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction, and to the chapters and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers. •

2. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translation only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

3. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta; com. for commentary or commentator; Dr. for Doctor; Gug. for Gugarâtî; Hâd. for Hâdökht; Int. for Introduction; m. for mountain; Mkh. for Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad; MSS. for manuscripts; n. for foot-note; Pâr. for Pârsî; Per. for Persian; Pl. for Pahlavi; Prof. for Professor; Pz. for Pâzand; rev. for revelation; scrip. for scripture; Sd. for Sad Dar; Sg. for Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr; Sk. for Sanskrit; Test. for Testament; Vd. for Vendîdâd.

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 Khurdâd, angel, Sd. 21, 10, 11; 41, 16; 52, 3; day, Sd. 52, 1, 2. See *Horvadad*.
 Khurdâd-sâl, Sd. 52, 1 n.
 Khûrshêd Nyâyis, Sd. 6, 2; 68, 4; 95, 1 n.
 Khûrshêdji Jamshêdji, dastûr, Int. 33.
 Khûsrô (Parvêz), Sd. 52, 1 n.
 Khûsrôî-shah, priest, Int. 19.
 Khvanîras, region, Mkh. 27, 40; 44, 13 n; 62, 31.
 Kirmân, town, Int. 37.
 Kunî, demon, Sg. 16, 13, 16, 18, 19.
 Kangashâh, man, Int. 32.
 Kêkast lake, Mkh. 2, 95; 27, 61.
 Kîdrast nask, Int. 17; Mkh. 21, 25 n.
 Kîharâv, bird, Mkh. 61, 9.
 Kînâmôrô, bird, Mkh. 61, 9 n; 62, 11, 40.
 Kînvad bridge, Mkh. 2, 115, 162; 21, 19 n; 40, 31; 41, 12; 57, 13; Sd. 1, 4; 6, 1, 6; 18, 6, 15, 18; 31, 5; 36, 5, 6; 37, 8; 42, 4; 45, 10; 54, 1; 58, 5; 63, 11; 87, 10, 11; 96, 2.
 Lakhmidar, priest, Int. 32 n.
 Lôrâsp, see Kai-Lôharâsp.
 Lord, the, Sg. 13, 18, 29, 31, 35, 68, 70, 72, 75, 81-83, 85-87, 109; 14, 5, 23, 40, 45, 47, 49, 53, 77, 86.
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 Mâh Nyâyis, Sd. 6, 2; 95, 4 n.
 Mahmâd, man, Int. 26; Sg. 2, 2.
 Mahrkûrô, demon, Mkh. 27, 28 n.
 Mâh-vindâd, man, Int. 19.
 Mahyâr, man, Int. 21.
 Maidhyô-zarm butter, Mkh. 2, 152 n, 156.
 Maînôg, reading of, Int. 15, 16.
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 Malkôs, Mkh. 27, 28; Sd. 9, 5.
 Mânekshâh, Int. 32 n.
 Mânî, man, Sg. 16, 1, 2, 4.
 Mânîchaeans, Int. 25, 28; Mkh. 36, 16 n; Sg. 10, 59; 16, 2.
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 Mânûskîhar, king, Mkh. 8, 29 n; 27, 41, 44 n; Sd. 52, 1 n; 85, 3.
 Mâraspend, angel, Mkh. 2, 34 n; priest, Sg. 10, 70; Sd. 0, 6.
 Mardân-farukh, man, Int. 25, 27, 28; Sg. 1, 35.
 Mard-shah, priest, Int. 37 n, 45; Sd. 0, 6 n.
 Mars, planet, Mkh. 49, 15 n; Sg. 4, 30, 34.
 Marzubân, man, Int. 23.
 Mas'âudî, Mkh. 36, 16 n.
 Mashya, man, Mkh. 27, 2 n; Sd. 52, 1 n.
 Mashyôî, woman, Sd. 52, 1 n.
 Mâzendar, land, Mkh. 27, 20, 40.
 Mâzendarâns, Sg. 14, 29; 16, 14, 28, 29, 31, 32, 36.
 Mēdyômâh, dastûr, Int. 37.
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- Mercury, planet, Mkh. **40**, 5 n; Sg. **4**, 30, 36, 42.
 Mesopotamia, Mkh. **44**, 13 n.
 Messiah, Sg. **15**, 18, 25, 26, 31, 74, 76, 97, 108, 109.
 Mihir, angel, Sd. **1**, 4; **18**, 16; **100**, 2. See Mitṛō.
 Mihir-drug, Sd. **25**, 3-5.
 Mihrbânji, man, Int. 23.
 Mihrvân, man, Int. 21.
 Mînôkhirad, Int. 23; — abridged, Int. 24, 25.
 Mîrôkht, demon, Mkh. **10**, 6 n.
 Mitṛō, angel, Mkh. **2**, 118; **8**, 15; **12**, 5 n; **53**, 4, 8; sun, Sg. **4**, 39. See Mihir.
 Mitṛō-âyyâr, man, Int. 26; Sg. **2**, 2; **9**, 4 n.
 Mitṛō-âpân, man, Int. 18.
 Modes of acquiring knowledge, Sg. **5**, 10-45.
 Mordtmann, Dr. A. D., Int. 17.
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 Müller, Prof. M. J., Int. 29, 30.
 — Prof. Max, Int. 29.
 Mûrpar, fiend, Sg. **4**, 47 n, 48 n.
 Mûtzalîk sect, Int. 26; Sg. **11**, 280.
 Nâga-mandala, district, Int. 21, 32.
 Naremahân, man, Int. 19.
 Narimân, title, Sd. **9**, 5; **52**, 1 n.
 Nasrust, fiend, Sd. **35**, 2; **36**, 7.
 Nausârî, town, Int. 32 n, 33.
 Navazûd, rite, Sd. **5**, 1, 3, 6, 8, 10; **55**, 1.
 Nêryôsang, priest, Int. 19-22, 24, 31, 33, 35, 42; his Sk. int., Int. 20, 22, 30, 33, 34, 39.
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 Nihâdûm nask, Sd. **18**, 3 n; **20**, 1 n.
 Nizlûtô, demon, Mkh. **2**, 115.
 Nônâbar, rite, Sd. **5**, 1 n.
 Norris, Mr., Int. 29.
 Noxious creatures, Mkh. **5**, 8; **6**, 10; **62**, 35, 36; Sg. **3**, 21; **4**, 17, 18, 21, 22, 55; **5**, 79; Sd. **43**, 1-10.
 Nyâyires, Mkh. **53**, 8 n; Sd. **50**, 1, 2; **74**, 3, 4; **98**, 1.
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 Pâlhan, priest, Int. 21.
 Pandnâmak-î Buzurg Mihir, book, Mkh. **13**, 10 n.
 Parable of the gardener and his snares, Sg. **4**, 63-80.
 Pârs, district, Mkh. **62**, 15 n; Sg. **5**, 18.
 Pas, fiend, Sd. **81**, 14, 16.
 Paul, apostle, Sg. **15**, 91.
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 Pêhinô, wolf, Mkh. **27**, 50.
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 Pêr-dâd, title, Mkh. **27**, 2, 19.
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 — — Hâd., Sd. **40**, 4.
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 — — Pl. Hâd., Sd. **22**, 3.
 — — Pl. scrip., Sd. **28**, 4; **94**, 3; **97**, 3.

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- Râma, priest, Int. 39, 40.
- Râmyâr, priest, Int. 32 n.
- Rapithwin, rite, Sd. 6, 2.
- Rashnû, angel, Mkh. 2, 118, 119, 163; 8, 15 n; 22, 6 n; Sd. 1, 4; 18, 16; 58, 5; 87, 2; 100, 2.
- Râvar, town, Int. 23.
- Regulus, star, Sg. 4, 29 n.
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- Renunciation of sin, Mkh. 52, 3, 16, 17; 53, 8; Sd. 45, 1, 2, 5-11; 84, 1.
- Resurrection, Mkh. 2, 95, 193; 21, 10 n; 27, 36, 53; 37, 11; 57, 7, 31; 62, 28 n; 63, 6 n; Sg. 14, 39; 15, 40-42; Sd. 1, 3; 62, 4; 81, 4.
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- Per., Mkh. 27, 33 n, 50 n; Sd. 52, 1 n.
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- Sacred cake, Mkh. 16, 17; Sd. 12, 5; 13, 2, 4, 5, 7; 21, 7; 37, 1, 3; 52, 1, 3; 55, 1.
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- thread-girdle, Mkh. 2, 35 n; Sd. 10, 1-8, 15; 46, 1-3; 82, 1-3; 84, 2.
- twigs, Mkh. 57, 28; Sd. 68, 14.
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- Sad Darband-i Hush, book, Int. 45; Sd. 5, 7 n.
- Sâhm, hero, Mkh. 27, 49; 62, 4, 20, 23; Sd. 9, 5; 52, 1 n.
- Salm, prince, Mkh. 27, 43.
- Sangân, town, Int. 22, 24, 42.
- Sasanian nobles, Mkh. 1, 7 n.
- Satavêš, star, Mkh. 49, 11 n; 62, 13; Sg. 4, 29, 35.
- Saturn, planet, Sg. 4, 30, 32, 41.
- Savah, region, Mkh. 16, 10; 44, 13; 62, 25.
- Season-festivals, Mkh. 4, 5; 57, 13; Sd. 6, 2.
- Sêg, fiend, Sd. 32, 5.
- Sênô mûrûv, see Griffon bird.
- Shâhnâmah, Mkh. 8, 27 n, 29 n; 27, 21 n, 45 n; Sd. 9, 5 n.
- Shâhpûr, king, Sg. 10, 70.
- Shahrîvar, day, Int. 32; month, Int. 40.
- Shatrô-aiyyâr, man, Int. 18, 19, 21.
- Shatvairô, day, Int. 18.
- Simurgh, see Griffon bird.
- Sindh, land, Int. 23.
- Sirius, star, Mkh. 49, 5 n; Sg. 4, 53 n.
- Sîrôzah, rite, Sd. 5, 1 n.
- Sîstân, land, Mkh. 27, 44 n.
- Siyâvaksh, prince, Mkh. 2, 95 n; 27, 55, 57; dastûr, Int. 37.
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- Sophistry answered, Sg. 6, 35-45.
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- Spâhân, town, Sg. 2, 2.
- Spend nask, Sd. 4, 3 n; 16, 3 n; 18, 3 n.
- Spendârmad, angel, Sd. 33, 2; 44, 1; 65, 5; 85, 3.

- Spenzagar, demon, Sg. 4, 52.
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 Tanâvar good work, Sd. 12, 9; 95, 2.
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 Thrîta, hero, Mkh. 27, 49 n.
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 — nemangh, apostle, Mkh. 2, 95 n.
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 — î Vargâvand, king, Sd. 52, 1 n.
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 Vîdâdafsh, region, Mkh. 16, 10.
 Vikaji, priest, Int. 22.
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 Visparad, Sd. 5, 1 n.
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 Wilson, Prof. H. H., Int. 29.
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- Wisdom, acquired, Mkh. 1, 49 n.
 — innate, Mkh. 1, 49 n; 2, 195; 57, 5.
- Yart, Sd. 12, 5; 98, 1.
- Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula, Sd. 7, 1; 14, 2, 3, 5, 6; 21, 9; 24, 2; 30, 2; 56, 4; 84, 1.
- Yazad-yâr, priest, Int. 22, 41, 44, 45; Sd. 0, 6.
- Yazd, town, Int. 23.
- Yim, king, Mkh. 8, 27; 27, 33 n; 57, 21; Sd. 52, 1 n; his enclosure, Mkh. 27, 27, 29; 61, 9 n; 62, 3, 15; Sd. 10, 7.
- Yimakân m., Mkh. 62, 15 n.
- Yimshêd, king, Mkh. 27, 24. See Jamshêd.
- Zâd-sparam, Int. 27.
- Zand, Sd. 81, 9.
- Zandik, Int. 27; Mkh. 38, 16 n.
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- Zarah lake, Mkh. 27, 44 n.
- Zaratûst, apostle, Mkh. 2, 95 n; 57, 20, 24, 26; Sg. 10, 63, 64; 11, 256 n; Sd. 1, 2, 3; 4, 3, 4; 9, 5; 10, 15; 52, 1 n; 61, 2; 65, 9, 10; 67, 5; 81, 2, 10; 85, 2; 98, 3; 99, 2; the Spît-amân, Mkh. 1, 10; 13, 15; Sd. 0, 12; 10, 12; 16, 3; 25, 6; 79, 5; supreme, Sg. 1, 18.
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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.			III Class.							
	II Class.										
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k			क	𐬕	𐬌	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
2 " aspirata	kh			ख	𐬖	𐬍	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh
3 Media	g			ग	𐬔	𐬎	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	
4 " aspirata	gh			घ	𐬕	𐬏	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q			𐬐	𐬕	𐬐	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)			𐬑	𐬕	𐬑	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
7 Spiritus asper	h			ह	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	h, hs
8 " lenis	,			𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
9 " asper faucalis	'h			𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h			𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
11 " asper fricatus	'h			𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
12 " lenis fricatus	'h			𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k			𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
14 " aspirata	kh			𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	kh
15 Media	g			𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
16 " aspirata	gh			𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	
17 " Nasalis	ñ			𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
18 Semivocalis	y				य	𐬨	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)				𐬨	𐬨				
20 " lenis		(y)				𐬨	𐬨				
21 " asper assibilatus		s			श	𐬨	𐬨	س	س		
22 " lenis assibilatus		z				𐬨	𐬨	ز	ز		z
Dentales.											
23 Tenuis	t				त	𐬨	𐬨	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th				थ	𐬨	𐬨	ת	ת	ת	th
25 " assibilata						𐬨	𐬨				
26 Media	d				द	𐬨	𐬨	ד	ד	ד	
27 " aspirata	dh					𐬨	𐬨				
28 " assibilata						𐬨	𐬨				
29 Nasalis	n				न	𐬨	𐬨	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l				ल	𐬨	𐬨	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l				𐬨	𐬨				
32 " mollis 2						𐬨	𐬨				
33 Spiritus asper 1	s				स	𐬨	𐬨	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2		s (ʃ)				𐬨	𐬨				
35 " lenis	z					𐬨	𐬨	ز	ز	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1						𐬨	𐬨				
37 " asperimus 2		z (ʒ)				𐬨	𐬨				

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	48 Tenuis	ph
40 Media	d	49 " aspirata	b
41 " aspirata	dh	50 Media	bh
42 Nasalis	n	51 " aspirata	
43 Semivocalis	r	52 Tenuissima	m
44 " fricata	r	53 Nasalis	w
45 " diacritica	r	54 Semivocalis	hw
46 Spiritus asper	sh	55 " aspirata	f
47 " lenis	zh	56 Spiritus asper	v
		57 " lenis	
		58 Anusvāra	
		59 Visarga	

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.									
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			ॐ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
3 " labialis	ō			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
5 " longa	ā	(a)		𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
6 Palatalis brevis	i			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
7 " longa	ī	(i)		𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
8 Dentalis brevis	ē			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
9 " longa	ē			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
10 Lingualis brevis	ī			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
11 " longa	ī			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
12 Labialis brevis	u			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
13 " longa	ū	(u)		𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)		𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
17 " "	ei (ēi)			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
18 " "	oi (ōu)			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
22 " "	eu (ēu)			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
23 " "	ou (ōu)			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
26 Labialis fracta	ū			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀

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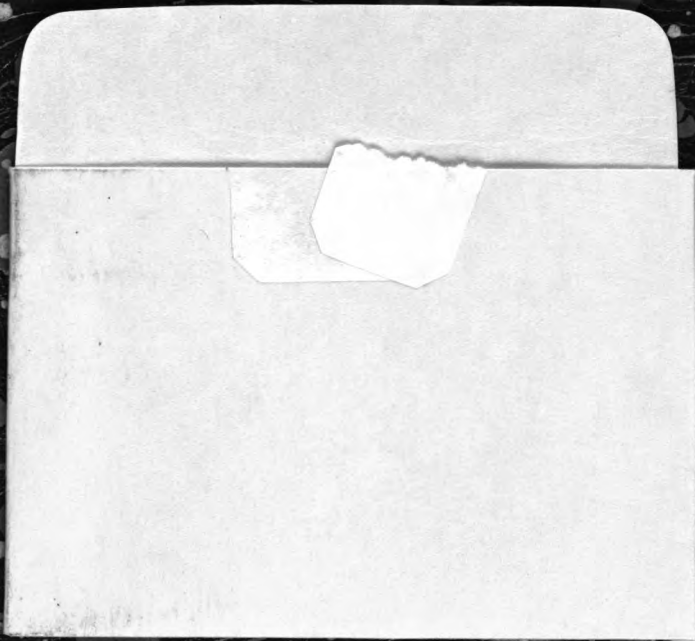
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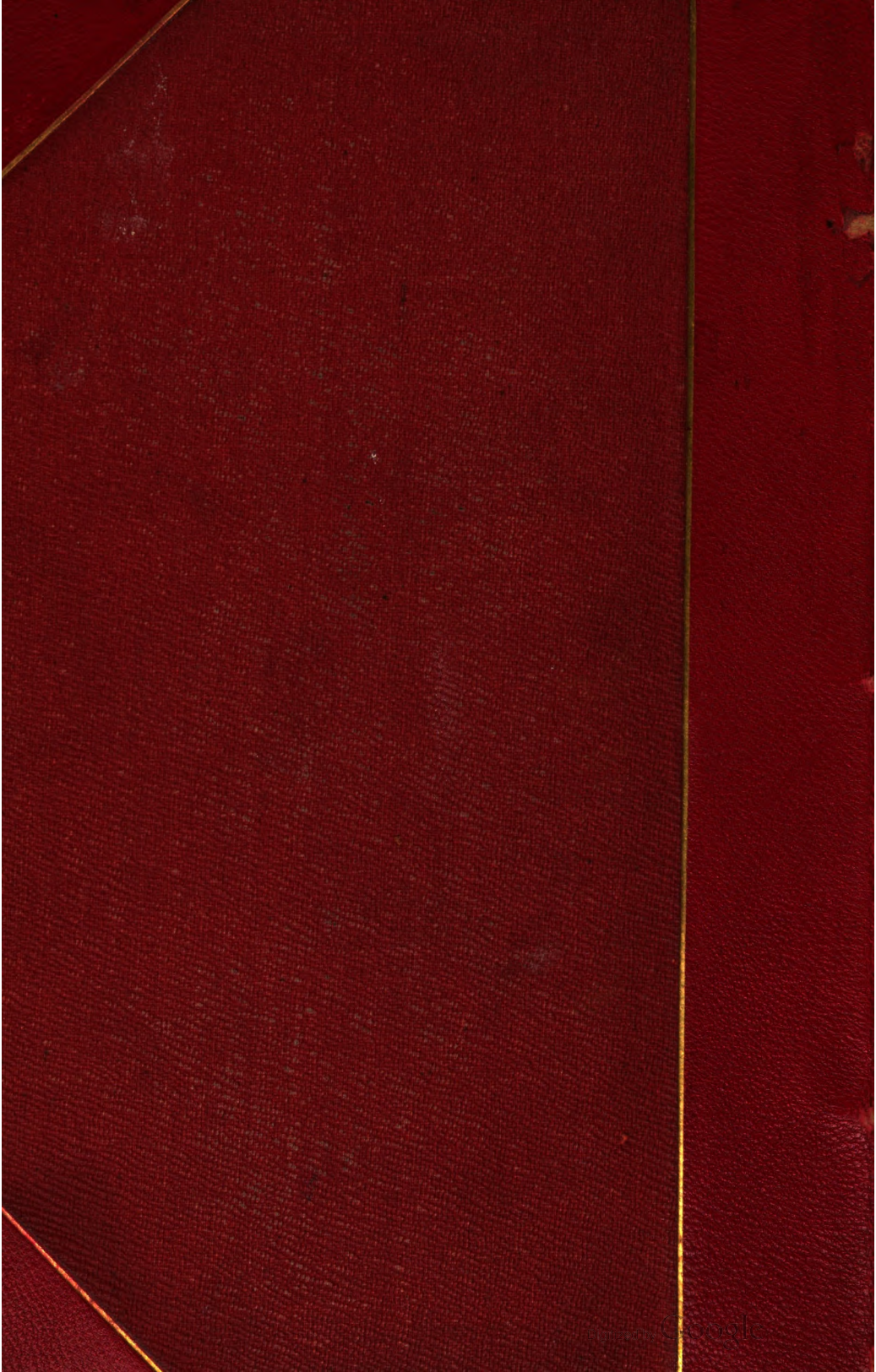
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AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XXXI

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1887

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39

THE ZEND-AVESTA

PART III

THE YASNA, VISPARAD, ÂFRÎNAGÂN,
GÂHS, AND
MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS

TRANSLATED BY

L. H. MILLS



Orford

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3654

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PREFACE.

IT would savour of affectation for me to say very much by way of meeting the necessary disadvantages under which I labour as in any sense a successor of Professor Darmesteter. It is sufficient to state that I believe myself to be fully aware of them, and that I trust that those who study my work will accord me the more sympathy under the circumstances. Professor Darmesteter, having extended his labours in his University, found his entire time so occupied that he was obliged to decline further labour on this Series for the present. My work on the Gâthas had been for some time in his hands¹, and he requested me, as a friend, to write the still needed volume of the translation of the Avesta. Although deeply appreciating the undesirableness of following one whose scholarship is only surpassed by his genius, I found myself unable to refuse.

As to my general treatment, experts will not need to be informed that I have laboured under no common difficulties. On the one hand, it would be extremely imprudent for any scholar not placed arbitrarily beyond the reach of criticism, to venture to produce a translation of the Yasna, Visparad, Âfrinagân, and Gâhs, without defensive notes. The smallest freedom would be hypercriticised by interested parties, and after them condemned by their followers. On the other hand, even with the imperfect commentary which accompanies the Gâthas here, the generous courtesy of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press has been too abundantly drawn upon. One does not expect detailed commentaries in this Series. My efforts have therefore been chiefly confined to forestalling the possible assaults of unfair or forgetful critics, and so to spare myself, in so far as it may be possible, the necessity for painful rejoinder.

¹ See the *Revue Critique*, Nov. 26, 1883.

To print a commentary on the Yasna, &c., which would be clear to non-specialists, and at the same time interesting, would occupy many times more space than could be here allowed. In treating the Gāthas however, even at the risk of too great extension, I have endeavoured to atone for the necessary obscurity of notes by ample summaries, and a translation supported by paraphrase, as such matter has more prospect of being generally instructive than a commentary which must necessarily have remained obscure. These summaries should also be read with the more indulgence, as they are the first of their kind yet attempted, Haug's having been different in their scope. With regard to all matters of mere form, I expect from all sides a similar concession. It will, I trust, be regarded as a sufficient result if a translation, which has been built up upon the strictest critical principles, can be made at all readable. For while any student may transcribe from the works of others what might be called a translation of the Yasna, to render that part of it, termed the Gāthas, has been declared by a respected authority, 'the severest task in Aryan philology¹.' And certainly, if the extent of preparatory studies alone is to be the gauge, the statement cited would not seem to be an exaggeration. On mathematical estimates the amount of labour which will have to be gone through to become an independent investigator, seems to be much greater than that which presents itself before specialists in more favoured departments. No one should think of writing with originality on the Gāthas, or the rest of the Avesta, who had not long studied the Vedic Sanskrit, and no one should think of pronouncing ultimate opinions on the Gāthas, who has not to a respectable degree mastered the Pahlavi commentaries. But while the Vedic, thanks to the labours of editor and lexicographers, has long been open to

¹ 'Es bilden diese fünf Gāthās, die insgesamt metrisch abgefasst sind, den sprachlich wichtigsten, aber auch den weitaus schwierigsten teil des ganzen Avesta, ja man kann sagen, ohne dass man fürchten muss der übertreibung geziehen zu werden, sie bilden den schwierigsten teil der ganzen indogermanischen philologie.' Altiranisches Verbum; von C. Bartholomae; Einleitung, s. 3.

hopeful study, the Pahlavi commentaries have never been thoroughly made out, and writer after writer advances with an open avowal to that effect; while the explanation, if attempted, involves questions of actual decipherment, and Persian studies in addition to those of the Sanskrit and Zend; and the language of the Gâthas requires also the study of a severe comparative philology, and that to an unusual, if not unequalled, extent.

The keen observer will at once see that a department of science so circumstanced may cause especial embarrassment. On the one hand, it is exposed to the impositions of dilettanti, and the hard working specialist must be content to see those who have advanced with studies one half, or less than one half completed, consulted as masters by a public which is only ignorant as regards the innermost laws of the science; and, on the other hand, the deficiencies of even the most laborious of specialists must leave chasms of imperfection out of which the war of the methods must continually re-arise. In handling the Gâthas especially, I have resorted to the plan of giving a translation which is inclusively literal¹, but filled out and rounded as to form by the free use of additions. As the serious student should read with a strong negative criticism, he may notice that I strive occasionally after a more pleasing effect; but, as we lose the metrical flow of the original entirely, such an effort to put the rendering somewhat on a level with the original in this respect, becomes a real necessity. I have, however, in order to guard against misleading the reader, generally, but not always, indicated the added words by parenthetical curves. That these will be considered unsightly and awkward, I am well aware. I consider them such myself, but I have not felt at liberty to refrain from using them. As the Gâthas are disputed word for word, I could not venture to resort to free omissions; and what a translation would be without either additions or omissions, may be

¹ That is approximately so; absolute literalness, even when treated as I propose, would be unmanageably awkward. In another work, I give a word for word rendering of the Gâthas.

seen from the occasional word for word renderings given. Beyond the Gāthas, I have omitted the curves oftener. I have in the Gāthas, as elsewhere, also endeavoured to impart a rhythmical character to the translation, for the reason above given, and foreign readers should especially note the fact, as well as my effort to preserve the colour of original expressions, otherwise they will inevitably inquire why I do not spare words. To preserve the colour and warmth, and at the same time to include a literal rendering, it is impossible to spare words and syllables, and it is unwise to attempt it. Non-specialists may dislike the frequency of alternative renderings as leaving the impression of indecision, while, at the same time, a decision is always expressed by the adoption of a preferred rendering. The alternatives were added with the object of showing how nearly balanced probabilities may be, and also how unimportant to the general sense the questions among specialists often are.

In transliterating, I have followed the plan used in the preceding volumes to avoid confusion, but since the first volume was published, great progress has been made in this particular, and in a separate work I should have adopted a different arrangement¹. As to other unimportant variations from the preceding volumes in matters of usage and fashion, I trust that no one will dwell on them for a moment². As regards the usual and inevitable differences of opinion on more serious questions, see the remarks in the Introduction³. I would also state that I have often avoided rendering identical passages in identical language, as irksome both to reader and writer. I have also not invariably cited the obviously preferable variations of text which have been adopted, and which are so familiar to the

¹ Chiefly as to 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; but I write 13, 14, 15.

² As in Āramaiti, Vohu Manah, &c. I also write Neryosangh, and in a few places Gātha(ā), Ahunavaiti(ī), &c. I regret not to have written Mazdāh everywhere.

³ Where I differ from Professor Darmesteter, I desire to be considered as merely proposing alternative renderings. I have therefore omitted a mass of references to the previous volumes as unnecessary.

eye in Westergaard, Spiegel, and Geldner. The texts of Westergaard have been followed necessarily as to extent of matter, as this work is printed before the completion of Geldner's text. The oft-recurring formulas and prayers at the ends of chapters and sections have been left unrendered, and finally for the most part unnoticed, by striking out the useless notes. Citations of the Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations have been given occasionally in full, in order to meet the extraordinary statements which sometimes appear to the effect that they have not been vital to the interpretation of the Gâthas. But by giving these extracts and by frequently citing the Pahlavi, Neryosangh, and the Persian, I have perhaps exposed myself to the misconception that I am an extreme advocate of the so-called tradition¹, whereas all conscientious critics will acknowledge that I follow the indications of these works with more reserve than any writer who professes to have studied them; in fact I may well apprehend censure from 'traditionalists' in this particular. These Asiatic renderings are cited by me the more fully when those who neglect them agree with their indications; and they are therefore cited to show that, whereas those most opposed to them are nevertheless forgetfully indebted to them in nearly every line, therefore in all cases of great difficulty they should be studied as an absolute necessity before rash conjectures are adopted. For it is exactly where we are all most in doubt, that their indications become of most worth, when rationally considered. These translations should be examined for the relics of the truth, the hints, and traces of original explanations, which may most abound where they are themselves most faulty as translations. I therefore never search them for exact reproductions. But the citations which I give

¹ The relics of a 'tradition' direct from the fountain-head are present in the Asiatic commentaries, and also the relics of a tradition from later, and, as it were, modern scholarship; and, lastly, there are also present the direct results of an ancient scholarship; but to speak of the Pahlavi translations as 'tradition,' is merely to use a convenient phrase. I know of no scholar who supposes these commentaries to be in a simple sense 'tradition' from the earliest Zend writers.

here constitute only a very small fraction of those needed. An argument should be built up on the fullest statements of the circumstances, elucidated with scientific completeness. This alone would have any prospect of obliging investigators to acknowledge the truth; for not only inertia and prejudice are arrayed on the other side, but even interest. This much is said of the Pahlavi translations; for Ner. is properly cited only as a translation of a translation, and, as such, of the highest authority¹; so of the Persian.

Zendists will observe that I by no means abandon explanations merely because they are old, a practice which seems almost the fashion. I, however, fully approve of testing and assailing again and again all suggestions whether old or new. I would simply assert that, while the tasks before us remain still so very extensive, it would be better for scholars to exercise their sagacity upon passages which call loudly for wise conjecture, leaving those which are clear as they stand, for later assaults. It will be seen that I myself by no means approve of refraining from conjecture², but I would only in all humility insist that we should not abandon ourselves to unprepared conjecture. As is known³, I have attempted the present rendering after more than ten years of close labour, and after a full trans-

¹ It is to be hoped that our occupations are sufficiently serious to allow us to pass over the imperfections of Neryosangh's Sanskrit style. He was especially cramped in his mode of expressing himself by a supposed necessity to attempt to follow his original (which was not the Gāthic but the Pahlavi) word for word. His services were most eminently scholarly, and, considering his disadvantages, some of the greatest which have been rendered. Prof. R. v. Roth and Dr. Aurel Stein have kindly transcribed for me valuable variations.

² It will be regarded, however, as especially desirable that, in a report from a specialist to the learned public in general, the texts should on no account be violated by conjectural improvements where they are at all translatable; alternatives are therefore added. As has been remarked by a recent reviewer on the new version of the Scriptures, there is scarcely a line of very ancient writings which scholars are not tempted to amend; but such emendations are seldom agreed to among specialists. A first translation should always be attempted with the texts as they stand.

³ See the *Athenæum*, April 12, 1884; and the *Academy*, Sept. 13, 1884. On the entire subject in its connection with the Gnostic and modern philosophies, my special labours have included a much longer period of time than that mentioned.

lation of the Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations, together with an edition of the Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian texts of the Gâthas. It is proper to add that for the purpose of keeping the judgment free from prejudice, and open to honest conviction from the influence of the *Rîg-veda*, I have followed the practice for a number of years of transcribing the Hymns of the Veda into English in word for word written studies, having already so treated by far the greater part of them; some of these are in curtailed statement, others needlessly full. I have also, on the other hand, turned a large portion of the Gâthas into Vedic Sanskrit. (This, however, is practically a universal custom, as all words are compared with the Vedic, so far as analogies exist between the Gâthas and the *Rîks*.) If therefore the opposed schools regard me as erring in too implicit a reliance on the hints of the Asiatics on the one side, or in too decided a tendency to read the Gâthic as Vedic on the other, they may be assured that I have not erred from interest or prejudice. That my results will please both parties it is folly to expect, in fact perfection in the rendering of the Gâthas (as of some other ancient works) is for ever unattainable, and not to be looked for; moreover, it would not be recognised, if attained; for no writer, whosoever he may be, can produce a rendering of the Gâthas without meeting the assaults of ignorance or design. However imperfect my results may be supposed to be, it is to be hoped that they will contribute some little toward establishing a convention among scholars as to what the Gâthic and Zend writings mean; meanwhile it is confidently expected that they will fulfil the requirements of the science of comparative theology. Whatever may be the ultimate truth as to questions of close detail, the Yasna, as well as the rest of the Avesta, is clear as to its creed.

My list of obligations is a long one, in fact so long that I fear I can express but little compliment in naming advisers, as I have made it a practice to consult all available persons, as well as books. Making one exception, I will therefore reserve to myself the pleasure of recalling them to a future occasion.

It is sufficient to say here that while I follow a new departure in the treatment of the Asiatic commentaries, yet the most prominent writers of the opposing schools have courteously favoured me with their advice. Availing myself of the exception named, I would take the liberty to express my gratitude, here especially, to Dr. E. W. West, our first authority on Pahlavi, for placing at my disposal various readings of the Pahlavi text of the Yasna, of which we have hitherto only possessed a single MS. in the Pahlavi character, that contained in the oldest Zend writing, the Codex numbered five, in the Library of Copenhagen. The variations referred to were transcribed by Dr. West from the venerable MS., the hereditary property of Dastur Dr. Gâmâspgi Minozihargi Asana of Bombay, and written only nineteen (or twenty-two) days later than that numbered five in the Library of Copenhagen. By this generous loan I have been enabled to print elsewhere the first text of the Pahlavi of the Gâthas yet edited with comparison of MSS., likewise also for the first time translated, in its entirety, into a European language. For this Dr. West, during an extended correspondence, has furnished me with information on the Pahlavi not obtainable elsewhere, together with corrections and revisions. There is another eminent friend whose sacrifices of time and labour on my behalf have been exceptional, but I will defer the mention of Zend scholars.

I take this opportunity to express my acknowledgments to Professor Dr. von Halm of the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, in Munich, for allowing me the free use of Codex 12^b, of Haug's Collection, both at Stuttgart and Hanover; also to Professor Dr. Wilmanns of Göttingen; Geheimrath Dr. Förstemann of Leipsic; and Herr Rath Bodemann of Hanover, for the loan of a large number of valuable works from their respective public libraries, often, with great liberality, renewed.

L. H. MILLS.

HANOVER, February, 1886.



INTRODUCTION.

MANY readers, for whom the Zend-Avesta possesses only collateral interest, may not understand why any introductory remarks are called for to those portions of it which are treated in this volume. The extent of the matter does not appear at first sight a sufficient reason for adding a word to the masterly work which introduces the first two volumes, and, in fact, save as regards questions which bear upon the Gâthas, I avoid for the most part, for the present, all discussion of details which chiefly concern either the sections treated in the first two volumes, or the extended parts of the later Avesta treated here. But the Gâthas are of such a nature, and differ so widely from other parts of the Avesta, that some words of separate discussion seem quite indispensable, and such a discussion was recommended by the author of the other volumes. A second reason why a word of introduction is necessary, when the translation of the successive parts of the Avesta passes from one hand to another, is a reason which bears upon the subject with exceptional force.

It is this: the Avesta, while clearly made out, so far as the requirements of comparative theology are concerned, yet presents difficulties as to minute detail so great, that as yet no two independent scholars can entirely agree as to their solution. Master and pupil, friend and friend, must differ, and sometimes on questions of no trivial moment.

The preliminary studies requisite to the formation of ultimate opinions are so varied, and of such a nature, involving the rendering of matter as yet totally unrendered with any scientific exactness in either India or Europe, that no person can claim to have satisfied himself in these respects. Scholars are therefore obliged to advance biassed by the fact that they are preponderatingly Iranists, or preponder-

atingly Vedists, and therefore certain at the outset that they must differ to a certain degree from each other, and to a certain degree also from the truth. It was also, as might well be understood without statement, with a full knowledge of the fact that I was inclined to allow especial weight to a comparison with the Veda, and that I modified the evidence of tradition somewhat more than he did, that Professor Darmesteter urged me to accept this task. But while I am constrained to say something by way of a preparatory treatise here, a sense of the fitness of things induces me to be as brief as possible, and I must therefore ask indulgence of the reader if my mode of expressing myself seems either rough or abrupt.

As to what the Gâthas are in their detail, enough has been said in the summaries and notes. From those representations, necessarily somewhat scattered, it appears that they ✓ comprise seventeen sections of poetical matter, equal in extent to about twenty-five to thirty hymns of the *Rig-veda*, composed in ancient Aryan metres, ascribing supreme (beneficent) power to the Deity Ahura Mazda, who is yet opposed co-ordinately by an evil Deity called Aka Manah, or Angra Mainyu. In all respects, save in the one particular that He is not the Creator of this evil Deity, and does not possess the power to destroy him or his realm, this Ahura Mazda is one of the purest conceptions which had yet been produced. He has six personified attributes (so one might state it), later, but not in the Gâthas, described as Archangels, while in the Gâthas they are at once the abstract attributes of God, > or of God's faithful adherents upon earth, and at the same time conceived of as persons, all efforts to separate the instances in which they are spoken of as the mere dispositions of the divine or saintly mind, and those in which they are spoken of as personal beings, having been in vain.

We have therefore a profound scheme, perhaps not consciously invented, but being a growth through centuries; and this system is the unity of God in His faithful creatures. It is not a polytheism properly so-called, as Ahura forms with his Immortals a Heptade, reminding one of the Sabellian Trinity. It is not a Pantheism, for it is especially

arrested by the domain of the evil Deity. It might be called, if we stretch the indications, a Hagio-theism, a delineation of God in the holy creation. Outside of the Heptade is Sraosha, the personified Obedience (and possibly Vayu, as once mentioned); and, as the emblem of the pious, is the Kine's soul, while the Fire is a poetically personified symbol of the divine purity and power. As opposed to the good God, we have the Evil Mind, or the Angry (?) Spirit, not yet provided with full personified attributes to correspond to the Bountiful Immortals. He has, however, a servant, Aêshma, the impersonation of invasion and rapine, the chief scourge of the Zarathustrians; and an evil angel, the Drug, personified deceit, while the Daêvas (Devas) of their more southern neighbours (some of whose tribes had remained, as servile castes, among the Zarathustrians) constitute perhaps the general representatives of Aka Manah, Aêshma, the Drug, &c. The two original spirits unite in the creation of the good and evil in existence both actually in the present, and in principles which have their issue in the future in rewards and punishments. The importance of this creed, so far stated, as the dualistical creation, and, as an attempted solution, of the hardest problem of speculation, should be obvious to every enlightened eye. If there existed a supreme God whose power could undo the very laws of life, no evil could have been known; but the doctrine denies that there is any such being. The good and the evil in existence limit each other. There can be no happiness undefined by sorrow, and no goodness which does not resist sin. Accordingly the evil principle is recognised as so necessary that it is represented by an evil God. His very name, however, is a thought, or a passion; while the good Deity is not responsible for the wickedness and grief which prevail. His power itself could not have prevented their occurrence. And He alone has an especially objective name, and one which could only be applied to a person. These suggestions, whether true or false, are certainly some of the most serious that have ever been made¹, and we find them originally here.

¹ Haug long since called attention to the likeness of Hegelianism to the

As to the nature of religious rewards and punishments, we have suggestions scarcely less important in the eye of scientific theology, and, as a matter of fact, very much more extensively spread. To say that the future rewards held out in the Gâthas were largely, if not chiefly, spiritual, and in the man himself, would be almost a slur upon the truth. The truth is, that the mental heaven and hell with which we are now familiar as the only future states recognised by intelligent people, and thoughts which, in spite of their familiarity, can never lose their importance, are not only used and expressed in the Gâthas, but expressed there, so far as we are aware, for the first time. While mankind were delivered up to the childish terrors of a future replete with horrors visited upon them from without, the early Iranian sage announced the eternal truth that the rewards of Heaven, and the punishments of Hell, can only be from within. He gave us, we may fairly say, through the systems which he has influenced, that great doctrine of subjective recompense, which must work an essential change in the mental habits of every one who receives it. After the creation of souls, and the establishment of the laws which should govern them, Âramaiti gives a body, and men and angels begin their careers. A Mâthra is inspired for the guidance of the well-disposed. The faithful learn the vows of the holy system under the teaching of the Immortals, while the infidel and reprobate portion of mankind accept the seductions of the Worst Mind, and unite with the Daêvas in the capital sin of warfare from wanton cruelty, or for dishonest acquisition. The consequence of this latter alliance is soon apparent. The Kine, as the representative of the holy people, laments under the miseries which make Iranian life a load. The efforts to draw a livelihood from honest labour are opposed, but not frustrated, by the Daêva-worshipping tribes who still struggle with the Zarathustrians for the control of the territory. The Kine therefore lifts

chief ideas in the Zarathustrian philosophy as centring in its dualism. And I think that it is quite evident, and I believe conceded by experts, that the Hegelian sublated dualism is a descendant from the Zarathustrian through the Gnostics and Jacob Boehme.

her wail to Ahura, and His Righteous Order, Asha, who respond by the appointment of Zarathustra, as the individual entrusted with her redemption; and he, accepting his commission, begins his prophetic labours. From this on we have a series of lamentations, prayers, praises, and exhortations, addressed by Zarathustra and his immediate associates to Ahura and the people, which delineate the public and personal sorrows in detail, utter individual supplications and thanksgivings, and exhort the masses assembled in special or periodical meetings.

Here, it must be noted, that the population among whom these hymns were composed were chiefly agriculturists and herdsmen. Circumstances which affected their interests as such were of course paramount with them, and as their land and cattle represented their most valuable property, whatever threatened them was the most of all things to be dreaded. Accordingly rapine, and the raid, whether coming from Turanians or Daêva-worshippers, were regarded as the most terrible of visitations. But their moral earnestness in their determination to avoid rapine on their part, even when tempted by a desire for retaliation, is especially to be noted¹. It was as awful when regarded as a sin as it was when suffered as an affliction; and their animus in this particular was most exceptional. While the above facts explain to us, on the one hand, the principal deities, and the peculiar hopes and fears which inspired their worship, they lead us also, on the other hand, to wonder the more that so subtle a theology as we have found expressed in the documents, should have arisen amid so simple a community.

In the course of the recitations we have also special intimations of an organised struggle of the Daêva-party to overwhelm the Zarathustrians. At times they seem very nearly to have accomplished their object. A distinct reference to a battle in the lines occurs, while sanguinary violence is alluded to more than once as in

¹ They pray against Aêshma without qualification. They might practise desolating havoc in time of war; but the raid, as in times of nominal peace, seems to have been foreign to them.

the line, or in skirmish. We conclude from the prevalence of a thankful tone that the Zarathustrians gained the upper hand during the Gâthic period, but although the result may have been assured, the struggle at the time of the last Gâtha was by no means over. In the latest Gâtha, as in the earliest, we have signs of fierce and bloody conflict. The same type of existence prevailed greatly later, in the time of the Yasts, but the scene seems very different, and Zarathustra's human characteristics are wholly lost in the mythical attributes with which time and superstition had abundantly provided him. By way, then, of summarising the chief characteristics of his original system, we may say that he and his companions were struggling to establish a kingdom under the Sovereign Power of God, whose first care was to relieve suffering, and shelter the honest and industrious poor¹. This kingdom was to be conducted according to His holy Order, or plan of salvation, to be permeated by living Piety, and with the ultimate object of bestowing both Weal and Immortality. This high ideal was also not left as an abstract principle to work its way. Society was far too rudimental, then as ever, for the efficient survival of unsupported principles. A compact hierarchical system seems to have existed, the sacramental object being the fire, before which a priesthood officiated with unwavering zeal; but the traces of this are very restricted in the Gâthas, and, according to all probability, it was greatly less elaborated at their period than later.

Such, in very brief outline, is the system which meets us as Zarathustrianism in that period of Mazda-worship when Zarathustra lived and composed the Gâthic hymns.

As to the further question, 'Who was Zarathustra, and when and where did he live?' diversity of opinion still pre-

¹ The practical operation of this prime principle seems to have been at times beneficial to a remarkable, if not unparalleled, extent. Under the Sasanids the lower classes enjoyed great protection. See the remarks of Professor Rawlinson, *The Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, page 440 ff. Also recall the extraordinary treatment of the poor during the drought and famine under Perozes. The account is, however, exaggerated. See Tabari II, p. 130, cited by Professor Rawlinson, p. 314.

vails, so much so that as regards it I differ slightly even from my eminent friend and predecessor. As such differences on the subject of the Avesta are however matters of course, I freely state my impressions. Who was then the person, if any person, corresponding to the name Zarathustra in the Gâthas? Did he exist, and was he really the author of these ancient hymns? That he existed as an historical person I have already affirmed; and as to the hymns ascribed to him and his immediate associates, I have also no hesitation. Parts of these productions may have been interpolated, but the Gâthas, as a whole, show great unity, and the interpolations are made in the spirit of the original. And that Zarathustra was the name of the individual in which this unity centres, we have no sufficient reason to dispute. The name is mentioned in the most sacred connections, as well as in those which depict the reality of the prophet's sufferings; and there is no reason at all why it should have come down endeared to humanity, unless it belonged to one, who, in the presence of a Sovereign and a kingdom, could impress his personality with greatly more defined distinctness upon his contemporaries than either that Sovereign or any of his adherents¹. That any forgery is present in the Gâthas, any desire to palm off doctrines upon the sacred community in the name of the great prophet, as in the Vendîdâd and later Yasna, is quite out of the question. The Gâthas are genuine in their mass, as I believe no scholar anywhere now questions.

For the characteristics of this great teacher, I refer to the hymns themselves, which stand alone, of their kind, in literature. Nowhere, at their period, had there been a human voice, so far as we have any evidence, which uttered thoughts like these. They are now, some of them, the great commonplaces of philosophical religion; but till then they were unheard (*agustâ*).

And yet we must say of Zarathustra, as of all our first announcers, that while he antedates all whose records have come down to us, he was probably only the last visible link

¹ See especially the remarks preceding Y. I..

in a far extended chain. His system, like those of his predecessors and successors, was a growth. His main conceptions had been surmised, although not spoken before. His world was ripe for them, and when he appeared, he had only to utter and develop them. I would not call him a reformer; he does not repudiate his predecessors. The old Aryan Gods retire before the spiritual Ahura; but I do not think that he especially intended to discredit them. One of the inferior ones is mentioned for a moment, but the great Benevolence, Order, and Power, together with their results in the human subject, Ahura's Piety incarnate in men, and their Weal and Immortality as a consequence, crowd out all other thoughts. His mental insight is as evident from his system as his deep moral inspiration. As to his secondary characteristics, his manner of thought and expression, we find them peculiar to the last degree. He has given us writings in which every syllable seems loaded with thought, sometimes much repeated, and to us of the present day, very familiar; but then, when he wrote, one would suppose that he intended to 'utter his dark speech.' Succinctness is carried to an unexampled extreme¹, while the wonderful idea that God's attributes are His messengers sent out into the human soul to ennoble and redeem, makes him at times so subtle that the latest scholars cannot tell whether he means Asha and Vohu Manah personified as Archangels, or as the thoughts and beneficent intentions of the Deity reproduced in men. I can recall no passage whatsoever in which Vohu Manah, Asha, Khshathra, &c., are not strongly felt to mean exactly what they signify as words, while at the same time they are prayed to, and besought to come, as Gods or angels. Either the personification is purely poetical, which would make it, as found in the Gâthas, considering their age and place, a very remarkable phenomenon, or else, having dogmatically personified the divine attributes, Zarathustra never forgets to express a respect which is higher than 'a respect for persons,' that is,

¹ I regard it as most unfortunate that Zendists should search for easy and natural expression in the Gâthas, and the expression of commonplace detail. It is only in passionate utterance that their style becomes simple.

a respect for the principles which they represent. In making every laudatory statement, however, I take for granted, what I fear is nevertheless far from uniformly granted, and that is, that the reader will weigh well what makes all the difference, namely, the very remote period at which we are obliged to place the Gáthas, and the comparatively rude civilisation amid which we must suppose them to have been composed. We must set the ideas which lie before us in this framework of time and place. If we fail to do so, as a matter of course the thoughts and their expression will contain for us nothing whatever new; but as viewed in the light of relation, after long weighing the matter, I cannot refer to them in any other terms than those which I use, without becoming aware that I am recoiling through fear of exaggeration from stating what I believe to be the truth.

As to the personal sentiment of Zarathustra, we can only say that it was devoted. His word *zarazdáiti* gives the keynote to his purposes. We are certain that he was a man of courage; but that he was not scrupulous at shedding blood is also evident. He was not reticent under misfortune, while yet endowed with rare persistence to overcome it.

His sphere was not restricted. The objects which concern him are provinces as well as villages, armies as well as individuals. His circle was the reigning prince and prominent chieftains, a few gifted men deeply imbued with religious veneration for the sacred compositions which had come down to them from primeval antiquity in ancient metres; and these, together with a priesthood exceptionally pure, leading on a sobered population, were also his public. But three orders appear in it, the king, the people, and the peers. That the times were disturbed is involved in what has already been said. One feature alone needs mention, it is that the agitations involved the tenure of the throne. Vistáspa had no easy seat, and the prospect of revolution in the sense of supersedure was continually before him. As to the family life of Zarathustra, we can only say that he commanded respect; nothing whatever is further known.

It will be seen from the above sketch that I make the widest distinction between the Gáthic period and that of the

later Avesta. I do so, not influenced very greatly by the fact that the Gâthas are cited in the later Avesta. Most of these citations are indeed genuine and valid as proofs of priority, while others are mere displacements of the Gâthas made for liturgical purposes, as Genesis is read in churches sometimes after portions of later matter. But a book may be cited by another when it is merely prior to it, and not much older. Nor do I lay too much stress upon the difference between the Gâthic dialect and the so-called Zend; but I do lay very great stress upon the totally dissimilar atmospheres of the two portions. In the Gâthas all is sober and real. The Kine's soul is indeed poetically described as wailing aloud, and the Deity with His Immortals is reported as speaking, hearing, and seeing; but with these rhetorical exceptions, everything which occupies the attention is practical in the extreme. *Grehma* and *Bendva*, the *Karpans*, the *Kavis*, and the *Usigs(-ks)*, are no mythical monsters. No dragon threatens the settlements, and no fabulous beings defend them. *Zarathustra*, *Gâmâspa*, *Frashaostra*, and *Maidhyômâh*; the *Spitâmas*, *Hvôgvas*, the *Haêkataspas*, are as real, and are alluded to with a simplicity as unconscious, as any characters in history. Except inspiration, there are also no miracles. All the action is made up of the exertions and passions of living and suffering men. Let the Zendist study the Gâthas well, and then let him turn to the *Yasts* or the *Vendîdâd*; he will go from the land of reality to the land of fable. He leaves in the one a toiling prophet, to meet in the other a phantastic demi-god. However ancient the fundamental ideas in the myths of the *Yasts* and *Vendîdâd* may be (and some of them were certainly older than the Gâthas or the oldest *Rîks*) in the forms in which they now stand, they are greatly later.

As we enter into further and necessary detail, this seems to be the place for a word as to the relative ages of the several sections which make up these hymns. We see struggle and suffering, fear and anger in some of them, and we naturally group these together as having been composed at a particular stage in *Zarathustra's* career. We read expressions of happy confidence, and we refer them to a

period of repose, as we do those sections where meditation, speculation, or dogmatic statement, are prominent; but nothing is certain except that Y. LIII must have been written after Zarathustra had attained to a sufficient age to have a marriageable daughter. An ancient leader may have reached a position of influence from doctrinal productions, and afterwards expressed the vicissitudes of an active political career. One circumstance must, however, be held in view; and that is, that neither the Gâthas, nor any other ancient pieces, which were hardly at first committed to writing, have been preserved in the form in which they were delivered for the first time. The poet himself would file them into better (?) order at each subsequent delivery, and verses which referred originally to one period of time would, if especially striking, be reproduced in subsequent effusions. And pieces which the composer may have left in one shape, his early successors would be likely to modify by interpolations, excerpctions, or inversions. I believe that the Gâthas show the presence of less foreign matter than is usual, and that the interpolations which are present in them, are themselves of great antiquity, or even practically synchronous with the original. Certainly few of them show anything like an ingenious attempt at imitation. If there exist any interpolations, and we may say *à priori* that all existing compositions of their antiquity are, and must have been, interpolated, the additions were the work of the author's earliest disciples who composed fully in his spirit, while the position of sections in this or that Gâtha has little or nothing to do with the question of their relative age, the metres being all ancient, and the Ustavaiti, *Spenta-mainyu*, &c., showing as decided evidence of originality as any parts of the Ahunavaiti. (See remarks on the Gâtha Ustavaiti, p. 91 ff.)

As we proceed from the question of the relative age of the particular sections as compared with each other to that of their age considered as a whole, we are first met by the question as to place. Were the Gâthas first sung in the East or the West of Iran? I would here say that I regard this point as especially open, as I am even inclined to differ in one particular from my eminent friend

Professor Darmesteter, but let it be understood, only or chiefly, as to the place of origin of the Gâthas. I think that the scene of the Gâthic and original Zarathustrianism was the North-east of Iran, and that the later Avesta was composed during the hundreds of years during which the Zarathustrian tribes were migrating westward in Media.

One certain fact is the occurrence of geographical names in Vendidad I, which are obviously intended to describe the earliest homes of the Iranian races whose lore was the Avesta. The present forms of those names, as they appear in the Avesta, are indeed not the most ancient, but they occur in passages which plainly repeat very ancient myths. These names describe a region from the middle of the North of Iran to the East of it, including ancient Bactria, but extending as far West as Ragha ; and, as the Gâthas are unanimously acknowledged to be the oldest portion of the Avesta, dealing as they do with Zarathustra as an historical person, we naturally look for the scene of his life in the oldest seats. The Zarathustrian Ragha, much further West than the other places mentioned, seems to have a special claim to be regarded as his birthplace, as it possesses so firm a hold upon his name, but the epithet Zarathustrian, together with the special eminence of the governor of Ragha as needing no 'Zarathustra' over him, that is, no imperial chief (see Y. XIX, 19), may both be attributed to successors of Zarathustra. From some reason, probably the migration of Zarathustrian influence toward the West, Ragha became a stronghold of his descendants ; or his name, entirely apart from all family connection, may have become a title for leading politico-ecclesiastical officials (compare the Zarathustrôtema). There is no mention of a foreign origin of Zarathustra in the Gâthas, nor is there any expression from which we might infer it. His family seems as settled as himself. The Spitâmas are mentioned with the same familiarity as the Hvôgvas, and the persons named are, some of them, related to him. He was no isolated figure among the people whom he influenced. Unless then we can place Vîstâspa and Gâmâspa, Frashaostra, and Maidhyômâh, in Ragha, we cannot well place Zarathustra there,

for he is to be placed beside them. Tradition of a late and dubious character places Vîstâspa in Bactria; but it is better to leave the exact region undecided, as certainty can never be reached.

The other circumstances which are imperative with many for a decision for the East as the region where Zarathustra laboured, have been stated with perhaps the greatest power and beauty by Darmesteter¹, who still inclines to the West. These are the strong analogies existing between the Zend language and the Vedic Sanskrit on the one side, and between the gods, heroes, and myths of the Avesta, and those of Veda, on the other.

As bearing, however, in favour of a western origin of the Gâthîc, as well as of the later Avesta, we must confess that the West Iranian of the Cuneiform Inscriptions possesses the same analogies with the Vedic which the language of the Avesta possesses with it; and no reader should need to be reminded that the West Iranian as well as the East Iranian was in no sense derived from the Vedic. The old Aryan from which all descended was once spread without distinction over both West and East, while, on the other hand, the mythological features of the Avesta, kindred as they are to those of the Eastern Veda, are yet reproduced for us, some of them, in the poetry of the mediæval West as drawn from the Avesta; and the name of Mazda, unknown (?) to the *Rîks*², appears cut in the rocks of Persepolis and Behistun, while all the sacred books of the Zarthustrians, including the Gâthas as well as the later Avesta, together with their interpretations, have come down to us from the West, where the Greeks also found their system from the time of Herodotus down.

Added to which we must acknowledge that the differences in dialect between the Avesta and Veda make a wide separation as to place far from startling, while myths as well as religions migrate as by a law.

We must therefore consider well before we venture to differ from those who decide for the West as the scene of Zarathustra's life.

¹ See the Introduction to the first two volumes, and also Ormuzd and Ahriman.

² But cp. *Rv.* VIII, 20, 17, *divô—ásurasya vedhásaḥ (medhasaḥ ?)*.

But as we mention the Inscriptions, we must make a very careful distinction. Is their theology that of Zarathustra? If it is, this would certainly constitute a point in conjunction with the descriptions of the Greeks, in favour of a still more extensive prevalence of Zarathustrianism in the West at the dates which the Inscriptions cover.

As to this disputed point, I would answer that their theology may be the Zarathustrian in a sense as yet too little applied to the term, for it may be Gâthic Zarathustrianism, or at least a Mazda-worship at a stage of development corresponding to the stage of Mazda-worship in which it stood when Zarathustra left it; but that it was the later and fully developed Zarathustrianism, provided with all the regulations of the Vendidad, seems out of the question.

In the first place there is no certain mention of Angra Mainyu, or of the Amesha Spenta, in the Inscriptions; and this silence must be accounted for¹ in any case².

The ready and just suggestion is made that the documents are exceedingly limited; that many deities would not be named on so narrow a space, while the statements of Herodotus and his successors make it probable that the entire system of Zarathustra was known in the near neighbourhood, and must have been very familiar to the persons who ordered the Inscriptions to be cut. To this the necessary rejoinder might be made, that the familiarity of Darius with the later, or indeed with the original, Zarathustrianism, if he was familiar with it, renders the absence of the name of Angra Mainyu at least all the more striking.

What more imperative call could there be for the use of that name than in denouncing the opponents whose overthrow forms the theme of the mighty writings?

As the 'grace of Auramazda' is mentioned on the one

¹ Some relief is given by a mention of the Draogha, but the bagâhya are probably Mithra and Anâhita (see the Inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon, 4) rather than the Amesha Spenta. As we notice the name of Mithra, however, we must remark that, as the Mithra worship undoubtedly existed previously to the Gâthic period, and fell into neglect at the Gâthic period, it might be said that the greatly later Inscriptions represent Mazda-worship as it existed among the ancestors of the Zarathustrians in a pre-Gâthic age or even Vedic age.

² Angra Mainyu and the Amesha are also prominent in the Gâthas.

side, one naturally expects to see some reference to the 'opposition' of His chief adversary on the other, and one also expects to trace some certain recognition of the Bountiful Immortals. I think that both were omitted because their names retained less weight, as we cannot suppose that they were unknown, or, if once known, then forgotten. But allowing that it is not quite fair to reason from such scanty texts, we are met by the positive fact that an important Inscription is written on a tomb¹; and, as the burial of the dead was one of the most flagrant violations of the Zarathustrian ceremonial law, it is not conceivable that Darius could have been a Zarathustrian according to the later Faith. He was either a heretical schismatic departing from a sacred precept, or he was following the creed of his fathers, a Mazda-worshipper, but not 'of Zarathustra's order,' or, if a Zarathustrian, then a partial inheritor of Zarathustra's religion at an undeveloped stage, while burial was not as yet forbidden by it; and at the same time he neglected also prominent doctrines of the Gâthas.

It is not possible that he could have been an isolated schismatic as to such a particular. If he composed the Inscriptions as a monarch of another religion than that of the later Avesta, it would seem to prove either that he was an adherent to a cruder, or half effaced, form of Gâthic Zarathustrianism, which had found its way during the long periods of its existence westward before the later Zarathustrianism arose in the western settlements, or else that it, the religion of the Inscriptions, simply originated where we find it, from an original and wide-spread Mazda-worship which had not yet forbidden the burial of the dead².

¹ And all are the Inscriptions of buried men. See also the statements of Professor de Harlez on the subject.

² And perhaps it had also not forbidden cremation. Geiger (see 'The Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times;,' English translation by Dârâb Dastur Peshotan Saâgânâ, B. A., p. 90) conjectures that the dakhma were originally places for cremation. If this is a correct surmise, both burial and cremation may have been permitted at the Gâthic period, being forbidden long after. At least the original Mazda-worship did not recoil from cremation, otherwise the story of the attempt to burn the Lydian Cræsus could not have arisen. The earlier Persians had no abhorrence of either burial or burning. Only the developed Zarathustrian Magism of the Medes obeyed the Vendîdâd.

That such a Mazda-worship once existed in primeval Iran seems certain, and that it was greatly earlier than Zarathustrianism¹. It is also very probable that some form of it survived unadulterated by Zarathustrianism. And this is as probable *à priori* when we reflect on what might have happened, as it is when we seek for an explanation of the burial of a Mazda-worshipper in a tomb.

As the Asura (Ahura) worship extended into India with the Indians as they migrated from Iran, a form of Asura worship arose in Iran which added the name of Mazda to the original term for God. In the East it began to acquire additional peculiarities out of which, when Zarathustra arose, he developed his original system, while in other parts of Iran, and with great probability in Persia, it retained its original simplicity. At subsequent periods only, the Zarathustrian form spread, first at the Gāthic stage, and later a second time, and from a centre further West, as the Zarathustrianism of the later Avesta which is reported by the Greeks. Either then Darius was a Mazda-worshipper, like his fathers, following an original and independent type of Mazda-worship, or he was following a mutilated Gāthic Zarathustrianism, which may not yet have forbidden burial², he and his chieftains adhering to this ancient form, while the masses yielded to the novelties, as the patrician Jews held to Sadduceeism after the masses had become Pharisees, and as the patrician Romans clung to Paganism after Rome had become Catholic. In either case it seems to me that the Mazda-worship of the Inscriptions might be severed from the later Zarathustrianism; and that it must be so severed on some theory or other, all with one voice seem to agree.

In deciding for the North-east³ as the scene of Zarathustra's personal labours, and for the Gāthic dialect as its more particular form of speech, I am not, I trust, solely

¹ Compare even the Scythic name Thamimasadas, cited by Professor Rawlinson (Herod. 3rd edit. iii, p. 195). Were branches of the Scyths themselves in a sense Mazda-worshippers, or could the name have been borrowed?

² And which insisted less upon the personality of Satan.

³ The name Bactrian cannot be considered as more than a convenient expression.

or unduly influenced by the occurrence of the eastern names in the first chapter of the Vendîdâd, for those names may indicate primeval homes from which the ancestors of Zarathustra migrated toward the west centuries before his appearance. I merely say that the occurrence of the names shows that the ancestors of the Zarathustrian Mazda-worshippers once lived in East Iran; and if that is the case, their descendants may have still lived there when Zarathustra developed his system, and it is also possible that masses of Zarathustrians may long have remained behind in the East Iranian mountains after the Zarathustrians of the later Avesta had gone west. The descendant may have arisen in the home of his ancestors, and in fact, other things being equal, there is a stronger probability that he arose there. I do not think that the appearance of a later Zarathustrianism in the west, is a sufficient reason for doubting that the founder of the system laboured nearer the land of the Vedas, where a Vistâspa once ruled (?), where a Daêva-worship long lingered, and where the common names of the Irano-indian gods were heard as household words, and which, we may add, was precisely the place where we should suppose the Indo-aryans to have left the Irano-aryans, as they descended into the Puñgâb.

Having formed an opinion as to the place where Zarathustra laboured, and proceeding to the question as to when he lived and wrote the Gâthas, we find ourselves under the necessity to form our estimate first as to the age of the later parts of the Avesta. While interpolated passages, or indeed whole Yasts, may be very late, I cannot place the later Avesta in its bulk later than the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Darius, for the fact that the Inscriptions preserve either a pre-Zarathustrian Mazdaism, or the Zarathustrianism of the Gâthas long previous as it was in its origin to that of the Vendîdâd, has nothing whatever to do with the relative age of the Inscriptions themselves. The later Avesta, with its forbiddal of burial and cremation, must have existed for a long time side by side with that religion which has left sepulchral monuments, and

whose adherents could contemplate the burning of captives; and analogous facts are universal.

But aside from the seeming difference in the type of Mazda-worship, which simply severs the religion of the Inscriptions from that of the more developed Zarathustrianism, and which has, as we have seen, nothing whatever to do with the question of the relative ages of the Inscriptions and the later Avesta, I think that we have some signs of a later age in the language of the Inscriptions apart from their contents. As, however, Darmesteter is inclined to regard the West Iranian, or Cuneiform, as better preserved than the Zend of the later Avesta, I make my few remarks only with great hesitation.

The termination **𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀**, which would otherwise be justly considered as an evidence of degeneration in the Zend, I regard as merely a wrong writing for -ahya = Gâthic ahyâ. The letter **𐬨** is a relic of the time when the Avesta stood in the Pahlavi character; I think that it is here merely a lengthened **𐬨** = ya¹. Terminations also seem much mutilated in the Cuneiform, and the name Auramazda written as one word, does not seem to me so original.

We must indeed remember that a later generation, owing to an isolated position, often preserves an older dialect, as it may an older form of religion, whereas an earlier generation, if its predecessors have lived in a compact society in smaller districts, varies the ancient forms, as the old Indian developed into Sanskrit and Prâkrit. Still we have little reason to be certain that the civilisation of Media and

¹ Also **𐬨𐬀** is simply ayam, and should be so transliterated; so also in a throng of other words. Salemann has noticed the origin of **𐬨** = ê, but gives no other indication in the present sense. I think that **𐬨** and also **𐬨𐬀**, where they equal Aryan ya, should be corrected everywhere, like all other instances of miswriting. Unless indeed we can regard the **𐬨**, for which **𐬨𐬀** were often clearly miswritten, as itself of double significance, as in Pahlavi. **𐬨** might then regularly and properly equal both ê and ya; so **𐬨𐬀** may equal long ê or yâ (ayâ). Other instances of miswriting in Zend would be dat. dual -bya. The Aryan -âm was first written as the nasal vowel -â, and still further carelessly reduced to -a, but never so spoken. On the contrary, in the acc. fem. &c., the nasalisation was over-written, too much expressed. The final nasal caused the scribes to write the preceding letter as if nasalised, 'â,' but it was never nasalised in speech.

Persia was either more or less condensed and social than that of Bactria and the East. But beside a priority to the Inscriptions, we are obliged to consider the time needed for developments. The Greeks of the time of Herodotus probably, and those later certainly, found a form of Zarathustrianism in full development in Media; but if the contemporaries of Herodotus heard familiarly of a Zarathustrianism there, a long period of time must be allowed for its development if it originated in Media, and a still longer period if it found its way there from the East. If, then, the bulk of the later Avesta existed at the time of Herodotus and at that of Darius, how long previously must it have been composed; for such systems do not bloom in a day?

We have the evidence of historical tradition that the Magi¹ were influential even at the time of Cyrus, not dwelling upon the possibility of their existence at the earliest mention of Medes as the conquerors and rulers of Babylon.

Can we then, considering the recognised stagnation of ancient Eastern intelligence, ascribe to the development of the Median Zarathustrianism a shorter period than from one to three centuries? If, then, the bulk of the later Avesta must be placed so long before the Inscriptions of Darius, where shall we place the earlier Avesta with its most important remaining fragments, the Gâthas²?

After studying the Gâthas carefully in detail, and becoming also familiar with them as a whole by frequent perusal, we must measure the time needed for the change from their tone to that of the later Avesta. Could it have been less than a century, or centuries? Was not as much time needed for the Zarathustra of the Gâthas to become the Zarathustra of the later Avesta, as was afterwards consumed by the migration of the creed from the North-east, if it really originated there? As there is undoubtedly a

¹ I regard the Magi as representing the Zarathustrianism of the Vendîdâd. This the false Bardiya endeavoured to introduce, demolishing the temples which the old Mazda-worship permitted in Persia. See the Cuneiform Inscription of Behistun II; Darius 61.

² All in the Gâthic dialect is old.

difference of several centuries between the dates of the newest and oldest parts of the later Avesta, so we must think of a considerable interval between the oldest parts of the later Avesta and the latest parts of the older Avesta, for there is the other consideration which imperatively constrains us to avoid concluding for short periods in the stages of development. The Vedic Hymns, sung in metres closely similar to those in both the Gâthas and the later Avesta, and naming gods, demons, and heroes so closely related, not to speak of myths, challenge us to say whether they are, the oldest of them, older or later than the oldest parts of the Avesta, and, if there exists any difference as to the ages of these ancient productions, how great that difference is. The oldest *Rîks* have now an established antiquity of about 4000 ; were the hymns sung on the other side of the mountains as old ? The metres of these latter are as old as those of the *Rîg-veda*, if not older, and their grammatical forms and word structure are often positively nearer the original Aryan from which both proceeded. If it were not for two circumstances, we should be forced to ask very seriously which were the older, and to abandon altogether our mention of later dates. Those circumstances are the absence of the Aryan gods from the Gâthas ; and, secondly, their abstract conceptions. These latter are so little offset with expected puerilities that it is often hard to believe that the Gâthas are old at all. Their antiquity is placed beyond dispute by the historic mention of Zarathustra. But, if Zarathustra were not indisputably a living man in the Gâthas, their depth and refinement, together with the absence of Mithra, Haoma, &c., would, in themselves considered, force us to place them rather late. As it is, the absence of Mithra and his colleagues, who reappear in the later Avesta, permits us to place the Gâthas considerably later than the oldest *Rîks*. For no sudden and intentional dismissal of the ancient gods is to be accepted with Haug, nor any religious schism as the cause (!) of the migration of the Indians toward the south. The process was of course the reverse.

The migrating tribes, in consequence of their separation

from their brethren in Iran, soon became estranged from them, and their most favoured Gods fell slowly into neglect, if not disfavour.

We need time to account for this change, and no short interval of time. We can therefore place the Gâthas long after the oldest *Rîks*. While, therefore, in view of the established age of the *Rîg-veda*, the Gâthas may possibly have been composed as early as about 1500 B.C., it is also possible to place them as late as (say) 900–1200 B.C., while the fragments in the Gâthic dialect must be considered somewhat later. The dates of the composition of the several parts of the later Avesta, on the other hand, must be supposed to extend over many centuries, as the various sections in the Zend dialect are so much more numerous than those in the Gâthic, the Gâthas themselves representing practically but one date. Placing then the oldest portions of the later Avesta somewhat earlier than Darius, we are obliged to extend the period during which its several parts were composed so far as perhaps to the third or fourth century before Christ, the half-spurious matter contained in them being regarded as indefinitely later.

It seems necessary to state here for the information of non-specialists, and as bearing very seriously upon all the questions involved, that a very unusually severe controversy prevails upon the exegesis of the Avesta, and that it centres in the question as to the value of the Asiatic translations of it. A similar debate was once held on the *Rîg-veda*, but that is now silenced, all agreeing that the traditional renderings are neither to be slavishly followed, nor blindly ignored. Very different has been the fate of Zend philology, and in one important particular the studies are poles apart; for whereas the commentaries on the *Rîks* are written in Sanskrit, which is clear to experts, those on the Zend-Avesta are written in a language upon which the lexicography is most incomplete, and the elucidation of these explanations themselves remains by far the most

difficult task now before us. Professor von Spiegel has accomplished much toward breaking the rough road of science in this direction, and scholars of the first order have followed his leading, while all with one accord express to him their acknowledgments. But Professor von Spiegel has not intended his editions and citations to represent full translations. He has, as a matter of course, taken it for granted that those who oppose him, as well as those who follow him, have studied his Pahlavi editions, not paying him the undesired compliment of making his commentaries the sole source of their knowledge of tradition. Moreover in no branch of science does scholarship make more rapid strides than in Pahlavi, several important works having appeared since Spiegel's commentaries.

In the attempt to master the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta we must consider many and difficult problems.

In the first place, and as a matter of course, they cannot be at all reasonably attempted without a full knowledge of the Gâthic and Avesta texts so far as they have been as yet otherwise and approximately elucidated. The two problems hang together like the arches of a circular building, and they should be studied together word for word; for the Pahlavi used is not fully that of the books. It is often turned quite out of its course, as Pahlavi, by an effort to follow the more highly inflected Zend literally. Then, again, a question of the utmost importance meets us in estimating the glosses, which are often, but not always, from a later hand. A translation of the Pahlavi must of course first be considered as in the light of the glosses, for the language is so indefinite as to many of its grammatical forms, that such an indication as a gloss, if it be proved to have been written by the same person who composed the text, would be decisive in determining the rendering; but a final translation should be made more strictly in the light of the Gâthic, so far as it affords on its side positive indications, and the glosses, where they do not correspond, should be set apart as from a later hand. Then, once more, and on the contrary, where the gloss is obviously right, and the text erroneous, the former should be appro-

priated unencumbered by the latter ¹. We must recognise the traces of former accurate scholarship whether we see them in text or gloss, and, from the accumulation of the correct surmises, we should construct an argument for the probability of the correctness of the hints of the Pahlavi in cases of great difficulty. In rendering the Pahlavi as a necessary prelude to rendering the Avesta, all possible help should of course be sought from the Asiatic translations of the Pahlavi, from those of Neryosangh in Sanskrit, and from the still later ones in Parsi and Persian. Here, again, those who read the Pahlavi only as rendered by Neryosangh need great caution. If Neryosangh is simply read like the classical Sanskrit, great errors will be committed. He needs a glossary of his own, and should be read solely in the light of the Pahlavi which was chiefly his original. So of the Parsi Persian translations, they must be read with especial attention to their originals. After these original translations have been fully mastered, and compared with an improved rendering of the Gâthic, likewise also studied in the full light of the Veda, the patient scholar will be surprised at the result. He will find that to a certain extensive degree, the two sources of information coincide when reasonably estimated, and, moreover, that where the Pahlavi gives us an indication differing from that derived from the Vedic, the surmise of the Pahlavi is the more often correct. I say 'reasonably estimated,' for not only is the Pahlavi, as a less highly inflected language, incapable of rendering the Avesta literally, but its authors do not uniformly make the attempt to do so; nor do they always follow the order of the Gâthic or Zend. Their translations generally run word for word as to their outward forms, for the ancient interpreters probably regarded such a following as essential to a complete rendering, but they found them-

¹ I would here state to the distinguished scholars who have done me the honour to study my work on the Gâthas, that the Pahlavi translations contained in it are those made in the light of the glosses. Here and there final ones will be added in a later volume, as from the Pahlavi texts sometimes considered apart from the Pahlavi glosses, and in consequence often much nearer the Gâthic than those from both text and gloss.

selves compelled to resort to the most important exceptions. And, lastly, the rejection, or total neglect of the Pahlavi translations and their successors, on the ground that they contain errors, is a policy which seems to me defective, and to the last degree. What absurdities can Sāyana be capable of, and yet who would utter final opinions upon the *Rig-veda* without either the ability, or the attempt, to read Sāyana¹?

It is hardly necessary to mention that the restoration of texts goes hand in hand with translation. For how are we to interpret a passage before we know that it exists? And of what inestimable worth are the Pahlavi translations as evidence to texts! Who does not see that where the ancient scribe is most free or erroneous as to form, or root, his rendering often shows plainly which of two words stood before him in his manuscripts. Our oldest MS. (that of Copenhagen, numbered 5) dates from the year 1323 A.D.; and what were the dates of the ancient documents before the eyes of the Pahlavi translator who writes in it?

We must now ask whether our present Pahlavi translations are improvements upon their predecessors, or the reverse. That they are improvements in some few instances is undeniable, for, as we have seen, some of the glosses to them from later hands give the truth where the text is wide. But the glosses which show a later origin are, for the most part, inferior in richness to the texts. Here and there a talented, or fortunate, Parsi threw new light on the subject, but the general tendency was one of deterioration; that is, before the revival of Parsi-learning under Neryosangh (400–500 years ago). This deterioration would naturally decrease as we approach successive periods in going back to the time when MSS. of the Gāthas existed according to positive evidence, that is, to the time when, according to the *Arđā Virāf*, Alexander's servants found skins at Persepolis on which the Avesta had been traced in

¹ Well has Geldner mentioned the 'epoch-making' *Études Iraniennes* of Darmesteter (KZ. vol. xxviii, p. 186). It is to be hoped that these brilliant pieces will stimulate the study of the relation between the Zend and the New Persian through the Ancient Persian and the Pahlavi.

gilded letters (for it is not positively proved that the informants of Herodotus heard the Magian priests singing their 'theogonies' from written books). At each of these periods scholarship is proved to have been competent by the results which it accomplished. The first of them we must place in the sixth century when, on Spiegel's estimate¹, the Zend characters were modified into their present lucid form from the Pahlavi, and distinct short vowels took the place of the unknown signs which existed previously. Then all MSS. which were to be found must have been collected and copied, and, so to speak, re-edited; and here we must accordingly place a period when the Pahlavi translations were more valuable than those of any later date. As we go further back we come upon another period, when, under Shapur II, Âdarbad Mahraspend brought the surviving portions of the Zend-Avesta together (about A.D. 330). Still earlier the servants of Artaxerxes, the Sasanian, collected yet more abundant writings, when Zarathustrianism was instituted as the state religion. Then, under the Arsacids (possibly under Vologeses the first), those most competent in the realm were directed to gather the then extant documents.

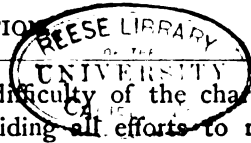
While, if we hold that the entire Avesta was written originally in some character different from the Pahlavi, we must finally infer the existence of an early epoch, when the entire Avesta was brought over in its bulk from the earlier East (or West?) Iranian character in which it was first inscribed. If this character differed radically from the Pahlavi, this transliteration must be regarded as one of the most remarkable of literary events. Notwithstanding all the now rapidly corrected errors, the texts have been handed down with the minutest distinctions of dialect preserved², and this proves the existence of competent interpreters at a period practically contemporaneous with the composition of the later portions of the later Avesta. What commentaries must then have existed, not free from

¹ *Eranisches Alterthumskunde* III, s. 767.

² See Hübschmann, *KZ.* bd. 24, s. 326.

error, as we see from the Zand of the Avesta, but, as to language and general sense, how close ! Even if the degree of linguistic knowledge increases only gradually or steadily in going back, without any epochs from the time of Neryosangh to the inferable date of the latest Zend writings, and if the character in which the Avesta was first recorded (after a lengthy life as an orally extended lore) differed only as to mode and fashion, and not radically, from the Pahlavi (which, so far as the later Avesta is concerned, is most probable), we have yet the transliteration of the Gâthas to account for, which perhaps were brought over (after long oral life) from the so-called Aryan character, while the existence of a gradual tradition of a scholarship does not refute the fact that this scholarship must have been at times of the highest character ; it makes high scholarship more probable.

What translations, we again remark, may have existed among these early sages ! And, if they could once make translations fresh from the exegesis of the latest Zend writers themselves, is it not practically certain, considering the tenacity of life manifested by Zoroastrianism, that their explanations still lurk in the commentaries which have come down to us. And if these inferences be at all correct, how should we labour to discover from our present translations what these predecessors were ; and what scholar cannot perceive that gems of evidence as to texts and sense may yet linger in those of our present Pahlavi translations which may yet be otherwise most filled with phantastic error ? And shall we not therefore conclude that their expected inaccuracies, whether small or great, cannot destroy their inherent value ? What, then, are we to think of it, when the New Persian, a quasi-daughter of the Pahlavi, is superficially referred to for linguistic analogies, when even the Armenian is also scanned, while the Pahlavi is left unmastered ? Is a quasi-mother language of the New Persian any the less likely to afford linguistic analogies because an actual translation of the Avesta has been attempted in it, and because the Avesta once stood in its characters, while it may also present claims to be considered to a certain limit a daughter language to both the Gâthic and Zend ?



And should the acknowledged difficulty of the character continue to be a reason for avoiding all efforts to make it out?¹

In the endeavour to divide our Avesta texts into originals and gloss, we are greatly aided by the metre. Interpolated words and phrases are often obvious at a glance, and we should never suspend our efforts to discover all the traces of metre which exist in the Avesta, as a necessary step to the restoration of the documents to their first form; but we should avoid exaggeration, and a carelessly dogmatic procedure in insisting upon reducing lines to an exact, or to a supposed exact, number of syllables². I regard it as unwise to suppose that the metrical lines of the Avesta, or indeed of any very ancient poetical matter, have been composed with every line filed into exact proportions. The ancient poets would have brought out the measures in many a place by accent and a sandhi which are no longer known to us. The Vedic Hymns may, to a great extent, form an exception, but who would not say that where uniform evenness is at hand, an effort to improve the metre has often corrupted the text. Priests or reciters of intelligence would here and there round off an awkward strophe, as year after year they felt the unevenness of numbers. Metre must inevitably bring a perfecting corruption at times, as a deficiency in the metre must also prove a marring corruption. Cases should be carefully discriminated. The expression of passionate feeling, for instance, would be likely to cause

¹ One of the most powerful tributes ever paid to the Pahlavi translators was Haug's conversion to them. Before studying them he lost no opportunity to stigmatise their deficiencies; later, however, he followed them in many an important place, and sometimes with little reserve.

As writers of the opposed extremes seem honestly convinced of the radical error of each other's views, it is obvious that association and interest have much to do with decisions. A scholar should put himself fully under the influence first of one school and then of the other. The necessity for well-balanced studies is extremely great.

² It is only lately that the variation from eleven to twelve syllables in the lines of Trishup has been applied to the Gâthic metres, nor has the possibility of a shifting caesura been acceded to till lately.

unevenness in lines. The language would be vigorous and idiomatic, and of unusual value as a fragment of ancient phrase, but the metre would have suffered.

Then as to conjectured texts; after texts have been improved from all available relics of ancient tradition, or scholarship, as afforded by the Pahlavi translations, and from the evidence of metre, we are at times still left with readings before us which could not have been original. The composers have indeed here and there constructed sentences which they either could not, or would not, make easy, but as a general thing we may say, that where the text, as it stands, gives no satisfactory sense to us, after we have exhausted the resources of previous Asiatic scholarship, or direct analogy, in our efforts to explain it, it is in that case not the text as the composer delivered it. We are then reduced to conjecture, for how are we to translate a text before we are certain that it is integral? Our first efforts should be directed to the detection of losses; for a text may still be of great value when considered as a mass of broken sentences, for, if we are certain that such is its character, we can often fill out the missing members with much probability. But whether we insert supplementary conjectures, or merely bracket later interpolations, we must by all means in cases of real necessity make the effort to amend the text (as also in the Veda).

Even if we fail in our attempted improvements, we are often little worse off than before, for whereas it is possible, or even probable, that the composers wrote what we suggest, it is sometimes not possible that they wrote exactly what stands in our texts. We should even suggest alternative readings where our present ones are only less probable (for the suggestion of an alternative is not the wholesale destruction of a sentence), while even when we declare their outcoming meaning totally unsatisfactory, the MSS. still remain to other writers to begin on afresh. And in estimating what would be reasonable meanings, we should guard carefully against both extremes, and we should especially exercise a strong negative criticism against the recognition of

too much meaning, or too subtle a meaning. Profound and subtle conceptions placed where we are obliged to place the Gâthas, and other ancient portions of the Avesta, are indeed precious relics, as such conceptions at any age show a higher mental power, but we must doubt them only so much the more, and doubt, if we would be scientific and conscientious, till doubt becomes no longer possible. Beyond that we should turn our suspicions against our doubts themselves, which is the proper course if we would exhaust the meanings of the Gâthas. Unless these are a fortuitous concourse of syllables, religiously profound modes of thought are manifest throughout. It is therefore strictly unscientific to force parts of them to express shallow details, and it is above all deplorable to change the text itself in order to produce out of it less enlarged meanings¹. I say to force parts of them, for the great mass of them confessedly defies all attempts to reduce them to the statements of simple commonplace.

They can never possess the rich colour of the *Rîks*; it is therefore the more to be deplored if we fail to see their deep, but awkwardly expressed, and oft-repeated thought. I must express my regret that until lately, when the enclitics have been more carefully considered, the form of sentences in the Gâthas does not seem to have been noticed, writers conjecturing infinitives and simple accusatives at the ends of sentences. Both may, of course, fall there, but when we wish to reconstruct a word, we should not change it to a form which is not placed according to prevailing analogies. Infinitives and accusatives generally, both in the Gâthas and the *Rîg-veda*, avoid the end of the sentence. The accusative, when it falls there, is generally preceded by qualifying words often in apposition or agreement with it. Also in the conception of translations, authors seem to sup-

¹ Non-specialists must not suppose that our texts are more apparently uncertain than (say) many portions of the Old Testament. Large portions of them are also as clear, at least, as the *Rîg-veda*; and the emendations referred to need very seldom affect the doctrines. Let the learned public, however, insist on scholars making honest attempts to render the texts as they stand before their emendations, and greater harmony would result.

pose it impossible that the lines can contain anything but lengthened prosaic sentences (too often with an accusative, or infinitive, pushed awkwardly out to the end). To me the Gâthic sentence is often very short, and so better adapted to poetic expression.

It has been already implied, and it has been taken for granted throughout¹, that the Avesta should be closely compared with the Veda, but let it never be forgotten, in the name of science, that the force and meaning of analogous words in the Gâthic and the Vedic cannot be expected to be uniformly identical, considering the extent of territory, and the length of time, by which those who spoke the two languages were separated. The meanings of the Vedic words could not hold their own even in India, developing into the Sanskrit and Prâkrit which differ widely, how truly misguided is it therefore to attribute necessarily the same shades of meaning to the terms of the two sister tongues. If even the Gâthic hymns stood in the Indian forms, and had been discovered in India, having also reference to Indian history, no thoughtful writer would have rendered them in complete analogy with the *Rig-veda*. The Gâthic usages would have been added in our dictionaries to those of the Vedic, just as the Sanskrit definitions are added.

An additional word seems called for as to the results of Zarathustrian theology. Besides its connection with the modern philosophy through Gnosticism which has been already noticed², a relation between it and the Jewish theology since the Captivity has long been mentioned. The hagiology, the demonology, the temptation, the parables, the eschatology, have all been supposed to show traces of the time when Persian power was dominant in Jerusalem, and with it, Persian literature; but the discussion of such questions requires separate treatises.

As to the general benefit which has resulted from Zarathustrianism in the past, few reflections need to be added. If the mental illumination and spiritual elevation of many millions of mankind, throughout long periods of time, are of

¹ See remarks in the Preface, p. xv.

² See note on p. xix.

any importance, it would require strong proof to deny that Zarathustrianism has had an influence of very positive power in determining the gravest results. That men should be taught to look within rather than without, to believe that suffering and sin do not originate from the capricious power of a Deity still called 'good,' that the 'good thought, word, and deed' should be recognised as essential to all sanctity, even in the presence of a superstitious ceremonial, that a judgment should have been expected according to the deeds done in the body, and the soul consigned to a Heaven of virtue or to a Hell of vice, its recompense being pronounced by the happy or stricken conscience, these can never be regarded by serious historians as matters of little moment, and if, on the contrary, they are allowed to be matters of great moment, the Zend-Avesta should be revered and studied by all who value the records of the human race.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Barth. = Bartholomae.

B.V. S. = Vendidad Sade, von Dr. Hermann Brockhaus. Leipzig, 1850.

D. = dastur.

De inf. = De infinitivi linguarum sanskritae bactricae persicae graecae oscae umbricae latinae gotticae forma et usu, scripsit Eugenius Wilhelmus, phil. doctor. 1872.

G. = Gâmâspgi.

H. = Hübschmann.

Inf. = Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen, von Dr. Julius Jolly. 1873.

K. = Kopenhagen MSS.

K. Z. = Kuhnische Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

M. † K. = Mainyô-† Khard. Ed. West. 1871.

Ner. = Neryosangh.

P. = Paris MSS.

Rv. = *Rig-veda*.

Sp. = Spiegel.

Trlr. = translator.

V. S. = Ein Kapitel vergleichender Syntax, von Dr. Julius Jolly. 1872.

Wg. = Westergaard.

Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

An asterisk denotes irregularities.

THE GÂTHAS.

THE five Gâthas of Zarathustra and his immediate followers are placed here before the other parts of the Yasna on account of their higher antiquity. There existed no other Yasna for years or centuries beside them.

The more remarkable circumstances connected with them have been already discussed in the Introduction.

If it is necessary to recall any of them here, the most prominent would be that they are undoubtedly the productions of a small group of influential men who are referred to in them for the most part by name; that Zarathustra, everywhere else nearly or quite a demi-god, is here a struggling and suffering man. He is a prophet, or a divinely appointed instructor, but thoroughly human and real, so far as his situations become apparent.

Secondly, their historical tone may be emphasised. Their doctrines and exhortations concern an actual religious movement taking place contemporaneously with their composition; and that movement was exceptionally pure and most earnest. Their tone is therefore everywhere serious. Nearly all myths are dropped, and likewise, as perhaps their most striking peculiarity, even the old Aryan gods, who reappear in the later Yasna, Vendîdâd, and Yasts, are, save one, wholly absent.

The movement in its reformatory character seems to have thrown them out, not perhaps with definite intention, but because the minds of the devout enthusiasts excluded them as having inferior interest, in view of the results immediately before them.

So far as a claim to a high position among the curiosities of ancient moral lore is concerned, the reader may trust himself freely to the impression that he has before him an anthology which was probably composed with as fervent a desire to benefit the spiritual and moral natures of those to

whom it was addressed as any which the world had yet seen. Nay, he may provisionally accept the opinion that nowhere else are such traces of intelligent religious earnestness to be found as existing at the period of the Gâthas or before them, save in the Semitic scriptures.

As to their speculative depth; wherever theosophical speculation is put into words, the evidence of their grasp and subjectivity becomes positive. As the extent of documents necessarily produces a certain impression upon the mind of an investigator, it must not be forgotten that the Gâthas were in all probability many times more voluminous than the fragments which now remain to us. The historian may argue from what has survived to what once existed, and the inevitable conclusion is imposing.

For additional details see the Introduction, and the summaries at the head of each Gâtha and chapter.

THE GÂTHA(Â) AHUNAVAITI(Î).

This Gâtha, consisting of seven chapters of the Yasna (XXVIII-XXXIV), takes its name from the similarity of its metre to that of the Ahuna-vairya formula which also occurs before it in the Yasna. It is composed of homogeneous material, but as its material is also homogeneous with that of the other Gâthas, it probably owes its existence as a group of sections to its metrical form. Its lines were intended to number sixteen syllables, and they are put together in stanzas of three. It is all very ancient and probably nearly all original with Zarathustra himself, though parts seem to be put into the mouths of his immediate associates and disciples. Whether any persons existed in the immediate circle of the sage capable of composing hymns like these unaided, is of course a question; but that some were able to put poetical matter together under his guidance or inspiration seems certain.

An analysis and general summary is placed before each chapter as more convenient than massing them all together. The reader is reminded that the rhythm of the original, so far as it could be reasonably conjectured, is somewhat imitated in parts of the translations.

THE GÂTHAS.

YASNA XXIX.

THE WAIL OF THE KINE. THE CALL OF ZARATHUSTRA. HIS PRAYER FOR AID.

This chapter, the second in the manuscripts of the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, is placed here as in a more natural order. It may be regarded as containing the terminus a quo of the divine revelation. The Soul of the Kine, as representing the herds of the holy Iranian people, their only means of honourable livelihood, raises its voice, and expressing the profoundest needs of an afflicted people, addresses Ahura and His Divine Order, Asha, in bitterness.

1. Recalling another and a later 'groan of the creation,' she demands wherefore and for whom she was made, since afflictions encompass her; and as her comfort, if not her existence, was threatened as much by the unsettled habits induced by constant alarms as by the actual incursions of her predatory neighbours, she beseeches the Bountiful Immortals to instruct her as to the benefits of civilised agriculture, and confirm her protectors in its practice, as her only remedy against the evils of which she complains.

2. Ahura answers by a question to Asha, the personified Righteous Order, as to what guardian he had appointed in order to smite back the fury which assails her, intimating that some chief ought to have been set over her originally who would have averted her miseries, training her people in steady tillage and bucolic skill, and repelling the destructive raids.

3. Asha answers that her sufferings were inevitable, that no chief could be appointed who could prevent them since none was himself without his share of injustice and of passionate resentment. He could not answer why this was the case. The question, involving the insolvable problem of the origin of evil, lay at the foundation of those influences which move the stars of destiny; that the religious revelation afforded by the Ratu (as in

chapter XXX) was intended to meet these problems so far as they could be answered¹, and that therefore all who were entering upon active enterprises were in the act of approaching, not him Asha, the subordinate archangel, but Mazda himself, who was the greatest of beings, and alone able to answer their prayers and questions.

4. Zarathustra², poetically conceived to be present, here intervenes to reaffirm the homage just paid by Asha. He declares Ahura Mazda to be himself the most mindful of all the previously revealed assertions and directions uttered by himself, and fulfilled in the actions of both the Demon-gods of their enemies, and of good or evil men. He is also said to be fully cognisant of what they will do in the future, and to discriminate between what is good and evil as an infallible judge, allotting to us all our destiny in future sufferings or rewards. 5. Addressing Ahura and Asha, and uniting with the Kine's Soul in her supplication, he questions Mazda in his doubt, not in peaceful confidence, as later in the impressive hymn, each verse of which begins with the words, 'This ask I Thee, aright, Ahura! tell me!' but deprecating from himself, and constructively from the Kine, the impending destruction which he sees will justly fall upon the wicked as visited by the discriminating vengeance acknowledged to be Ahura's attribute (see verse 4). 6. At last Ahura, showing the intention of His questions, answers them himself; no regulating lord in full sympathy with the Righteous Order had as yet been discovered or discoverable, but He himself will make a selection. He therefore declares himself as solemnly appointing Zarathustra to that office.

And Zarathustra, inspired by His Good Mind, and guided by His righteousness, will accomplish more than has as yet been done to rally the thrifty community, and settle their virtuous polity upon its desired basis of training and defence. 7. As Zarathustra is a listener in the colloquy between the Deity, the Kine's Soul, and Asha, the Righteous Order, so the other Immortals beside Asha³, here join in, as if the appointment just made had not been heard, or was incredible (see below). Mazda is indeed declared to have revealed the sacred Word-of-reason in harmony with the consenting Righteousness, and to have provided food for the Kine and

¹ Something like this is implied.

² If verses 4, 5, 6, were originally connected.

³ Or possibly a company of the religious chiefs poetically conceived to be present.

the needy consumers, but who was there adequately endowed with the Good Mind, who could promulgate that Māthra with its revealed directions as to sustenance of both body and mind?

8. Ahura repeats his announcement of Zarathustra, as if to silence the objections.

As Zarathustra alone had heard the doctrines from the voice of inspiration, so he desired to declare them, and had authority to do so, together with a settled position of such a character as to make his statements felt.

9. But an unexpected difficulty arises. The Kine's Soul is by no means impressed by the personality of the individual selected as her guardian. So far from being the demi-god of the other parts of the Avesta, Zarathustra's declarations are characterised by her as 'the voice of a pusillanimous man,' while she, on the contrary, expected one truly kingly in his rank and characteristics, and able to bring his desires to effect, while the Bountiful Immortals (or the attending chieftains), as if they had meant their question in verse 7 to be a question uttered in mere perplexity or contempt, join in with chorus, asking when indeed an effective helper will be provided.

10. Zarathustra, undismayed by the coldness of his reception, enters at once upon his office as priest and prophet, praying Ahura for the people; and recognising the names of the 'Immortals,' Khshathra, Asha, and Vohu Manah, in their original sense, asks Ahura to grant to the people in their straits, a Sovereign Authority established in the Divine Order, and bestowing the needed quiet and happiness for which the suffering provinces, as represented by the Kine's Soul in her wail, had expressed their desire.

And as he prays, he avows his own steadfast confidence in Ahura rather than in the Daêvas, as the prime possessor and bestower of blessings.

11. Then, as if eager to receive full equipment upon the spot, he not only beseeches for the Righteous Order, the Kingly Power of God, and His Good Mind for the masses as represented by the Kine, but asks when they are coming to him, and hastening; and he entreats Ahura to bestow His help at once for the great cause, and to a very abundant degree, upon himself and his associates. (It is singular that the name of Âramaiti does not occur in this section.)

Translation.

(Homage to you, O Sacred Gâthas!)

1. Unto you (O Ahura and Asha!) the Soul of the Kine (our sacred herds and folk) cried aloud: For whom did ye create me, and by¹ whom did ye fashion me? On me comes the assault of wrath, and of violent power, the blow² of desolation, audacious insolence, and (thievish)³ might. None other pasture-giver⁴ have I than you, therefore do ye teach me good (tillage) for the fields (my only hope of welfare⁵)!

Ahura speaks.

2. Upon this the Creator⁶ of the Kine (the holy

¹ *Kz mâ tasha/* can only mean this here. The Pahlavi translator probably read *kahmâi*. He has *val mûn li tukhshîd (?) hômanam*.

² One might think of 'inertia' as a rendering for *remô*, (if read), but the afflictions complained of seem rather to imply active violence.

³ Or read *tâyusâ* (robbery?) with the Pahlavi translation; 'yu' and 'vi' would be written much alike in a manuscript.

⁴ *Vastâ* has been found, as I understand, in some manuscripts. The Persian manuscript of Haug has a curious *vâstîrîdâr* (*vâstârîdâr*?) in the Pahlavi text, which seems to confirm *vastâ* in the sense given.

⁵ As there are very many non-specialists to whom it is important to weigh this present subject as closely as it may be possible, and as everything here is a matter of the keenest questioning among experts, I add occasionally a word-for-word rendering, although necessarily very uncouth: To you the Kine's soul cried-complaining: For whom me did ye fashion? Who me made? Against me assaulting-rapine, violence-and, desolations-[blow], daring-insolence-and, (thievish) might-and (possibly change the text). Not for me a pasture-giver than-you other; therefore to-me teach-ye good (things) for-the-pasture (adj. acc. pl. neut.).

⁶ I fear that I cannot follow Haug in his later view, where he follows tradition in rather an extreme manner, rendering 'the cutter (wounder) of the Ox.' Neither Spiegel nor Justi would confide to a later myth to this degree (see Y. XXXI, 9 and XLVI, 9). This is

herds) asked of Righteousness¹: How (was) thy guardian for the Kine (appointed) by thee when, as having power (over all her fate), ye made her? (In what manner did ye secure) for her, together with pasture, a cattle-chief who was both skilled and likewise energetic? Whom did ye select² as her (life's) master who might hurl back the fury of the wicked³?

Asha answers.

3. To Him the (Divine Righteousness) answered with⁴ his sanctity. (Great was our perplexity); a chieftain who was capable of smiting⁵ back (their fury), and who was himself without hate (was not to be obtained by us); among such things as these, those things are not to be known (by beings such as we) which are the influences which approach⁶ (and move) the lofty fires⁷ (revealing the favour and the will of God⁸).

Of beings He is the mightiest to whom those⁹

mentioned, however, not as complaining of an error, but solely to guard the reader against the mistake of an eminent authority. (See also Roth, Z. D. M. G., Bd. 25, s. 9.)

¹ Observe the personification of righteousness.

² Or, 'what salvation-lord,' governed by *dâtâ* from the preceding line; so also the Pahlavi translator *mûn avô pavan nadûkîh khûdâi*. *Ustâ* occurs only here as a verbal form. Supply *angha*/in b.

³ The Pahlavi *aêshmô anâêr zanisnô*.

⁴ Or read *ashem*. The Pahlavi has *ashavahistô pasukhvô gûft*. I am not at all inclined to accept vocatives for nominatives in the *Gâthas*.

⁵ *Sar-gan*, compare *Verethragan*. The Pahlavi indicates this by *tanô sardârîh*. ⁶ Possibly, 'by which he approaches.'

⁷ The Pahlavi *rôshanô î râstô*.

⁸ Cp. Y. XXX, 1 : *yâ raoêbîs daresatâ urvâzâ*.

⁹ The Pahlavi indicates a third person; and *keredushâ* is far the most simply explained as a nom. pl. Recall *mâ mashâ* and *man* (?) *mathâ*. Otherwise, 'to whom I will come with activity and invoking.'

who have performed their actions approach with invocations. (He has no need to ask!)

Zarathustra intervenes ¹.

4. The Great Creator ² (is himself) most mindful of the uttered indications which have been fulfilled beforehand hitherto in the deeds of ³ demon-gods ⁴ and (good or evil) men, and of those which shall be fulfilled by them ⁵ hereafter. He Ahura is the discerning arbiter; so shall it be to us ⁶ as He shall will ⁷!

5. Therefore it is that we both, my soul ⁸ and (the soul) of the mother. ⁹ Kine, (are) making our supplica-

¹ A verse or verses may here have fallen out.

² I cannot persuade myself to accept the nearly universally accepted comparison of Mazdau and medhâ. See note on p. 104.

³ Or, 'He has done by Daêvas?' If thus, absolute and not qualified sovereignty would be indicated. See the last line.

⁴ Observe that while 'by Daêva-worshippers' would be an admirable rendering for Daêvâis, because more commonplace and therefore safer, it is here impossible on account of mashyâisââ. We are closely confined to the acceptance of a large idea. Ahura was mindful of what transpired in the deeds of Daêva-gods, and not in those of Daêva-worshippers alone. The inst. must be modified.

⁵ As varshaitê is elsewhere used in an active sense, it is possible, but not probable, that a special predestination may be indicated. 'He shall do by means of Daêvas and men.'

⁶ 'To us men,' not to us Ameshôspends, of course!

⁷ Verbatim. Mazda the-words most-mindful which for have-been-fulfilled before by-means-of- (the actions of) Daêvas-and men-and what-and (shall)-be-done after, He the discriminating lord; so to-us shall-it-be as He shall-choose.

⁸ This seems to prove positively that a human being speaks here and in the previous verse; 'the soul of Righteousness' is of course impossible.

⁹ Some have referred the word to the root zan obscurely present in it; otherwise a drivable cow; one mature and fit for use. The term used in the Vendîdâd in a common meaning as merely

tions for the two worlds to Ahura, and with hands stretched out in entreaty, when (we pray to the Great Creator¹ with questions in our doubt²; (and He will answer).

Not for the righteous liver, not for the thrifty (tiller of the earth), shall there be destruction³ together with the wicked!

Ahura.

6. Upon this the Lord, the Great Creator, He who understands the mysterious grace⁴ by His insight⁵, spake thus: Not in this manner⁶ is a spiritual master found for us, nor a chieftain moved by Righteousness and appointed (in its spirit); therefore Thee⁷ have I named⁸ (as such a head) to the diligent tiller of the ground⁹!

designating a cow at a certain age, may be the familiar use of an adjective here applied in the ancient Gâtha in a sacred sense.

¹ This passage is one of the strongest for the comparison of Mazda and medhâ. The sense 'asking wisdom in our doubt,' is admirable. I cannot however accept the comparison.

² Pavan gômânîkîh hampûrsânî; root dî.

³ The Pahlavi awasînisrîh*, but in other connections fragyâitis might well mean 'continued life;' 'life long endured with the wicked.'

⁴ The Pahlavi has vishûpisrîh, which here affords a better meaning; see however Y. XLVIII, 9. We might read as alternative here, 'knowing the calamity to be averted.'

⁵ Uncertain. The Pahlavi however indicates 'discernment.'

⁶ One is strongly tempted to read âêvô, 'not a single chief,' but the ancient writing read by the Pahlavi translator had âêvâ ahû.

⁷ This indicates that Zarathustra had been the speaker in the previous verses.

⁸ Appointed.

⁹ Verbatim. Thereupon spake Ahura Mazda knowing the wonderful (thing) through-insight (?) not thus a master found, nor a ruler righteous-order-from-even from, therefore for thee to-the-thrifty-and to-the-husbandman-and (I) as-a-creator I-have-made.

The Ameshôspends¹.

7. Mazda has created the inspired Word-of-reason which is a Māthra of fatness (for the offering), the (Divine) Righteousness consenting with Him in his deed. Food he has prepared for the Kine and for the eaters², He the one bountiful with his (saving) doctrine; but whom hast Thou, endowed with the Good Mind, who may give forth those (doctrines) by word of mouth to mortals³?

Ahura.

8. This man is found for me here who alone⁴ has

¹ Or a company of the saints conceived to be present.

² So some writers, accepting an irregular reading *hvarushaēibyô* after the indication of the Pahlavi translation. Otherwise compare 'rush' (?), *uru*=*ru*, and render 'to the estranged.' We have often to stretch the meaning more than this. Converting instructions are elsewhere suggested for 'all mankind.'

³ The translation of Neryosangh is added here not merely because it is of interest, but because it is, together with the Pahlavi translation, of the last importance in forming correct conclusions. It may be rendered as follows; and the reader may regard it as a specimen, but by no means a particularly favourable one. At the words *âzûtôis* and *maretaēibyô* different texts were before him and the Pahlavi translator as well. Those words are elsewhere rendered by the latter *karpîh* and *ansûtâân*: This greatest magnitude (sic) of the Māthra, the Lord produced together with righteousness as his fellow-worker []. The Great Wise One discloses the herds to the eaters; and he discloses also the great matter to the well-taught scholars. Who is thine, who endowed with the best mind, gives the two things, with the mouth to those who are prosecuting studies (sic)? To expect an ancient rendering to be closer would be unreasonable. The errors (as to root) are not errors, but the certain signs of differing MSS. This constantly occurs; and it is hardly necessary to add that sometimes from such supposed mistakes we get the only possible means of recovering the original text.

⁴ Repeating the announcement in verse 6. The *aêvâ* in 6 would incline one to read *aêvâ* (*ye ne aêvâ*), but the manuscript before the Pahlavi translator read *aêvô*=*khadûk*. It is quite out of the question to suppose his *aêtûnô* and *khadûk* to be accidental. A sharp distinction is made.



hearkened to our enunciations, Zarathustra Spitama! Our mighty and completed acts of grace he desires to enounce for us, for (Me), the Great Creator and for Righteousness; wherefore I will give him the good abode¹ (and authoritative place) of such an one as speaks²!

The *Gæus Urvan*.

9. Upon this the Soul of the Kine lamented (: Woe is unto me) since (I have obtained for myself) in my wounding a lord who is powerless to effect (his) wish, the (mere) voice of a feeble and pusillanimous man, whereas I desire one who is lord over his will (and able as one of royal state to bring what he desires to effect³).

The Ameshôspends⁴.

((Aye,) when shall he ever appear who may bring to her⁴ help strong-handed⁵?)

¹ So the Pahlavi translator, giving the only critical etymology in his *hûdemûnfh*, the gloss aside.

² The Pahlavi text corrected by the Persian MS. may be rendered as follows: This gift I obtained []. For this one is he who was listening to that which is our teaching, Zartôst, the Spitâmân. For us, Aûharmazd, and for Aharâyih is his desire, [that is, that perfectly performed duty, and good works are desired by him]. He recites also a remedy-making (free or erroneous), [that is, he declares a remedy-making against the Drûg who is in the world]; on account of which saying for his word of piety which he utters, they give him a good abode []. (The glosses are often from a later hand and erroneous. Sometimes, however, they contain the truth while the text is futile. I drop them in the present citations when they are of no importance.)

³ Observe that Zarathustra, like other prophets, met at times little honour from his fellow-countrymen who are here well represented by the voice of the Kine's Soul. (See Y. XLVI, 1.)

⁴ Or could not *hôi* be taken in a reflective sense, and referred to the first person like the possessive *sve*; see the connection.

⁵ Verbatim. Thereupon-and the Kine's Soul wept: (I) who

Zarathustra¹.

10. Do ye, O Ahura and thou, O Righteousness! grant gladness unto these (our disciples), and the sovereign Kingdom (of the Deity) such as (is established) in (His) Good Mind by which one bestows upon them the peaceful amenities of home and quiet happiness (as against the fearful ravages which they suffer²), for of these, O Great Creator! I ever thought Thee first possessor³!

11. And when shall the (Divine) Righteousness, the Good Mind (of the Lord, and His) Sovereign Power (come) hastening⁴ to me (to give me strength for my task and mission), O Great Creator, the Living Lord! (For without his I cannot advance

(lament) one-not-able-to-effect-his-wish in-wounding as-a-master (or, I established?) [], whom as-against I-wish one wish-controlling-and-effecting-as-a-sovereign. When ever he may-(shall)-be who to her (possibly to-me-myself?) shall-give effected-by-the-hand help.

¹ Zarathustra, having accepted his call to be the Ratu or his substitute, at once interposes with a prayer for his suffering charge.

² See verse 1, to which reference is continually made as the chief expression of the sufferings to be remedied.

³ The Pahlavi without glosses may be rendered as follows: Give ye assistance to these, O Aûharmazd, Ashavahist and Khshatraver! So also Vohûman, who gives him a pleasing habitation, and also joy. I also think that the first gain and obtaining of this is from thee. (With the gloss slightly different; but valman should be rendered according to ahyâ.)

The text literally is as follows: (Do) ye to these, O Ahura! happiness (? possibly strength; see the Pahlavi) grant, O Asha! Khshathra-and (=the Kingdom) such (kingdom as) by Vohu Manah by-which amenities peaceful-joy-and (one) may give-or-establish; I-even of this, O Mazda! Thee I thought foremost possessor.

⁴ So the Pahlavi translation indicates; compare gimâ and frâ man (?) mathâ; otherwise mâmashâ = I hasten (to fulfil my mission).

or undertake my toil.) Do ye now therefore assign unto us your aid and in abundance¹ for our great cause. May we be (partakers) of the bountiful grace of these your equals² (your counsellors and servants)³!

¹ The Pahlavi has *kabed*. For the fundamental idea compare *prāksh* + suffix.

² The *Ameshōspends* just mentioned, together with whom *Ahura* governs and blesses His people. *Ahmâ* (so conjecturing with Barth.), is also quite sufficiently indicated by the *lanman* of the Pahlavi. Whether an instrumental *zhmâ* can be accepted is doubtful. The form should be altered.

If *zhmâ* stands, *istem* must be understood, or the instrumental taken in a possessive sense.

Ahmâ has no authority from MSS., but is better than *anghâmâ*, as being nearer the MSS.

³ As an impartial specimen I render *Ner.* thus: Whence will that gift come to me, (the gift which is) *Asavahista*, *Gvahmana*, and *Saharevara*, [that is, sanctity, the highest (best) mind, and the sovereignty, where is the place of the reward which will thus come to me?]. (Here the translation falls into confusion from an error which is most interesting and instructive, because it is corrected by *Ner.* in an alternative rendering in the gloss. As has been seldom noticed his original was the Pahlavi word *pâdâdahisnfnêd*, rather than the Gâthic *paitî-zânatâ*. This Pahlavi form he could not at first believe to be a second plural. Indeed the Pahlavi glossist may have taken it as a third sg. *Neryosangh* therefore abortively renders word-for-word as follows: You, O Great Wise One! it offers or presents more excellently through the 'greatest exaltation' (the holy cause). But he recovers himself in the gloss by reading the Pahlavi *pâdâdahisnō vâdûnyên* as an imperative: [Provide a reward through that spotless exaltation (the irreproachable cause)] continuing: Here, O Lord! is the gift (which is) ours, and (which comes) to us from Thee.)

YASNA XXVIII.

PRAYERS CHIEFLY FOR GRACE AND FOR THE
WORDS OF REVELATION.

2. Zarathustra, having entered upon the duties of his office (XXIX, 11), composes a liturgy for the use of some of his more eminent colleagues, possibly, but not at all probably, for the original mover in the entire religious effort (see the expressions 'to Zarathustra and to us,' 'to Vîstâspâ and to me,' 'to Frashaostra and to me'). This reciter, whoever he may have been intended to be, is represented as standing in the appropriate place as a priest, with hands stretched toward Ahura, or His Fire, and praying for the possession of spiritual graces from an unselfish motive, and in order that he might appease the grief of the Kine's Soul, for whose relief Zarathustra had just been appointed (see XXIX, 1, 6, 8).

3. He approaches Ahura Mazda, spiritually inspired by the Good Mind as he declares, and asking for attainments and boons for both the bodily and spiritual lives, derived from Righteousness, whereby that personified Righteousness might establish the elect in a beatified state.

4. The personality of the Ameshôspends comes again strongly forward, as it does so often in worship, in addresses in which Righteousness (Asha), the Good Mind (Vohu Manah), Khshathra (the active Power of the Divine Sovereignty), and Âramaiti (practical piety in the souls of believers), are besought to come, as the Vedic Gods so often are, to the appeals of the suppliant, and to his help in the act of worship itself, which is recognised to be the one efficient means for furthering the cause of redemption which is ever held in view.

5. As one who offered his soul to heaven, and would know by actual experience the blessed rewards bestowed by the holy ceremonial and moral actions prescribed by Ahura Mazda, the reciter declares that he will teach on in the effort to propagate the holy Religious Order, and possessed by the one desire for its increase, while power shall last.

6. With a piety as fervent as it is profound, and speaking with great earnestness, he asks Righteousness, as a person, when he shall see him, becoming fully acquainted with the Good Mind of God, the way which leads to Him, and above all with Obedience. But although he addresses these lofty abstractions as persons, it is utterly

out of the question to suppose that he did not speak in the deepest meaning of the words as expressing states of mind, and qualities of character : O thou Divine Righteous Order ! (Thus he seems to have meant), O thou divine Righteous Order ! when shall I see Thee as if present in my own soul and in those of the people whom Ahura has committed to my charge ? When shall I know the Divine Benevolence as made one with the disposition of my congregation ? When shall I possess by knowledge that only way to our most bountiful Ahura which is, not a mythical angel Sraosha only, but that angel interpreted 'Obedience to Ahura' (observe the dative). One cannot well exaggerate the religious depth or subjectivity. Then, with a bathos which shows how then as ever superstition could hold its own side by side with the truest piety, he exclaims (if the third line was really so composed by him as it has come down to us); 'By such a prayer as a Māthra spell we can with the greatest vigour repel the unclean beasts and creatures which defile our sanctity, or endanger our lives.'

7. Alluding immediately to this revelation, he beseeches Ahura once more to 'come with His Good Mind,' and to grant, not booty, nor even wealth, but 'Asha-gifts,' and (as a bestower of righteousness) long life and powerful spiritual grace to the leading agent Zarathustra (in all probability the composer of the section), and to himself, the officiating priest with his helpers, in order that, not with carnal weapons, but by his 'lofty' and holy 'words,' they all combined may overcome the torments of the ravagers who had made havoc of the settlements, and who were still liable to overwhelm the faithful with their raids and rapine (see XLIV, 20).

8. With an intentional and interesting alliteration he prays to Asha for an *ashi* ; that is, a blessing, even the strenuously attained-to gifts of the great Benevolence. *Āramaiti* likewise becomes the object of his petition together with Ahura ; and this time for the benefit of Vistāspa the monarch, and for himself that they might hear the gracious Māthras, which is indeed the burden of the entire piece.

9. Once more he affords an early (or the earliest (?)) instance of the rhetorical trick, and fills one line with three 'vahistas,' praying Ahura, as being of one mind with Asha (here, for the first time in the Avesta, called 'the best'), to grant the same blessing ; and this time again with an intentional change, 'to himself and to Frashaostra ;' and not for this world, but for 'all the duration of the Good Mind,' using the expression in its concrete sense as heaven ; for heaven to him consisted in an inward state. (So also elsewhere in the Avesta,

even where the palate and the olfactory nerve are the media of felicity or of torture, there also conciliating language on the one side, or 'vile speech' pointed with finest irony on the other, is equally prominent. It is the mind which chiefly enjoys or suffers.)

10. Deeply sensible of the spiritual benefits for which he is asking, he seems touched with gratitude. Accordingly he adds one more petition, which is, that he and his coadjutors, the three just mentioned, may never anger the indulgent mercy which had granted them their request; and that they may persevere, as they have begun, in the strenuous service of Ahura, Asha, and Vohu Manah. For they are, as he declares, easy to be entreated, and beings who desire to bestow spiritual blessings upon mortals, rather than to exercise merely capricious favour or cruelty, and who also possess the power to bring their benevolence to effect.

11. As if unwilling to trust his own perception as to his real spiritual needs, he prays Ahura 'to fill up his desire,' not with what he, the reciter, may in particular request, but with what He, Ahura, knows to be the gifts of Righteousness and the divine Benevolence. And these gifts are again mainly the holy revelation, for he knows, so he earnestly declares, the words of those mighty three to be never void, and to be a sustenance able indeed to fill up his wishes, giving him more than he has of himself either the intelligence or the grace to ask.

12. Having added, in verse after verse, some particular to heighten the fervour of his request, he sums up all in a final expression, as remarkable for its earnestness as for its depth, and begs Ahura, as one set for ever for the defence of the Righteous Order and the Good Mind (whose hallowed influences he accurately foresaw were destined to endure for ages), to tell him, with His very 'voice of spirit,' in order that he may declare them to the waiting masses, the laws which pervade the moral universe, and according to which it arose. For according to these holy principles and so alone, could he promulgate a system which might reclaim society from its imperfections and the Iranian saint from his sufferings. } Ahura who, be it remarked, is alone addressed in this culminating verse, hears and answers by a revelation of these eternal principles, and this answer is contained in chapter XXX. By a thorough comprehension of that most important document, I hold that we may see how it met its purpose as indicated by the capacities and needs of those to whom it was addressed, and how by discriminating truth from falsehood it helped on the defence of Asha, and the founding of the true Benevolence.

Translation.

1. (A strengthening blessing¹ is the thought, a blessing is the word, a blessing is the deed of the righteous Zarathustra. May the Bountiful Immortals² accept and help on³ the chants. Homage to you, O sacred Gâthas⁴!)

2. With venerating (desire) for this (gift) of gracious help, O Mazda⁵, and stretching forth my hands (to Thee) I pray for the first (blessing) of (Thy) bountiful Spirit; (that is, I beseech of Thee that my) actions

¹ Yânim cannot well mean 'revealed,' except by the most far-fetched conception. The Indian yâna, as in devayâna, should give the fundamental idea, easily reconcilable as it is with the ancient rendering of the Pahlavi translator.

² Notice that the Amesbôspends are mentioned in this early heading. In the Gâthas themselves the name, 'Bountiful Immortals,' does not occur.

³ Possibly, 'take up and continue on the Gâthas.' Literally, 'seize forth.'

⁴ It is hardly necessary to say that this is no part of the Gâthas. It is, however, in the Gâthic dialect, and as it needs not, or perhaps cannot, be considered an intentional imitation, it must be very old.

⁵ Vocative with the Vendîdâd Sâdah, otherwise the accumulation of genitives would be suspicious. Ahura is, however, beyond any question elsewhere spoken of as 'the most bounteous Spirit.' The usage is like that of the Semitic scriptures; the Holy Spirit is both God and 'of God.' As to the rendering 'bounteous,' I fear that 'holiest' (so many) is too bold. Ashavan occurs side by side with spenta as applied to Ahura, and ashavan cannot mean 'righteous' there, but must mean 'holy.' The Pahlavi renders etymologically afzûnîk. Comp. svânta. The sole etymological bases for the meaning 'holy' are presented by the Lithuanian and Ecclesiastical Slavonic; but, as Justi has well remarked, in the conceptions of the Avesta that which increases the kingdom of Ahura is equivalent to what is holy. 'Bountiful' must therefore be understood in a particular sense, only to be rendered by the words, 'gracious, sacred, and august.'

(toward) all (may be performed) in (the Divine) Righteousness; and with this I implore from Thee the understanding of Thy Benevolent Mind, in order that I may propitiate the Soul of the Kine¹ (our herds and folk, which cries so bitterly to Thee).

3. And therefore, O Great Creator, the Living Lord! (inspired) by Thy Benevolent Mind, I approach You², (and beseech of Thee³) to grant me (as a bountiful gift) for both the worlds, the corporeal and (for that) of mind, those attainments which are to be derived from the (Divine) Righteousness, and by means of which (that personified Righteousness⁴ within us) may introduce those who are its recipients into beatitude and glory⁵!

4. O (thou Divine) Righteousness, and thou Be-

¹ See Y. XXIX, 1.

² The plural of majesty, or the literal plural, referring to the Bountiful Immortals as together.

³ Plural and singular interchange throughout.

⁴ Possibly, 'one may introduce.'

⁵ See Y. L, 5. *Hvâthrâ* and its allied forms are so often associated with *raoṣah* and the like, that I do not hesitate to accept an Iranian *hvan*=to shine (with *Justi*). As there is an Indian svar which means 'to roar,' and another 'to shine,' and again a *svan*=to sound, so in Iranian there is a *hvan*=to sound, and another=to shine, as in *asmanem hvanvantem*. The 'comfortable stone heaven' is difficult. Comfortable, or even 'delectable mountains' (so we should have to say elsewhere), are not very likely to have been recognised or appreciated in the Avesta. 'Glorious beatitude' is a better rendering here. If *hvâthrâ* always means 'comfort,' how comes it that *hvarəno* is said to be *hvâthrava*? 'Comfortable glory' is hardly probable. Compare also the ancient *subha*. When it is the fashion to accept a separate Iranian root at every difficulty, small and great, I see no reason for stopping here, where the pressure is considerable. The Pahlavi also may be read to favour my view. (Comp. *hveng*=*hvan*.)

nevolent Mind (of Deity)! I will worship you, and Ahura Mazda the first¹, for all of whom the Pious ready mind (within us) is² causing the imperishable Kingdom to advance. (And while I thus utter my supplications to You), come Ye to my calls to help³!

5. (Yea, I will approach You with my supplications, I) who am delivering up (my)⁴ mind and soul to that (heavenly) Mount (whither all the redeemed at last must pass⁵), knowing (full well) the holy characteristics and rewards⁶ of the (ceremonial and moral) actions (prescribed) by Ahura Mazda. (And)

¹ Or, 'having no first' (Roth, reading *apourvim*).

² I am very far from a positive rejection of the forms suggested by the Pahlavi translator, although he should never be pressed on such a point, being often free. As alternative read 'may Piety who bestows increase (fem. participle) come to my calls to give grace.'

³ The Pahlavi translator, unable to credit 'ye as=I who' (so also modern authority sometimes with regard to other occurrences of *ye* in this chapter), renders as follows: When I shall be your own (thus for 'worship,' and possibly deceived by the form of the words, *ufyânî* and *nafsman* being nearly alike in the Pahlavi character), O Ashavahist and Vohûman! the first [], Aûharmazd's also [his own I shall be], through whose unweakened acquisition his rule over them exists [], and [hers also I shall be], Spendarmad's, the giver of increase. She comes to me with joy when I invoke her [when I shall call upon you, come ye on toward me with joy]. (A plain and noticeable instance of an alternative rendering in the gloss. The verb was first thought of as a 3rd sing. middle subjunctive, afterwards as an imperative and plural.)

⁴ *Meñ* = *m* + the nasal vowel, and may represent *man*, or I think also *mãm*, adverbially for *mênâ*; or 'mân' = 'demânê.'

⁵ Mount Alborg, where the *Kînvaf* Bridge extends; so also important authority; but we might read *mêngairê* = *mângairê* (*Garôdman*).

⁶ *Ashi*, a blessing given in reward; so elsewhere.

so long as I am able and may have the power, so long will I teach¹ (Your people concerning these holy deeds to be done by them with faith toward God, and) in the desire (for the coming) of the (Divine) Righteousness (within their souls)².

6. And, thou Righteousness! when shall I see³ thee, knowing the Good Mind (of God), and (above all the personified) Obedience⁴ (of our lives which constitutes) the way⁵ to the most beneficent Ahura Mazda. (Asking this, I thus beseech thee, for) with this holy word of supplication we most hold off⁶ with tongue the flesh-devouring fiends, (the very sign and power of all spiritual foulness)⁷!

¹ I think it is better to hold by the parallel passage and the sense of 'teach' here. The Pahlavi has an irregular form which probably means 'I teach,' but might be intended for 'I am taught.'

After the words 'so long as I have the power,' 'I will teach' is rather more natural than 'I will learn.' Haug's rendering of this word has never been accepted. Those most opposed to tradition follow it here. Perhaps, 'I will teach to desire R.'

² The Pahlavi translation corrected by MSS. may be rendered thus: He who gives up his soul within Garôdmân does so by the aid of Vohûman [], and is also intelligent concerning the veneration which belongs to the doers of good works [] in that which is Aûtharmazd's [religion]; as long as I am a suppliant and have the power, so long do I inculcate the desire of Righteousness [which is, duty and good works].

³ Kadâ *mriîkâm* sumânâ abhî khyam (Rv. VII, 86, 2).

⁴ Obedience, throughout the Avesta and Parsi literature, guides the soul to heaven.

⁵ Or, 'knowing the throne of Ahura' (so the Pahlavi, most scholars following); but the construction would be awkward. 'Finding the way' occurs in the *Rîks*, and gâtu need not always mean 'place' in the Gâthic, because it has that sense most frequently in the Zend.

⁶ Possibly, 'we may teach the foul polluted men.' Or, 'confess the greatest One with Khrafstra(-slaying) tongue.' Perhaps the text is to be amended; yet see XXXIV, 5, 9.

⁷ The Pahlavi translation may be rendered thus: O Ashavahist! when do (shall) I see thee? I know this one by means

7. And do Thou, O Lord, the Great Creator! come to me with Thy Good Mind; and do Thou, who bestowest gifts through Thy Righteousness, bestow alike long-lasting life on us. And (that this life may be spent aright, do) Thou by means of Thy lofty words (bestow) the (needed) powerful spiritual help upon Zarathustra and upon us¹, whereby we may overcome² the torments of the tormentor.

8. (And) do thou, O (Divine) Righteousness, bestow (upon me) that sacred blessing which is constituted by the attainments of the Good Mind (within my soul)³; and do thou also, O Piety! grant unto

of a good mind's instruction [that is, I see thee in that time when every man is intelligent because he is pious; but when shall it be?]. And the place of Aðharmazd, when do (shall) I see it, I who am a suppliant for a benefit? That place is known through Srôsh [], that greatest of Māthras is to be taught, given forth with tongue to him whose understanding is confused.

¹ It certainly involves a question how the words 'to Zarathustra and to us' can be compatible with Zarathustra's authorship. Vîstâspa and Frashaostra (verses 8, 9) are equally excluded. Who is then the individual who thus refers to himself with others? And is this verse an interpolation, and with it 8 and 9? This last seems to me a very feeble suggestion. Was this piece, together with the rest (for they all are connected), the work of some unnamed man of influence, the true author of Zarathustrianism? I think that there is also little gained by this supposition. There is no particular reason why Zarathustra's name should have come down to us as the chief figure, while that of the prime mover failed to reach us. I should say that the piece was composed by Zarathustra and put into the mouth of a leading priest, or that it was composed with many others under his inspiration. Or, can there have been a school, or family, of Zarathustrians, religious poets, similar to the Vedic seers? (See chap. LIII, 2 Zarathustris Spitâmô.)

² This mention of 'overcoming an enemy,' strengthens the probability of my view of vâvarôimaidî (vâurôimaidî).

³ The Good Mind is now, as we should say, 'the Spirit of God' in the mind of God, and again His Spirit in the human soul.

Vîstâspa and to me our wish ; (yea) may'st Thou grant (us), O Mazda, ruler¹ (as Thou art ! that grace) whereby we may hear² (with understanding) Thy benignant words.

9. That best (of gifts therefore) do I beseech (of Thee), O Thou best (of beings) Ahura ! who art one in will with (Thy Divine) Righteousness (within us, likewise), the best³ (of spirits), desiring it (as I now do) for the (heroic) man Frashaostra, and for me⁴, upon whom also may'st Thou bestow it (not for time alone), but for all the ages of Thy Good Mind (that reign of Thy Benevolence which shall be to us as Heaven⁵) !

¹ The Pahlavi correctly renders pâdakhshâ.

² Probably originally heard, inspired words. Compare Manyus haâ Thwâ æunghâ, verse 12. So often. Oral communications are figuratively alluded to everywhere. No literal articulation or sound (!) is of course intended. (Or 'srayaêmâ=proclaim.')

Neryosangh may be rendered as follows : Grant, O Sanctity ! this devotion which (results) from the priority (an error from misreading the characters of the Pahlavi, chiefly his original) of the Good Mind [that is, make me so religious that prosperity may result to me from my good conduct]. Grant thou to the perfect mind [in, or to, the earth (so the Parsis understood Âramaiti)] the wish that proceeds from Gustâspa and from my people []. Grant praisers, O great wise One ! kings, who may be announcers of your word, and bestowers of arrangements (for the service) ; [that is, who may teach thy word, and render it progressive].

³ The earliest occurrence of Asha Vahista. The Pahlavi : 'Since the best thing that Thou hast [Thy Religion] is better than all other things, the best through Righteousness.'

⁴ See verses 7 and 8.

⁵ In the millennial (sic) renovation as well as in heaven. See chap. XXX, 4, where Vahista Manah is equivalent to heaven. The Pahlavi gloss has : Aîgh Frashôstar va hâvistân î Frashôstar, vad tanû î pasînô hamâî nadûkîh padar vâdûn ; that is, for Frashôstar and the disciples of Frashôstar for ever, until the final body provide a benefit thereby.

10. And (impressed and moved) by these gifts of strengthening grace¹ (which Thou may'st give in answer to these prayers) may we never anger You, O Ahura Mazda! (nor Thy) Righteousness (within us), nor yet Thy Kindly Mind (toward us), since we have most earnestly made effort (helping to advance Your cause) in the (chanted)² offering of Your praisers, for most easy to be invoked (are Ye). (Yours are verily both) the desire for (spiritual) blessings (for us), and the (Divine) Possession (of their power)³.

11. And therefore do Thou, O Lord, the Great Creator! fill up and satisfy (my⁴) desire with these attainments (of the grace) of Thy Good Mind, which Thou dost know to be derived from Righteousness, (and) which (are verily) sublime⁵, for I have known⁶

¹ Possibly, 'may we not anger you with our prayers for these blessings.' *Kīm me havyám áhrinâno gusheta.*

² That *dasemê* may now better be referred to a similar root with *dasvare*, I regard the more probable because the Pahlavi also freely renders as if it so understood. Its author knew the meaning of *dasema*=*dasama*. One is reminded of course of the *dâra-gva*.

³ The Pahlavi with its peculiar view of *anâis* (not to be rejected too confidently; see note at another occurrence of it) is interesting (as corrected by the Persian MS.): On account of a not-coming to you, O Aûharmazd! This I would not do []. Ashavahist also I will not pain for the sake of a blessing; [that is, I do not desire a single blessing which appears displeasing to Ashavahist (this turn of the sense is followed by some who have hitherto opposed tradition, but I cannot follow it, although I value every hint of the ancient writers). Also Vohûman, the excellent [I do not harass him].

⁴ Or, 'to those whom thou seest as creatures (?) of V. fill up the desire with attainments.'

⁵ Possibly, 'the righteous,' *erethweng*; cp. *ritāvânas* (?). Pahl. trans. 'î frârnô.' ⁶ Possibly, 'I obtain.'

Thine instructions to be never void¹ of their effect (in the struggles) for our (daily) food², and therefore worthy objects of desire³.

12. (Yea, I approach Thee with my prayers, I) who by these (great gifts of grace) will⁴ protect (Thy) Divine Righteousness, and (Thy) Good Mind (within us) for ever. And do Thou therefore, O Ahura Mazda! teach me from Thyself, yea, from Thine own mouth of spirit, that I may declare it forth to (these Thy waiting people) by what (powers and according to what laws⁵) the primeval world arose⁶!

¹ Ner. has analaso(-aḥ) for asūnâ more correctly than the Pahlavi asūdak.

² Or, 'well reaching their aim;' but the Pahlavi translator gives his evidence for the meaning 'food' = khûrisnō. Recall the constant prayers for nourishment in the *Rîks*. And as favouring the ancient translation, see XXIX, 7, where 'food for the eaters' is declared to be the gift of God, who is at the same time 'bounteous with his doctrine.'

³ Neryosangh: *Evam ye dharmasya vettâraḥ* * *uttamasyaḥ dâter manasaḥ* [] *ekahelayâ* * *Mahâgñânin Svâmin!* *tebhyaḥ* * *pûrnam pariṇinohi* * *kâmam*; [kila, [] *subham tebhyaḥ kuru*]. *Evamka igisneḥ* * *analaso labhatâm khâdyâni vastrâṇika vadanena*.

⁴ One is tempted to read *nipauṅghé* as an infinitive, but the Pahlavi translation anticipates us all with its more critical *barâ netrûnam*.

⁵ This question is answered in Y. XXX.

⁶ Ner. improving upon the Pahlavi has as follows: *Yadi sunirîk-shanatayâ dharmam pâlayâmi manaskâ* * *uttamam sadâpravṛttaye*; [kila, *ket satyasya sadvyâpârasyaḥ rakshâm karomi*]. *Tvam tat* * *Mahâgñânin Svâmin!* *prakṛisham me śikshâpaya* * [] *vâti*. *Adṛiṣya Tvatto mukhena [sphuṣaya] antar bhuvane pûrnam babhûva [tâm srishîm me brûhi]*.

A translation truly remarkable considering the circumstances under which it was made.

YASNA XXX.

THE DOCTRINE OF DUALISM.

1. Accustomed to instruct the masses who throng him on public occasions seeking light, the composer constructs this hymn for similar opportunities. He may be regarded as continuing the thoughts in the close of Y. XXVIII, where he besought Ahura to inform him concerning the origin of the world. He says that he will declare the counsels of God, by which, as we see, he means the great doctrines concerning the origin of good and evil. With these he will declare also the praises, the laudatory portions of the Māthra, and the sacrifices. And he prays that propitious results may be discerned in the heavenly bodies.

2. He further introduces what he has to say by telling the throngs before him that a decisive moment is upon them. They are to choose their religion, and not by acclamation with the foolish decision of a mob, but man by man, each individually for himself. They should therefore arouse themselves and hear with all attention, and gaze at the holy Fire with a good and receptive disposition of mind.

3. He then delivers the earliest statement of dualism which has come down to us. There were two original spirits, and they are called, be it well noted, not two persons, or at least not only two persons, but a better thing, or principle, and a worse one. (The qualifying words are all in the neuter¹.)

At the next sentence they are personified as a pair, each independent in his thoughts, declarations, and actions. Such is the short Theodicy, followed at once by an admonition to those before him to choose the better.

4. These two spirits came together as by natural combination, to make the opposing phenomena of life and its absence, of Heaven and of Hell.

And Hell is described not as a scene of cruelty inflicted on the innocent and the ignorant, but as 'the worst life,' and Heaven as equally remote from a superstitious paradise; that is, as the 'best mental state.'

¹ It is also noticeable that the name *Angra Mainyu* does not occur in this section.

This is the proper Zarathustrian creation. It is undeniably 'abstract,' very, and just in proportion as it lacks colour and myth are its depths visible. The account of it is also very limited. But it must never be forgotten that its existence is the probable proof that very much more of the kind existed beside it. Instead of there being one hymn sung like this, Y. XXX, there were probably many. The two original forces or beings, although separate clearly, come together; but they do not lose their distinction. Their difference remains as clear as their union. 5. They do not blend unrecognisably; for having created the two principles, they choose each his own particular realm. Ahura chooses the righteous order of religion, and with it the pious of all ages. The evil spirit chooses the wicked.

The point and meaning of the entire doctrine is that a good God cannot be responsible for permanent evil; that imperfection and suffering are original, and inherent in the nature of things, and permanently so. The swallowing up of sin and sorrow in ultimate happiness belongs to a later period. It is not Gâthic Zarathustrianism. Evil was the work of an independent being.

The great thinker saw his point; and it was that the Deity Himself could not prevent the evolution of base and revolting moral qualities with their consequent miseries in both victim and aggressor. An evil God was therefore their author.

6. But the blood-feuds of War, not to speak of the theological animosity, were too much for his philosophy. The sage could not regard all men and their circumstances with broad and equable impartiality.

The hated Daêva-worshippers, who were doubtless equally conscientious with the Zarathustrians, are said to have failed of correct discernment.

As they were deliberating, so he recalls, the Worst Mind, a very real although 'abstract' Satan, came upon them, to induce them to choose him and his evil realm. They acceded, becoming furious in their intention to injure human life. This may be regarded as a dramatic, but at the same time, in a moral sense, a philosophical statement of a temptation and fall. (For a later one, with more colour and less truth, see the temptation proper of Zarathustra himself¹, recalling as it does so vividly the temptation in the Gospels.)

7. If we can accept the words *ahmâikâ* to mean merely 'upon

¹ Comp. Vd. XIX, 1-10. Consider how much time would be required for the name of Zarathrustra to become so involved in myth.

this,' we may hold that the statements proceed without a break. Even a gap of lost verses does not interrupt the sense. The clothing of souls with bodies seems indicated. If so, the doctrine of the Fravashis, otherwise foreign to the Gâthas, may have its origin by inference here, and directly in verse 4. After the creation and first activity of the souls of the Archangels on the one hand, and of the Daêvas on the other, together with their respective human adherents, the one choosing good and the other evil, the remaining Ameshôspends unite with Âramaiti in bestowing a body upon the newly created soul. (So we must conclude from the language.) And the prophet breaks in with the prayer that in the future, and possibly at the Frashakar², the completion of progress, these created souls might possess such advantages as they had when Ahura came at first with his acts of creation; that is, that they might be restored again to a state of sinless happiness, provided with bodies by Âramaiti as at the first. (See Yast XIX, 89.)

8. But, as he implies, and perhaps expresses in a lost verse, vengeance shall come upon the wretched beings who choose the Evil Mind as their master. And it shall come, not in the abstract merely by any means, but as executed by a numerous, if not once predominant party, 'the offspring of the Evil Mind.' And when this shall have been completed (and XXXI, 18 shows us that the weapons to be used to bring it about were not to be those of verbal argument alone) then, as he declares with enthusiasm, 'to God shall be the Kingdom,' a Kingdom established in the Divine Benevolence, which will pervade its organic life, and which will likewise, as the personified 'Immortal,' utter encouragements and commands to its loyal citizens. And these citizens will then not only defeat the Lie-demon, who is the life of the Daêva-party, but they will deliver her up as a captive to the great Genius of Truth, the personified Righteousness. 9. And, as he ardently hoped for the coming of the Kingdom into the hands of Ahura, he as ardently beseeches that he and his coadjutors, the princes already named, may be honoured as the immediate agents in bringing on this 'millennial' completion; nay, he even prays that they may be as Ahuras¹ in merciful services, declaring that all their thoughts were centred in that scene where religious light dwelt as personified in her home.

10. Once more he announces the certain defeat and chastisement of the incarnate falsehood and her adherents, which enables

¹ As the Ahuras of Mazda, the Ameshôspends.

him only the more impressively to describe the rapid reunion of the righteous amid the home-happiness of Heaven.

11. Having delivered his brief but weighty communication, he commends his hearers for learning the holy vows of the Religion on account of the duration of the announced rewards and punishments. They shall be long indeed; and upon their complete inauguration full salvation shall be realised for those who shall have learned and heeded the invaluable truths.

Translation.

1. And now I will proclaim, O ye who are drawing near and seeking¹ to be taught! those animadversions² which appertain to Him who knows (all things) whatsoever; the praises which are for Ahura, and the sacrifices (which spring) from the Good Mind, and likewise the benignant meditations inspired by Righteousness. And I pray³ that propitious results may be seen in the lights.

¹ As 'ish' means approaching with desire, the Pahlavi translator has, freely, khvahîsnō.

² Read māzdathâ.

³ So with long ê; but yaêkâ (P¹¹ supported by the Pahl.) may be the lost dual neuter of the pronoun, referring to the two principles discussed below. Yê*kâ=I pray for, although the most natural rendering grammatically, does not seem so well adapted here, as a prayer for the success of his communication does not harmonise with the otherwise dogmatic statements of the composer. The urvâtâ (vrata) founded upon the doctrine of dualism bring about salvation. They may therefore be touched upon in this introductory verse. And that the heavenly bodies contained indications bearing directly or indirectly upon human destiny seems to have been early an accepted doctrine. (Compare also chap. XXIX, 3, where 'the lofty fires' seem alluded to as moved by the Deity, and this in immediate connection with the discussion of the most important problems concerning the fate of the holy community.) It is, however, not impossible that the lights of the altar may have been meant. (See sûtâ in the second verse.) The Pahlavi translation

2. Hear ye then with your ears; see ye the bright flames¹ with the (eyes of the) Better Mind. It is for a decision as to religions, man and man, each individually for himself. Before the great effort of the cause, awake ye² (all) to our³ teaching!

3. Thus are the primeval spirits who as a pair⁴ (combining their opposite strivings), and (yet each) independent in his action, have been famed (of old). (They are) a better thing, they two, and a worse⁵, as to thought, as to word, and as to deed. And between these two let the wisely acting choose aright. (Choose ye⁶) not (as) the evil-doers⁷!

has dên rôshanô pavan vênisnô hû-ravâkh-manîh. As to yê**kâ* or yaê*kâ*, the Pahlavi does not favour a verbal form. But if the pronoun is accepted, even then change is needed; yaê*kâ* yâ=yé*kâ* yéna is hardly possible. We should be obliged to render: And which two things (were those?) whereby (adverbially) propitious results have been seen in the stars. Others have experienced difficulty, and even ashayaê*kâ*(?) has been conjecturally suggested for this place and chap. LI, 2. Neither Sp. nor Westg. report a long ê.

¹ Gôshânô srûd nyôkhshisnîh [aighas gôsh barâ varammûnd]—Zak î rôshanô. Otherwise 'with the eye;' but see yâ rao*kê*bîr daresatâ urvâzâ. The altar-flame would not unnaturally be mentioned after the heavenly lights.

² Literally, '(be ye) wakeful.'

³ Hardly, 'to teach us.' Possibly, 'to teach this, each one.'

⁴ Pahl. transcribes. Notice that paouruyê (pourviyê) is neut.* as are vahyô and akem*kâ*, which is not lightly to be passed over.

⁵ The Pahlavi freely: Bena*fs*man—[aighsânô vinâs va kîrfak bena*fs*man barâ yemalelûnd]. They announced themselves as sin and good works. Ner. yau punyam pâpam*kâ* svayam avokâtâm.

⁶ Barâ vigîd. Ner. vibhaktavân*. If a third plural subjunctive, still the force is as if imperative. Possibly it is preterit.

⁷ On this important verse I cite Neryosangh. He may be rendered as follows: Thus the two spirits [Hormigda and Âharmana] who uttered first in the world each his own (principle); [that is, who each uttered, one his own good (deed), and the other his own sin], these were a pair, in thought, word, and deed, a highest

* Adverb (?).

4. (Yea) when the two spirits came together at the first to make¹ life, and life's absence², and to determine how the world at the last shall be (ordered), for the wicked (Hell) the worst life, for the holy (Heaven) the Best Mental State³,

5. (Then when they had finished each his part in the deeds of creation, they chose distinctly each his separate realm.) He who was the evil of them both (chose the evil), thereby working⁴ the worst of possible results, but the more bounteous spirit⁵ chose the

and a degraded one. And of these two, the one endowed with good intelligence [] was the distinguisher of the true, and not the one endowed with evil intelligence []. (Both he and the Pahlavi fail to credit a plural form in *eres vîshyâtâ* with Spiegel and Hübschmann.)

The Gâthic verbatim. Yea (=thereupon) the-two the-two-spirits the-two-first-things which-two two-twins two-self-acting-ones were-heard-of in-thought in-word-and in-deed these-two a-better an-evil-and. Of-which-two-and the wisely-acting (ones) aright may discern, not the evil-acting ones.

¹ The Pahlavi read as an infinitive, *dazdê=avô zak dahîsnô*. (So also an important authority recently.) Otherwise it has the place of a third dual perfect; 'they two made.' The place of an infinitive is not generally at the end of a sentence in Gâthic. Can it be simply a third singular? '(Each) makes' (*kamasâ karôti*).

² Pavan *zendakîh*—*va mûnik azendakîh*. Ner. *gîvitenakâ agîvitenakâ*. Observe the singular abstract *agyâitîmkâ*, which is not lightly to be passed over. Why not a more ordinary expression? Have we not here an unusual antithesis? The danger is great that by aiming to reduce all to commonplace for the sake of safety, we may demolish many an interesting conception of antiquity.

³ Observe the subjectivity. These verses settle the question as to the depth of the Zarathustrian hymns. Grammar forces us to see that the composer had large ideas. The entire cast of reflection in the Gâthas tends to be abstract as well as subjective. Not so their invective and partisan exhortations.

⁴ *Verezyô* is a nom. sing. masc., as would seem natural from its position in the sentence. Compare *mâthraîs verezyâis*.

⁵ Observe that Ahura is undoubtedly called *spenista mainyu*. Elsewhere we must sometimes render, 'His bountiful spirit.'

(Divine) Righteousness; (yea, He so chose) who clothes upon Himself the firm¹ stones of heaven (as His robe). And He chose likewise them who content Ahura with actions, which (are performed) really in accordance with the faith².

6. And between these two spirits the Demon-gods (and they who give them worship) can make no righteous choice³, since we have beguiled⁴ them. As they were questioning and debating in their council⁵ the (personified⁶) Worst Mind approached them that he might be chosen. (They made their

¹ Zak † sakht sag nihūftō āsmāniš. Ner. *Gādhātaram* * ākāsam dadau.

² 'Who with actions really good piously content Ahura.' Let it be noticed that *fraore* is not independently translated by the Pahlavi. It is freely included in *avō Aūharmazd*; and yet this is supposed by some to be a word-for-word rendering! Ner. *prakašāsta karmabhiš*.

Verbatim. Of-these-two spirits he-chose-to-himself (he)-who (was) the evil (the one) the worst (deeds) working*. The-Righteous-Order (accusative) (chose) the spirit most-bountiful (he)-who the most-firm stones clothes-on-himself, (those) who-and will-content Ahura with real actions believingly Mazda.

(Properly a verbatim rendering is only possible in an inflected language.)

³ *Lā rāstō vigīnēnd*. They suffer judicial blindness; a common idea in the *Gāthas*; compare, 'who holds them from the sight of the truth,' &c.

⁴ The root is indicated by *va mūniš valmansān frift*. I can see no escape from the above rather adventurous rendering. See also *dafshnyā hentū* in chap. LIII, 8. Perhaps the idea of injury here preponderates over that of deceit; 'since we have impaired their power.' The choice between a preterit or an improper subjunctive is also difficult. Possibly, 'so that we may fatally deceive them.' Poss. nom. 'deception came upon them, even A. M.'

⁵ This recalls *Vendīdād* XIX, 45, where the demons assemble in council to consider the advent of Zarathustra.

⁶ Compare verse 4, where *Vahistem Manō* equals heaven. The

fatal decision.) And thereupon they rushed together unto the Demon of Fury, that they might pollute¹ the lives of mortals².

7. Upon this³ Âramaiti (the personified Piety of the saints) approached, and with her came the Sovereign Power, the Good Mind, and the Righteous Order. And (to the spiritual creations of good and of evil) Âramaiti gave a body, she the abiding and ever strenuous⁴. And for these (Thy people) so let⁵ (that

word is the subject of 'gasat,' and has the proper place of a nominative in the sentence; cp. Vedic usage.

¹ That they might disease (so literally) the lives of those who had not yet been tempted or fallen.

The Pahlavi: *Vīmārīnīdō ahvân ī marđūmân [aigh, levatman aēshm anrūtātân ahûkînēnd]*.

Ner.: *Ye nigaghnur bhuvanam manushyânām*.

Hübschmann: 'um durch ihn Plagen über das Leben des Menschen zu bringen.'

² Verbatim. Of these two spirits not aright may choose the Daêvas, since these we have beguiled (or have injured). To the-questioning ones upon came-he in-order-that he might-be-chosen (subjunctive middle) he-the worst mind. Thereupon to-furious-rapine they rushed-together in-order-that (yena) they might disease (or ruin) the-life of-man.

³ Or, 'to him;' some unnamed benefactor; hardly 'to us.' The Pahlavi has, *avō valman*, but Ner. has only *tatraka*. Observe *ahmâi* in chap. XLIII, 1, and in chap. XLVII.

⁴ Root *ān*=in. The Pahlavi freely, *pavan astūbīh*. He seems to have thought of *nam* + a priv.

Kehrpem is feminine. *Ānmâ* may be a neuter in apposition.

Otherwise we must accept *-mâ* as a suffix. Or can *kehrpem* (corpus) be a neuter here? The clothing of the spirits with corporeal natures enabled them to advance in the development of moral qualities by self-restraint and pursuit. As has been observed in the summary, no *Fravashis* appear in the *Gāthas*. Have we here possibly an indication of the pre-existence of souls? If *Âramaiti* gave a body, it may be inferred that a period elapsed between the acts of the two spirits and this.

⁵ That bodies are to be given to the saints as at the first is to

body) be (at the last), O Mazda! as it was when Thou camest first with creations¹!

8. And (when the great struggle shall have been fought out which began when the Daêvas first seized the Demon of Wrath as their ally²), and when the (just) vengeance shall have come upon these wretches, then, O Mazda! the Kingdom shall have been gained for Thee by (Thy) Good Mind (within Thy folk). For to those, O living Lord! does (that Good Mind³) utter his command, who will deliver the Demon of the Lie into the two hands⁴ of the Righteous Order (as a captive to a destroyer).

9. And may we be such as those who bring on

be inferred from Yast XIX, 89. (Which see in part ii of the translations of the Zend-Avesta.)

¹ Verbatim. To-this (to us?)-and with-Khshathra came, with-Manah Vohu, with Asha-and (Âramaiti) thereupon a-body the-continuing gave Âr(a)maiti the strenuous (Âramaiti, or the body, a vigorous and strenuous thing).

Of these thine (or to thee) to let-it (the body)-be as thou-camest in-creations the-first.

² See verse 6.

³ What else can be the subject of *sastî*?

⁴ Observe the pronounced personification of Righteousness. As a matter of course the ultimate sense is more commonplace, as is the case with all poetical matter. 'Into the hands of Asha,' is the same as to say, 'into the power of the servant of God.'

But would this be a proper mode of rendering a line of real though rudely primitive poetry? Such renderings are commentary rather than translation. The Pahlavi may be rendered as follows: Thus also in that creation [in the final body] hatred comes to these haters and sinners; [that is, the avengers shall execute chastisement upon them]. And, therefore, O Aûharmazd! what to thee is the sovereignty, by that (so possibly) shall Vohûman give a reward. Through these, O Aûharmazd! [through the religion of Aûharmazd], when one is instructed in Righteousness, [that is, as to the interests of the pious] then the Drûg is given into one's hand, [the Drûg who is Aharmôk].

this great renovation, and make this world progressive, (till its perfection shall have been reached). (As) the Ahuras of Mazda¹ (even) may we be; (yea, like Thyself), in helpful readiness to meet² (Thy people), presenting (benefits³) in union with the Righteous Order. For there⁴ will our thoughts be (tending) where true wisdom shall abide in her home⁵.

10. (And when perfection shall have been attained) then shall the blow of destruction fall upon the Demon of Falsehood, (and her adherents shall perish with her), but swiftest in the happy abode of the Good Mind and of Ahura the righteous saints

¹ Otherwise, 'the Ahura-Mazdas,' or, 'O Mazda and the Ahuras!' I think that the most natural rendering according to the grammar should first be given, notwithstanding something uncommon about it. 'All the Ahura-Mazdas,' has been seen by Roth in chapter XXXI, 4.

² The Pahlavi has the gloss [aighsân hamîshakō hangaman madam tanû î pasîñō kûnîsnō], needlessly enlarged of course, but showing the proper root, which is mi/; (so Spiegel.)

³ Or possibly sustaining (the feeble). The Pahlavi reads simply dedrûnîsnō.

⁴ The Pahlavi renders hathrâ in the Indian sense as asâr*, endlessly; so others elsewhere. Hathrâ and yathrâ are of course distinctly in antithesis.

⁵ The Pahlavi mihânō, Persian makân. That maêthâ is an adverbial instrumental meaning, 'in one's home,' seems the more probable from the two hathrâ, yathrâ, adverbs of place. Compare, for instance, athrâ-yathrâ in XLVI, 16, where shaêitî follows. Hübschmann, 'Dort mögen (unsre) Sinne sein, wo die Weisheit thront;' see also husitôis in the next verse.

The Parsi-persian MS. has—Aedûnō (sic) ham mâ kih ân i tû hastam (sic); [kû ân i tû 'hwêr hastam] îñ—rastâ'hiz kardan andar gihân.

(c) Kih—minîsn bêd [kû minîsn pah—dârad] as ângâ dâñât hast [kû, â'hîr i kîz pah nêkî bih dânad] andar makân.

shall gather, they who proceed in their walk (on earth) in good repute¹ (and honour)².

11. Wherefore, O ye men! ye are learning³ (thus) these religious incitations which Ahura gave in (our) happiness⁴ and (our) sorrow⁵. (And ye are also learning) what is the long wounding for the wicked, and the blessings which are in store for the righteous. And when these (shall have begun their course), salvation shall be (your portion⁶)!

¹ Pahlavi, 'mûn vâdûnd zak î sapîr nâmîkîh=they are creating a good repute,' as if *zazentê* were understood in the sense of produce. See the sense 'bear' as given for *hâ*, Rig-veda 843, 2 (X, 17). The analogy is, however, not strong.

² The Pahlavi translation may here be rendered as follows: Thus in that dispensation [in the later body] the Drûg [who is Gan-râk Mînavad] will be overthrown [] when (his) host is scattered. Thus they move keenly on [to seize the reward], which is attained through the good citizenship of Vohûman [when they shall have dwelt in piety]. They who are creating a good renown are thus moving on toward Aûharmazd and Ashavahist [that is, the person who is of good repute goes forward to seize the reward].

³ Once more the anomalous form *âmûkhtisnô* meets us in the Pahlavi. May this not be intended to express 'learning,' whereas *âmûzisnô* would express 'teaching?' I hardly think so.

⁴ The Pahlavi translation is only remotely if at all responsible for *hvîtiâ* as=sua sponte. This would require *hvîti* as=**hvâti* with difficulty comparing 'yim' and 'yem'(?). It is generally considered now as=hu+iti; but the letter *h*=*h* seems doubtful.

⁵ Read *aniti*= 'with impeded progress.' 'In prosperity or adversity.' But these are conjectures.

⁶ The Pahlavi: *Aêtûnô akhar valmansân aîtô nadûkîh*. I do not think that we ought to regard the words of the original as expressing universal restoration. But they may well have given the first indication toward this later view. Literally, they state it, but not when correctly understood.

(SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE. The Pahlavi word *yômâi* which transcribes *yasnâ* in verse 4 cannot mean 'by day.' Its imperfect form induced the translators to translate *rûzhâ* and *bhûmandale*, but these scholars, as in many other instances, hinted at a correction.)

YASNA XXXI.

THE PROGRESS AND STRUGGLES OF THE CAUSE.

This composition differs from that in XXX as descending from the more general to the particular, and from the doctrinal to the practical. One might even trace an immediate connection, *urvâtâ* occurring in the last verse of the one and in the first of the other. It is, of course, very possible that the verses before us are only a remnant of those which originally constituted the piece, and here and there one may have been interpolated from other scriptures.

Some writers prefer to assume a loss of the original text or an addition to it at the smallest change of tone, and to assume also a change of subject with it. I do not regard it as very useful to lay too much stress upon these occurrences.

Whether caused by gaps or interpolations, they do not at all affect the fact that the subject-matter is homogeneous and contemporaneous; and, probably, like many more modern compositions, the verses gain in rhetorical effect by being weeded of repetitions.

We might divide as follows 1, 2, an address to the congregation to be connected with XXX as its concluding words; 3-5, an address to Ahura; 6, an address to the faithful; 7-17, to Ahura; 18, to the congregation; 19, to Ahura; 20, 21, to the congregation; 22, an addition.

Treating the section then as containing homogeneous matter which combines well into a unit, I proceed as follows. The sage chants his hymn in the presence of the multitude as before.

1. He declares that while he is reciting things unwillingly heard by the hostile party, those same truths are valued as the best of existing things by those who are sincerely devoted to Mazda, their good disposition quickening their perception.

2. He then declares that if the truths of the holy Religion are not yet clearly seen by the instrumentalities provided, he will approach them still more effectively in accordance with the especial regulation of the spiritual chieftainship, which Ahura Mazda had prepared in response to the lament of the soul of the Kine; i.e. of the Iranian herds and people possibly as representing the entire holy, or clean, creation upon earth. And he further asserts that this regulation concerns the struggle of the two parties, and will bring the cause of the Righteous Order to a successful issue.

3. Changing his address to Ahura, he proceeds to pray at once

for that satisfying decision which would be the natural result of the regulation just promised, and which could be given by the instrumentality of the Sacred Fire and holy ritual, affording mental keenness to the two contending parties. And he declares that this is the doctrine which should be proclaimed for the conversion of mankind. Here we observe that the Zarathustrian Mazda-worship was aggressive and missionary in its spirit, and in a proselyting sense by no means indifferent to the final destiny of the Gentile world. (The later and traditional system announced indeed the restoration and so the conversion of all men, and that not as an object proposed to the efforts of charity, but as a necessary result (so by inference; see *Bundahis* (West), pp. 126, 129). I can find no trace of this in the *Gáthas*.

Here we have only the effort to convert.)

4. Addressing all the Bountiful Immortals, and with the striking title of the Ahuras of Mazda, he prays for the establishment of the 'mighty kingdom' by means of which he might overcome the personified and aggressive falsehood of the opposing and persecuting *Daêva*-worshippers.

5. In order to enable himself to fulfil his mission, he asks for prophetic and judicial knowledge as to what ought to be done, or as to what is about to happen in the immediate future.

6. He lauds the *Mâthra* which we may suppose him to recognise as delivered to him afresh in answer to his prayer for prophetic light, and he praises co-ordinately with the Word of God that Sovereign Authority of Ahura, which was to be established in a kingdom where goodness would increase, and be prosperous, if not predominant.

7. He takes the heavenly bodies as evidence of the wisdom of Him who created the Sacred Order personified as the 'Immortal' Asha, and also the Good Mind, his equal. And he ascribes the support and extension of their hallowing influence to Ahura, because He never changes.

8. He reiterates, in expressions which form the basis for another hymn, his conception of Mazda as the supreme object of devotion, as the father of the Good Mind personified as His child, as the creator of the Righteous Order, and as both the controller and the judge of human actions. Therefore the Good Mind and Righteousness are to be worshipped as standing in the closest possible relation to him.

9. He ascribes the 'Immortal' Piety to Him as well. She is His own, and elsewhere His own daughter. He is declared, as in

chapter XXIX, to be the Creator of the Kine, and of Understanding, (His own intelligence), to guide Him in the disposition of the destiny of the holy Iranian people. And according to it He makes the path for the Kine, which as a matter of course has no meaning as applied to bucolics, but is full of meaning when read in view of the wail of the Kine's Soul in chapter XXIX, and of the intervention of the Deity in her behalf, for He actually appointed Zarathustra to meet her necessities. He adds, however, that her free choice is not abolished by the construction 'of this path.' It is elsewhere called the 'religion of the Saviour-prophets,' and she is free to proceed in it, guided by the first prophet, the ideal husbandman, or she can follow the profaner nomad.

10. But he thankfully exclaims that she does not pause in indecision, nor does she choose perversely. She selects the guardian appointed by Ahura, the diligent and pious husbandman, elsewhere identified with Zarathustra himself. He is rich with the spiritual wealth of the Good Mind; and she rejects in his favour the idle and free-booting nomad, excluding him from all share in the sacred religious system.

11. The composer then delineates the struggle which inevitably follows this establishment of the needed means of deliverance. When Mazda has completed the inspiration of doctrines, teaching whither the one endowed with free volition (like the Kine [verse 9]) should direct his choice in action (12), there upon the spot, as it were, the ignorant Daêva-worshipper makes himself heard beside God's spokesman. But the prophet is consoled by the reflection that the pious mind will not question the evil Spirit, or the good Spirit superficially. It searches both the Spirits, questioning them, as it were, in their very home. (Hence it is that Ahura speaks so fully concerning Angra Mainyu, delineating his opposition to Him in extended detail. See XLV, 2.)

13. The composer is still more reanimated by the certainty that Ahura is gazing into the depths of all questions, trivial and profound; which is to say that he observes most closely the men who are discussing them. And he declares that he also sees the cruel injustice of the punishments which the tyrants visit upon the smallest offences, as well as the more flagrant wickedness of those who persecute his adherents without even a pretence of justice.

14. As he recalls the divine forecasting omniscience, he asks Ahura once more concerning the future which was close at hand with its portentous events. And he inquires as to the nature of the veritable and not iniquitous confessions, which were properly due to

be made by the righteous believer in order to avert the impending calamities, and secure the upper hand in the struggle for the throne. And he inquires also as to the proper expiatory prayers which were to be offered by the believer. He does not however fail to inquire analogously concerning the wicked, nor to ask how they, as well as the righteous, shall be situated in the final consummation.

15. Particularising as to the latter, he asks what shall be the punishment for those who succeed in installing an evil monarch, one of the Daêva-party, a prince who cannot exist without the ruthless persecution of the pious husbandman, who repudiates the Lie-demon presiding over the counsels and efforts of the opposing religion.

16. He further asks how and by what actions the wise man may become like Ahura, or his faithful adherent, the expressions used implying deep religious feeling.

17. Striving to arouse the perceptions of his hearers, he inquires as to which one of the two parties holds to the greater or more important religion, the disciple of Asha, the personified Righteous Order Ahura's immediate creature (see above), or the opponent. And he prays that no blind guide may deceive him, or those who belong to him, 'but that the enlightened, yea, even Ahura Himself, may speak to him, and become the indicator and demonstrator of the truth.'

18. Closing this address to the Deity, he turns to the congregation, vehemently forbidding them to listen to the doctrines of his opponents, warning them against the ruin and death which would ensue, and fiercely appealing to the sword.

19. Once more addressing Ahura, he prays that they may on the contrary listen to Him who has power to vindicate the conscientious Zarathustrian, inculcating veracity upon him, and encouraging him in its practice; and this by means of the holy sacrifice, or ordeal of the Fire.

20. He solemnly warns those who would seduce the righteous of their ultimate fate, and adds that their sorrows will be self-induced, if they persevere in their hostility. Their own consciences (as we see from Yast XXII) would not only bring on their ruin, but would form a part of their punishment.

21. On the other hand, happiness and immortality will be the lot of the faithful. And these 'eternal two' will be given to them, accompanied by the fulness of Righteousness, and the exuberant vigour of the Good and Kindly Mind within them and bestowing its blessings upon them.

22. In conclusion he apostrophises the manifest certainty of the truths which he declares, and, addressing Ahura, animates the faithful not merely with the hope of the objective recompense, but with the prospect of being efficient as servants of God.

Translation.

1. These doctrines (therefore) we are earnestly declaring to You as we recite them forth from memory, words (till now) unheard¹ (with faith) by those who by means of the doctrinal vows² of the harmful Lie are delivering the settlements of Righteousness to death, but words which are of the best unto those who are heartily devoted to Ahura³.

2. And if by this means the indubitable truths⁴ are not seen in the soul⁵, then as better (than these words) I will come to you all (in my person) with

¹ Roth, 'wollen wir Worte künden—ungern gehört von denen, welche nach des Unholds Geboten,' &c. Hübschmann preferring 'wir sprechen Worte nicht anhörbar für diejenigen' (Casuslehre, s. 223). A dative of the pronoun is certainly more natural than the ablative as inst. But on the whole *agushtâ* seems better in its ordinary sense, although in so rendering we are obliged to supply a word.

² *Valmansân mûn pavan âfrîngânîh î Drûg zak î Aharâyîh gêhân barâ marenkînênd.*

³ The Pahlavi may be rendered as follows: Both these benedictions, which I (we) recite as yours [the Avesta and Zand], we are teaching by word to him who is no hearer, [to the destroyer of sanctity (the heretical persecutor) []]. Those who utterly slay the world of righteousness through the benedictions of the Drûg [], even those might be an excellent thing, if they would cause progress in what belongs to Aûharmazd.

⁴ Read perhaps *advayâo*; see the Pahlavi. Otherwise 'the way' *advâo* as *panthâs*; but the participle * does not agree. Compare for meaning *kavîm âdvayantam, sâkhâ âdvayâs*.*

⁵ The Pahlavi renders 'in the soul' freely by 'believes:' *Pavan nikîrîsnô lâ hêmnunêdô as pavan zak î agûmânîkîh.* The general indications are to be observed.

* Is it a loc.?

that power, and in that way according to which Ahura Mazda knows and appoints His ruler¹, that ruler over both the two (struggling) bands², in order that we (in obedience to him), may live according to Righteousness³.

3. And that keenness, that deciding satisfaction, which Thou hast given by (Thy) Spirit⁴, and (Thy) Fire, and by Thy Righteousness (itself) to the two battling⁵ (sides), do Thou declare unto us, O Ahura! that vow which is for the seeing⁶ (as those endowed with mental light). Yea, do Thou declare this that we may know it, O Mazda! With the tongue of Thy mouth do Thou speak it (that as I preach its mighty truths⁷) I may make all the living believers⁸!

¹ Comp. chap. XXIX, 2, where the Ratu is discussed; here the word might be the abstract.

² Roth, 'dieser beiden Parteien (Yasna XXXI).'

³ He repels and condemns the evil, and he hallows and helps the good.

⁴ Most striking is the use of mainyu. It is 'the Spirit' = God. It is 'His Spirit.' It is also used of man's spirit.

⁵ Or, 'from the two arəi;' but see āsayāo in verse 2. The Pahlavi translator has avō patkârdârânō shnâkhtârîh; so uniformly. In Y. XLIII, 12, K₅ and most MSS., except K₄, and likewise excepting the printed B.V.S., read ranôibyô which excludes the dual form; also the fire is not mentioned there. It is however far from impossible that the present Pahlavi translation may be a growth beyond an earlier one more in accordance with arəi. The strivers, or fighters, might describe the two rubbing-sticks (?).

⁶ Aîmar (sic), vigârdâr. This meaning suits the connection admirably. The word is otherwise difficult, and this general sense is followed by some who do not so often cite the Pahlavi translator.

⁷ See verse 1.

⁸ Roth, 'wie ich alle lebenden bekehren soll.' So also the general indication of the Pahlavi translator. Pavan hûzvânô ī Lak—zîvandakân harvist-gûn hêmnund. Observe that the religious system contemplated universal proselytism.

4. And when the Divine Righteousness shall be inclined to my appeal¹, and with him all those (remaining ones who are as) Mazda's² (own) Ahuras then with the blessedness (of the reward), with (my) Piety and with Thy Best Mind (active within me), I will pray³ for that mighty Kingdom by whose force⁴ we may smite the Lie-demon⁵.

5. Aye, do Thou tell me that I may discern it, since through (Thy) Righteous Order the better (lot) is⁶ given; tell me this that I may know it with (Thy) Good Mind (as it speaks within me), and that I may ponder⁷ that to which these my truths⁸ belong (and

¹ The general indications *karitūtntâr* and *bavîhūnam* point to the proper sense.

² Or, with Roth, 'wenn wirklich sich rufen lassen die Ahura-Mazdas.' Otherwise, 'O Mazda and the Ahuras.' Hübschmann also maintained that *Mazdau* was here a plural; (see his *Y. XXX*, 10.)

³ Roth, rendering *ishasâ* in accordance with the Pahlavi, 'erbitte ich.'

⁴ *Mûn pavan zak î valman gûrdîh—khûshîdō Drûgō aē* sufficiently indicates the proper sense. Roth, 'kraft deren wir den Unhold bemeistern mögen.'

⁵ The Pahlavi may be rendered thus: Since in that dispensation [in the final body], I shall be an invoker of Ashavahist, and of *Aîharmazd* also []; and of her who is veneration 'Spendar-mad' [], I desire [that best of things which is the reward] of *Vohûman*. Let also that authority which belongs to my people [] be from the strong one [] by whose fortitude [] the *Drûg* is overcome [].

⁶ Literally, 'Ye gave.'

⁷ I am far from sure that the indication of the Pahlavi is not correct here. According to it, when properly understood, we have here an accusative with the infinitive; 'that I should establish.' Its own translation is however *avō li yehabûnâi*. *Men*=man or *mām*; *en(g)*=ā the nasal vowel. The Pahl. translator recognises *men* elsewhere as=*mîn*isnō. It was from no ignorance (!) of the particular word that he wrote 'li' here.

⁸ Or 'my prophet;' comp. *rîshi*; that is, 'that with which my prophet is concerned.'

of which my prophet speaks ; yea), tell me those things, O Mazda Ahura ! which may not be, and which may be¹.

6². And that verily shall be the best of all words to Him which the All-(wise one) will³ declare to me in very deed, that word which is the Māthra of Welfare and of Immortality (for it proclaims His beneficent power). And to the Great Creator (shall there be) a Realm such as that (whose strength I asked for victory⁴), and which (at the last) shall flourish⁵ in its holiness to His (glory⁶) !

7. (For He has sovereign control.) He who conceived of these (truths of the Māthra) as their first (inspirer), (and as He thought their existence they

¹ Or, possibly, 'which shall not be, or which shall be.' Is the subjunctive here used to express obligation ? Roth has 'was nicht sein soll oder was sein soll.' Ner. may be rendered as follows : Tell it to me distinctly [], that which is the highest gift, and which is given to me through sanctity ; [that is, because duty and righteousness are fulfilled by me, the best gift of thy reward (is gained) by this means ; but how is it possible to make it (actually) one's own ?]. Grant me the knowledge through the best mind ; [that is, declare that intelligence to me which comes through good conduct], and by which also safety is (secured) to me []. And declare either that which is not, or that which is, O Great Wise One, the Lord ! [].

² An interval of silence seems here to intervene, or lost verses leave an unexplained transition. The sage turns again to the people.

³ *Vaokâ* K 4 (Barth.).

⁴ See verse 4.

⁵ The Pahlavi has *Aûharmazd având* (sic) *khûdâiyih* *kand* *dên valman vakhshêd* *Vohûmanô*.

⁶ The Parsi-persian MS. is as follows : *Û hast buland, kih ân man âgahîhâ* (sic) *gû-î âskârah* [] *mânsar i tamâm raftanî* ; [*kû, tamâm pēdâism pah rāh i mânsar bâz ân 'hwêst i Hôrmuzd rasêd*], *kih pah Şawâb dârad—bî-marg raftanî azar* []. *Hôrmuzd—'hudât kand andar û afzayêd Bahman* [*Kûs pādîsâhî pah tan i mard—kandî (?) Hôrmuzd pah tan mihmân*].

(all) as (His)glorious¹ (conceptions first) clothed themselves in the stars²), He is through His understanding the Creator³ of the Righteous Order. And thus likewise He supports His Beneficent Mind (in His saints). And these (holy creatures) may'st Thou cause to prosper by Thy Spirit (since they are Thine own), O Ahura Mazda! Thou who art for every hour the same⁴!

8. Therefore⁵, as the first⁶ did I conceive of Thee, O Ahura Mazda! as the one to be adored with the mind in the creation, as the Father of the Good Mind within us, when I beheld Thee⁷ with my (enlightened) eyes as the veritable maker of our Righteousness, as the Lord of the actions of life⁸!

9. Thine, O Ahura! was Piety; yea, Thine, O Creator of the Kine! was understanding and the

¹ *Mûnas avô rôshanîh gûmîkhtô khvârih.* *Hvâthrâ* and *khvârih* can hardly mean 'comfortable' here. 'Ease' is the later sense.

² *Raokebîs* certainly means, with illuminating objects, stars or shining lights.

³ Hübschmann, 'der Schöpfer des Asha.'—Casuslehre, s. 190.

⁴ *Pavan mînavadîkîh vakhshînêd* [] *mûn kevaniš ham khûdâi.*

⁵ Compare the frequent expression '*spentem at Thwâ menhi*,' in chap. XLIII.

⁶ Roth, 'vornehmsten.'

⁷ When I seized Thee (took Thee in) with my eye. The Pahlavi: *Amatam* [] *pavan hamkashmîh avô ham vakhdûnd hômanih.*

⁸ *Dên ahvânô pavan kûnîsnô khûdâi hômanih.*

Ner. may be rendered as follows: Thus thou wert thought at the first by me, O Great Wise One, the Lord! when thou wert engaged in the production of *Gvahmana* []. In which (production) they apprehend the father of the Best Mind when they observe him with a full-faced look []. (And thou art the father) of that creation which is manifestly righteous; [that is, thou makest the purer creation good in conduct]. Thou art a King in the world as to action; [that is, where it is fitting to confer a benefit, and also where it is fitting to inflict a punishment, in each of these thou art capable].

Spirit¹, when Thou didst order a path for her (guiding). From the earth's tiller (aided²) she goeth³ (in that allotted way), or from him who was never tiller. (Thy path hath given her choice⁴.)

10. (But she did not pause in temptation.) Of the two she chose⁵ the husbandman, the thrifty toiler in the fields⁶, as a holy master endowed with the Good Mind's wealth⁷. Never, Mazda! shall

¹ His *spenta mainyu*; otherwise 'spiritual (understanding),' but *mainyu* is used elsewhere (verse 3 and 7) alone, and certainly not as an adjective even with a substantive understood. The rendering 'spirit' as 'Thy spirit' is suspiciously significant; but what is the help? We are forced by grammar so to translate.

² The ablative has this force as in *Ashâ/ haâ*.

³ I can hardly accede to an infinitive here: *-tê* is a rare infinitive termination in Gâthic. Also the infinitive seldom falls to the end of the sentence. The Pahlavi has *yâtûnêz*, a present; but the Pahlavi should never be positively cited for the forms, as it is free.

⁴ Observe that we are forced by every dictate of logic and common sense to avoid the commonplace rendering here. Cattle do not have 'paths' made for them, nor do they cry aloud for an overseer, or complain at the appointment of one who does not appear to them promising; nor is it one main effort of religion 'to content the soul of cattle.' Cattle, as the chief article of wealth, are taken to signify all civic life. The 'path' is the path for the people to walk in, securing safety for soul and life and herds. The *adhvan* is 'the way' which 'is the religious characteristics and teachings of the prophets' (XXXIV, 13).

⁵ Observe that this cow (some would say 'ox') chooses her master, unlike other cattle. But observe also, what is more interesting, that she seems reconciled to the guardian appointed by Ahura. In Y. XXIX, 9, she actually 'wept' at the naming of the pusillanimous Zarathustra, desiring a kingly potentate. Now, however, we see that she must have dried her tears, as she is satisfied with the simple workman whom he represents notwithstanding high rank.

⁶ In the later Avesta this first *vâstrya fruyant* is declared to be Zarathustra.

⁷ *Mûn fruih pavan Vohûmanô*.

the thieving¹ nomad share the good creed². (For the Kine's choice would bestow it³!)

11. (And this doctrine was the first of rules to regulate our actions. Yet the opposer speaks beside Thee.) For when first, O Ahura Mazda! Thou didst create the (holy) settlements, and didst reveal the religious laws⁴; and when Thou gavest (us) understanding from Thine own mind, and madest our (full) bodily life⁵, and (didst thus determine) actions (by Thy power), and didst moreover deliver to us (nearer) injunctions whereby (as by a rule) the wisher may place his choices⁶,

12. (There strife at once arose, and still is raging.) There (beside Thy prophet) the truthful or liar, the enlightened or unenlightened, lifts his voice (to utter

¹ Pahlavi *davāsahak*; Ner. *pratārayitre*.

² *Khûpō-hōshmûrīsnih*. 'Judicial blindness' is everywhere indicated. (The wicked are kept from the sight of the truth.) Hübschm., *Casuslehre*, 'der frohen Botschaft.'

³ This seems implied.

⁴ Or, 'madest the worlds and the souls (?)'.

⁵ Geldner admirably 'flesh.' The Pahlavi: *tanû-hōmandânō gân yehabûnd*. Notice that 'bodily life or flesh' is mentioned after 'understanding.' Compare Y. XXX, 7, where Âramaiti gives 'a body' after previous creations.

⁶ The Pahlavi has the following interesting gloss: [That is, even the actions and teachings of the pious are given forth by thee; and this was also given in this wisdom of thy mind]. And when there is a person in whom there is a desire for the other world, that desire is granted to him by thee; [that is, what is necessary when he is arriving in the other world, this which is thus required (or desired) by him at that time, is given by thee—through that which is thy mind and wisdom]. Although not able to follow the indications of the Pahlavi fully, I think that there is no question but that we have an important statement in the last line. It does not seem to me possible to render less profoundly than 'where the wisher may place his choices,' his religious preferences and beliefs, including all moral volition.

his faith), and with devoted mind and heart¹. (But without hindrance from this striving, or pausing with feeble search², our) Piety steadily³ questions the two spirits⁴ (not here on earth) but (there in the spirit-world) where (they dwell as) in their home⁵.

13. (Yea, my Piety questions searchingly, for Thou, O Maker! hast Thy view on all; we cannot question lightly.) What questions are asked which are open⁶ (permitted to our thoughts), or what questions (are asked) which are furtive⁷ (hiding themselves from the light), or (what decision soever we may make, and the man) who for the smallest sin binds on the heaviest penance, on all⁸ with Thy glittering eye(s) as a righteous guard Thou art gazing⁹!

¹ Avô zak libbemman.

² See verse 13.

³ Pavan hagisnô î: the Persian MS. (Haug XII, b) transliterates khêzirnô: Ner. has mano-utthânena (sic). Or, 'immediately.'

⁴ The evil as well as the good spirit is questioned. The two spirits of Y. XXX, 3-6 were here inspiring the conflict.

⁵ The Pahlavi unvaryingly in the sense of mihânô [-as gâs tamman yehevûnêdô]; Ner. paralokanivâsân. See Y. XXX, 9; XXXIII, 9; XXXIV, 6. A questioning which was lightly made would indicate a willingness to tamper with error. The Persian MS. following the Pahlavi has: Ânga bâng i buland ân i durûgê guftâr [Ganâ Mînu] wa ân ham i râst guftâr [Hôrmuzd], &c. But Neryosangh is more accurate or literal: Atra bumbâm* karoti [antar gagati], mithyâvaktâ vâ satyavaktâ vâ, &c.

⁶ Pavan zak î âshkârakô.

⁷ Nihânfk.

⁸ Thou seest even the questions and decisions of our thoughts as to matters which are simple or difficult, permitted or occult.

⁹ I have not followed what may yet possibly be a valuable and correct hint of tradition. I render Neryosangh: He who asks through what is open [through righteousness], or he who asks through what is secret [through sin]; or he (also) who through, or on account of, a little sin which has been committed, commits the great one to secure a purification; [that is, who for the sake of purification necessary on account of a little sin which has been committed, commits a greater one, in order that the first may not

14. This then I will ask Thee, O Ahura Mazda! (as I seek Thy counsel once again¹). What events are coming now, and what events shall come in the future²; and what prayers with debt-confessions³ are offered with⁴ the offerings of the holy? And what (are the awards) for the wicked? And how shall they be in the (final) state⁵ of completion⁶?

15. And I would ask Thee this, O Mazda! (concerning the coadjutor of the wicked): What is the award⁷ for him who prepares the throne⁸ for the evil, for the evil-doer⁹, O Ahura! for him who cannot else reclaim¹⁰ his life, not else save¹¹ with lawless

become known], upon these two, each of them, look with thy two eyes. [Over sins and righteous actions thou art in one way, everywhere and again, the Lord.] The concretes here may give the right indication.

¹ See verse 5.

² *Mûn madô, mûniš yâmtûnêdô*, 'What has come? And what is coming?'

³ *Mûn âvâm*.

⁴ *Haâ* in the Indian sense.

⁵ *Angarâkîh*, the judgment; but *Ner. vipâkatâ*, consummation.

⁶ *Neryosangh* has as follows: *Tad dvitayam tvattaḥ* prikkhâmi, Svâmin! yad âgatam, âyâtika, yo* rinam dadate dânebhyah* punyâtmane* [*Hormigdâya yathâ yugyate dâtum*], *yeḥa, Mahâgñânin! durgatimadbhyaḥ; katham teshâm asti vipâkatâ* evam* [*kila, yaḥ tat kurute, tasmai nidâne prasâdadânam kim bhavati, yaska tat kurute, tasmaiḥ kim bhavati 'ti; me brûhi!*] This seems to me very close, far more so than we have any right to expect as a general rule from a Parsi living in India, and only five or six centuries ago, too late for 'tradition,' and too early for close criticism.

⁷ *Roth*, 'Ich frage—was die Strafe ist?'

⁸ The head of a party seems to have been plotting to introduce a hostile sovereign.

⁹ *Î dûs-kûnisô*.

¹⁰ The Pahlavi translator, *nîvidînêdô*, (otherwise *nivêkînêd*, which I much suspect has become confused with *nîvidînêdô* through a clerical blunder); *Ner. labhate*. They both refer *vînastî* to *vid* (so *Justi*) followed by *most*. *Roth* (*Yasna XXXI*, p. 11), 'der sein Brot nicht findet ohne Gewalthat an der Heerde.'

¹¹ The Pahlavi translator sees the root *han* in the sense of

harm to the tiller's herd, to the pious husbandman's flock, who speaks no word with lying, (who abjures the Lie-demon's faith¹)?

16. Yea, I would ask Thee such a thing as this : How such an one as he who, with wise action, has striven to promote (Thy holy) Rule² over house, and region, and province, in the Righteous Order and in truth, how he may become like Thee³, O Great Creator, Living Lord? And when he may so become, (this also I would ask), and in what actions living he may so be⁴?

17. And which of the (religions) is the greater (and the more prevailing⁵ as to these questions which thus concern the soul?) Is it that which the

acquisition, and not from ignorance of the sense given above. In another place, he renders *vigîd min*; (see XLVII, 5.)

¹ Neryosangh may be rendered as follows: Thus I ask thee: What is for him who seizes upon destruction, and who provides the sovereignty for the wicked [], and commits that evil action, O Lord! from which he does not acquire life even through a bribe* (so meaning), [] and who is a calamity to the man who acts for herds and men removing calamities from them []?

² Roth, 'der die Herrschaft über Hof Gau und Land um das rechte zu fördern hat.'

³ Pahlavi, *Lak hâvand*; Neryosangh, *tvattulyo*; Roth, 'deiner werth.'

⁴ I render the Sanskrit of Neryosangh thus (it improves on the Pahlavi): I ask (thee) thus: How [dost thou bestow] the sovereignty upon one when he is beneficently wise? [] (in the body) of him who, through the increase of sanctity, is no opposer (of prosperity) in provinces or villages; [that is, with him who is discharging his duty and performing acts of sanctity. He is this teacher's teacher, he does not contend]. Thine equal, O Great Wise One, the Lord! thus is he verily, who (is such) in action, [who is thus Thine equal through activity].

⁵ Possibly *mazyô* has the sense of *mazista* in chap. L, 1. There 'the most prevailing' seems to be the proper rendering.

righteous believes, or the wicked¹? (Let then our questionings cease.) Let the enlightened (alone) speak to the enlightened. Let not the ignorant (further) deceive us, (high though he may lift his voice²). Do Thou thyself, O Ahura Mazda! declare³ to us (the truth) as Thy Good Mind's full revealer.

18. (And you, ye assembled throngs!) let not a man of you lend a hearing to Māthra, or to command of that sinner⁴ (ignorant⁵ as he is), for home, village, region, and province he would deliver to ruin⁶ and death. But (fly ye to arms without hearing), and hew ye them all with the halberd⁷!

¹ Literally, 'Which of the two (creeds as) the greater does the righteous (the believing saint) or the wicked (opponent) believe?'

² See verse 12.

³ Or with others 'be Thou'; but the gloss of the Pahlavi translation contains an explanation which may well afford the true solution as in so many instances in which he is both consciously and inadvertently followed. It reads [aīghmānō barā khavītūnīnō—]. May we not see an *az=ah* in the form, or at least a separate Iranian root, as also in *azdā* (L, 1), where the Pahlavi translator gives the same explanation admirably suited to the context.

Neryosangh: Which is it, the pure of soul, or the wicked who teaches as the great one? [] The intelligent speaks to the intelligent []. Be not thou ignorant after this; because (ignorance is) from the deceiver. Instruct us, O Great Wise One, the Lord! [] Furnish us with a sign through the Best Mind; [that is, make me steadfast in good conduct through the recognition of the *dīn*]. Such renderings may suffice to show that an examination of these ancient translations in our search for hints is imperative. Yet the practice prevails of omitting a knowledge of the Pahlavi language, on which not only the oldest translation of the Avesta, but also the irregular Sanskrit of Neryosangh, closely depends.

⁴ Jolly, 'Keiner von euch höre auf die Lieder und Gebote des Lügners.' Roth, 'Rath und Befehle.'

⁵ Compare *evīdvāo* in verse 17.

⁶ *Dūs-rūbismīh*.

⁷ *Sazēd sanēh*, 'prepare the sabre.' It was however a two-handed weapon; see Y. LVI, 12, (4 Sp.).

The Parsi-persian MS.: *Wa ma kas aēdūn az sumâ kih ū*

19. Let them hear Him who conceived of the Righteous Order for the worlds, the (all)-wise One, O Ahura! For truthful speech He rules with absolute sway over words, and ever free of tongue (to guide us in our way¹). By Thy shining flame² (He doth guide us³, Thine altar's flame with its signs of decision and of grace) sent forth for the good of the strivers⁴.

20. (But, O ye listening men!) he who renders

darwand mânsar sunawad wa âmû'htirn (sic); [kû az Âsmôkân (?) Awestâ wa Zand ma sunawad], kih andar—mañall sahar wa deh dehad bad-raftirn wa marg ân i Âsmôgh; aêdûn (sic) ôrân Âsmôghân râ sâzad silâh. (Again very close.)

¹ So conjecturally.

² Compare chap. XXX, 2. 'Behold ye the flames with the better mind;' possibly, also chap. XXX, 1, 'the signs in the lights seen friendly.'

³ According to the grammatical forms the agent here must be a divine being, as *ye mantâ ashem ahûbis* (see verse 7) is characteristic of the Deity. The vocative, strange as it may seem, does not necessarily exclude Ahura, as the subject referred to in *ye*. Several analogous cases occur. The Deity may here however represent His prophet, as the Daêvas do their worshippers in the later Avesta. Some writers force the language into a reference to the human subject for the sake of the greatly to be desired simplicity.

One places Ahurâ in the instrumental, a case in which the Almighty seldom appears. The above translation needs no alternative, as the language would be the same whoever *ye* refers to.

⁴ See note on verse 3, and read as alternative 'from the two aramî.' As an inferior rendering of tradition I cite Neryosangh here: The matter should be heard (taking *gûstâ* as a third singular in a subjunctive sense); [that is, a study should be made of it by him] who is even (in any degree) acquainted with the righteous design of Hormigda for both the worlds. He is independent in the literal truth of his words, in his freedom of speech, [and his fear has no existence]. Thy brilliant fire gives the explanation to the contenders. [It makes purity and impurity evident.]

the saint deceived¹, for him shall be later destruction². Long life shall be his lot in the darkness; foul shall be his food; his speech shall be of the lowest³. And this, which is such a life⁴ as your own, O ye vile! your (perverted) conscience through your own deeds will bring⁵ you⁶!

21. But Ahura Mazda will give both Universal Weal and Immortality⁷ in the fulness of His Righteous Order, and from himself⁸ as the head⁹ of Dominion (within His saints). And He will likewise give the Good Mind's vigorous might¹⁰ to him who in spirit and deeds is His friend¹¹, (and with faith fulfils his vows¹²).

¹ I follow the admirable lead of the Pahlavi here, as the previous verse mentions veracity. Its indication is pavan frīsnō, freely.

² I differ with diffidence from the hint of the Pahlavi here (as elsewhere). It has shīvan=tears, which however is free for 'calamity' and 'sorrow.' Nom. sing.; see its position.

³ Anāk rūbīsnīh yemalelūnêžō. This, placed together with such passages as XLVI, 11, XLIX, 11, and LI, 13, formed the basis for the more complete Yast XXII.

⁴ Others prefer 'place,' but see âyû in line b.

⁵ 'Has led on'?

⁶ I cite Ner.: He who betrays the pure through his fraud, may (deceit) be (also his portion) at the last; [that is, let it be so afterwards; it is in his soul]. Long is his journey, and his arrival is in darkness; and evil food and increasing lawlessness is his []. Darkness is your world, O ye wicked! your in-bred deeds, and your dīn, are leading you on.

⁷ That Ameretatā means more than long life is clear from amesha.

⁸ Afar nafsman patīh. The Gāthic would be more literally perhaps 'from His own Dominion.'

⁹ Sardârīh.

¹⁰ Vazdvarīh; Ner. pīvaratvam.

¹¹ One naturally thinks of urvatha (vratha), as having something of the sense of vratyā. But usage compels also the sense of friendship. Hübschmann, Casuslehre, s. 259, 'der durch Gesinnung und Thaten sich ihm als freund erweist.'

¹² Ner.: Mahāgrānī dadau Svāmī* avirdādāt* amirdādāt sampūr-

22. And to the wise are these things clear as to the one discerning with his mind (not blinded by the perverter¹). With Thy Good Mind and Thy (holy) Kingdom he follows the Righteous Order both in his words and his actions. And to Thee, O Ahura Mazda ! such a man shall be the most helpful and vigorous being² (for he serves with every power³)!

natvam *punyatmane* [] *nigam* *prabhutvam* *râgne* * *âdhipatyena* []
uttamena *pîvaratvam* *manasâ* [-*tasmâi* *dadate*], *yo nigasya adris-*
yamûrte *karmanâ* *mitram*.

¹ So according to frequent indications.

² *Tanû aîtö.* *Ner.:* *Sa te—mitram asti niveditanuñ.*

³ See chap. XXXIII, 14. The Pahlavi translator renders freely as follows: Manifest things (so possibly; otherwise 'manifestly') (are) these to (so a MS. not yet elsewhere compared) the wise when according to his understanding he disposes and reflects, [that is, he who meditates with thought upon that which his lord and dastur declares to him]. Good is the King for whom they would effect righteousness in word and deed, the man whose body is a bearer of Thee, O Aûharmazd!

YASNA XXXII.

THE STRUGGLE IS CONTINUED IN THE MIDST OF
REVERSES.

1. The same author may well be supposed to continue. The first stanzas have been lost, but we observe that the subject of the section is still face to face with the Daêva party. He seems to see them arrayed and engaged in hostile devotions. But he is not intimidated. The friendship of Ahura is before his mind, and he expresses his desire that he and his colleagues may become, or continue, His apostles, notwithstanding the temporal sorrows which, according to XLIII, 11, we see that he clearly anticipated as the portion of those who would propagate the holy faith.

2. Mazda answers him, and through him his followers, as established in His spiritual sovereignty, accepting the devotion of their piety with commendations and implied encouragements. He whom they would serve is supreme; they need not fear.

3. After reporting this response of Ahura, the composer turns with vehemence toward the Daêvas, poetically conceived to be present as if before their adherents, who also, according to verse 1, are supposed to be in sight (or are dramatically so conceived) celebrating their profane devotions; and he addresses them as the 'very seed' of Satan. Their worshippers belong to the religious falsehood and perversity. And they have persistently propagated their evil creed, which is in consequence spreading.

4. They have, so he acknowledges with grief, perverted men's minds, making them spokesmen for themselves, and in consequence deserters from the great Kindly Disposition of Ahura Mazda, and outcasts, fallen from His understanding.

5. They have destroyed the hopes of mankind for a happy life upon earth, and for Immortality in heaven. And in this they are not only the seed of the Evil Mind personified, but his servants rallying at his word.

6. Their leader is striving energetically, so he mournfully bewails, to effect his evil ends; but it is time that he should recall the counteracting measures of Ahura. His holy doctrines are to be announced, and their authority established by the divine Khshathra, His Sovereign Power personified.

7. The composer then contemplates with religious irony the infatuated security of the wretched delinquents whom he is apostrophising. Not a man of them knows the destruction which awaits him, and which, as he intimates, is close at hand, but Ahura, he significantly exclaims, is aware of it. And it will be proportionably severe. The blindness of sinners to danger seems as definite a judgment upon them in his estimate as their blindness to the truth.

8. To point his anger with an instance he names the apostate Yima, whom he supposes to have erred in first introducing the consumption of the flesh of cattle. He disavows community with him as with them all, declaring himself separate from them in Ahura's sight.

9. He acknowledges that their leader has to a certain degree defeated his teachings, and impaired the just estimates of life which he had striven to form within the people, (or that he will do this if not checked), declaring also that he had made inroads upon his property, which was sacred to the holy cause. And he cries aloud to Ahura and to Asha with the words of his very soul.

10. He repeats that their leader threatens to invalidate his teachings, blaspheming the supreme object of nature, the Sun, together with the sacred Kine, injuring the productive land, and carrying murder among the saints.

11. He utters his bitter wail in view of attempted slaughter, and actual spiritual opposition. He points out the plots among the powerful and their illegal confiscation of inheritances, as well those of women as those of men. And he declares that his opponents are endeavouring to injure his adherents, as if repelled by the best spiritual qualities which an individual could possess.

12. He announces the solemn judgment of God upon it all, especially reprobating those who deal treacherously against the mystical Kine; that is, the holy herds and people, and apostrophising those who prefer the Grehma above the saving and sanctifying Asha, and the Kingdom of the Lie-demon above the Divine Khshathra.

13. He declares that Grehma, an opposing chief, desired that evil kingdom in the abode of the personified Hell. And he cannot refrain from adding that he also enviously desires to share in the holy apostleship. But, as he severely rejoins, the messenger of God will hold him afar from the sight of the (Divine) Righteousness. He can have no share in the Faith.

(Here it may be noticed that we have some data for presenting

the main features of the struggle. In several instances, centring perhaps in the actual description of a battle in XLIV, 15, 16, we see traces of the closeness of the controversy. In XLIV, 15, the two hosts seem to be closing in regular lines for the 'holy vows themselves.' Here, on the other hand, we read of willing complaint or 'regretful desire,' while judicial blindness is referred to over and over again under various phrases. One might suppose that the Daêva-party were very near the Zarathustrians in many of their religious peculiarities, but that they could not accede to, or understand, the dualism. After the manner of Pagans they implicated the Gods in their sins. (Compare the drunken Indra.) At all events a bitter and violent war of doctrines was waging with both speech and weapons. I think it looks like the struggle 'of two parties' who each claimed to be the proper representative of some similar form of faith, similar, of course I mean, outwardly.)

14. Deploring the establishment of the Kavis who approach with stratagems and false teachings to aid the opposing party, the composer declares that they say that the Kine herself is to be injured instead of blessed by the very fire-priest who kindles¹ the altar-flame.

15. He supports himself however with the hope of ultimate success, and with the prospect of his reward, when he and his fellow-labourers should be gloriously borne to heaven by Weal and Immortality, the 'eternal two,' who not only, as we see, bear saints to bliss, but also constitute the beatitude of heaven itself.

16. He confides all at last to Ahura, who is able to control all events, and to solve all doubts, and who will support his servants in bringing the wicked to vengeance by means of verbal instructions and commands.

Translation.

(That rival-monarch (thus we may supply the sense of lost verses) for whom some are plotting to secure the sovereignty, and who, once in power, would deliver over home, village, town, and province to ruin and to death², is active in his efforts, and offer-

¹ See, however, the notes.

² Compare XXXI, 15, 18.

ing the devotions of his false religion to accomplish his ends.) 1. His¹ lord-kinsman will pray² (as I Zarathustra prayed), and his labouring villagers, with his (trusted) peers, and his (fellow) Daêva-worshippers³. But in my mind is the friendship⁴ of Ahura Mazda, the Great Creator, the living Lord; and Thine heralds, O Ahura! may we be; may we hold back⁵ those who hate and who offend You!

2. To these (for whom the prophet spake) Ahura Mazda answered, ruling⁶ as He does through His Good Mind (within their souls), He replied from His Sovereign Power, our good friend (as he is) through His surpassing⁷ Righteousness: We have accepted

¹ Some prominent teacher, representing the entire Daêva-party, is alluded to; see verses 6, 7, 9, 10.

² Compare *yâsâ* in XXVIII, 2.

³ Or, 'his are the Daêvas;' but the verb *yâsa* perhaps affords a sufficient expression for Daêvâ; *yâsen* or *hentî* may be understood. We may also understand the Daêvas here, as the embodied Daêvas, in the manner in which the pious worshipper is called *Vohu Manah*. That Daêva should however be used quite simply for Daêva-worshipper in this early composition is not probable. In the later Avesta it is frequent usage.

⁴ Or, 'the friend;' I recoil as much as possible from abstracts, but the Pahlavi has *hû-ravâkh-manîh*, and Geldner admirably proposed *brahman*.

⁵ *Aîghrân min Lekûm lakhvâr yakhšenunêm*; so the Pahlavi translation, first venturing on the meaning 'holding back from;' *dar* in the sense of *pâ*, which latter in Iranian can mean hold back from advantages as well as from misfortunes. High modern authority coincides with the most ancient authority on this latter point. It is apt to be a subject of scepticism with some who neglect the evidence of tradition.

⁶ 'Pavan sardârîh î Vohûman;' *Ner. svâmîtâyâm* *. It seems difficult to apply the meaning 'being as a refuge' here; see the following 'from His Kingdom.'

⁷ Lit. 'glorious.' This casts light upon the expression *hvanvaitis verezô*.

your good and bountiful Piety, and we have chosen her ; ours shall she be¹ !

3. But you, O ye Daêvas ! are all a seed from the Evil Mind². He who offers sacrifice³ to You the most⁴ is of the Lie-demon, and (he is a child) of perversion⁵. In advance⁶ (are your) deceits whereby ye are famed in the sevenfold⁷ earth !

4. For ye (are) confusing our thoughts⁸, whereby men, giving forth the worst deeds, will speak⁹, as of

¹ Aîgh Spendarmad Lekûm râi sapîr dôshêm [bûndak mînir-nîh] zak î lanman aîto [aîghmânô pavan tanô mâhmân yehevûnâd].

Neryosangh : To these the Great Wise (One), the Lord, answered in the lordship of the highest (best) mind ; [that is, if, or since, Gvahmana had arrived, as a guest, within (their) body] ; from Saharevara he answered [] through (their) righteousness, from the well-inclined, and through good conduct, [if truly good conduct had arrived as a guest within (their) body]. And he said : I befriend your Earth (so Âramaiti was later understood), the perfect-minded one, and your highest one ; she is mine [].

² Compare Yasna XXX, 6. Where the Daêvas are approached by the worst mind as they are consulting.

³ As those who offer sacrifice to these Daêvas are mentioned separately, we are forced to concede a large idea to the composer. He addresses the Daêvas as poetically conceived to be present, and not merely their worshippers as in verse 1. And this must have its weight in the exegesis of other passages.

⁴ The Pahlavi translator has kabed. Or mas for mashyô (?).

⁵ Or possibly arrogance, avarmînistar ; Ner. apamanastarasâ.

⁶ Sâtûnînêd freely, but indicating the root. The word is a locative.

⁷ The seven karshvars, or quarters of the earth, were already known.

⁸ I correct frô me (=man) mathâ (adj. nom. pl. ; compare yimâ keredushâ and mâ mashâ). I do so after the admirable reading of the Pahlavi translator, as frâz mînîsnô varðînêd [aîghas barâ frîfêd, afas mînîsnô barâ avô vinâs kardânô varðînêd]. Ner. prakrîsh/am manaâ—mathnâti. Notice that aîstâ is awkward as a masc., although I have so rendered as more personal.

⁹ Vakhshyentê stood in the ancient writing used by the Pahlavi translator, as also now in some of our surviving MSS. ; otherwise

the Demon-gods beloved, forsaken by the Good Mind¹, (far) astray from the understanding of the Great Creator, the Living Lord, and (far astray) from His Righteousness!

5. Therefore ye would² beguile mankind of happy life³ (upon earth) and of Immortality (beyond it), since the Evil Spirit (has ruled) you with his evil mind. Yea, he has ruled⁴ you, (ye) who are of the Demon-gods, and with an evil word unto action, as his ruler⁵ (governs) the wicked⁶!

reading *vakhshentê* with Justi and most others, and *mîmathâ* with Bartholomae: 'Ye have caused that men who produce the worst results are flourishing, loved of the *Daévas* (as they are).' But in the *Casuslehre*, Hübschmann preferred 'sie sprechen was den *Devas* angenehm ist,' also reading *vakhshentê* (?) (page 240).

¹ So the Pahlavi also indicates *arân Vohûman sîzd*; *Ner. Gvahmana*h* *dûre** *âste*.

² Improper subjunctive; otherwise ye (have) beguiled.

³ The Pahlavi also freely *frîfêd anrûtâân pavan hû-zîvisnîh*.

⁴ *Frâkinas* far from necessarily means 'gave'; 'assigned,' 'indicated' renders it more closely. The Pahlavi has here correctly, but freely, *âshêd*.

⁵ The Pahlavi has here *salitâh* for *khshayô*, and in XXVIII, 8 it has *pâdakhshâ* for *khshayâ*. I do not think that the word is an accusative there. A simple accusative does not so naturally fall to the end of the sentence in Gâthic; it is generally in apposition when so situated. The nominatives tend toward the end of the sentence.

⁶ *Ner.*: It is through both of these that he is deceiving (sic, unable to follow the Pahlavi which probably renders as a second plural; see *mûn lekûm*) mankind in regard to prosperity and immortality, [(saying) if it is possible to live, immortality lies in our path]. Since he is yours, O ye base-minded! O ye base *Devas*! he is inculcating the lowest actions [] of the miscreants; he says that sovereignty [is from *Âharmana*; (that is, the sovereignty) of certain ones (meaning over every one)].

The Gâthic verbatim is as follows: Therefore ye beguiled (would beguile) man of-happy-life, of-immortality-and since you with-evil mind (you) who-(are)-and *Daévas*' (worshippers) the evil-and spirit with an-evil (-word as concerning) action with-word (rules), by

6. Full of crime (your leader) has desired to destroy¹ us, wherefore he is famed, (and his doctrine is declared); but if this be so of these, then in the same manner, O Ahura! Thou possessest² (because Thou knowest) the true (teachings) in Thy memory³. And in Thy kingdom and Thy Righteous Order I will establish Thy precepts (in Thy name)⁴.

7. Among these wretched beings⁵ (this their leader⁶) knows not that those things⁷ which are de-

which (same) means (has-)commanded the wicked (his) ruler (nom. sing. masc.; see Y. XXVIII, 8). The nom., as in Vedic, at the end.

¹ Or, Full of crime ye have striven to attain your ends (?) by those things which are reported. (If verse 5 originally preceded) *ənakhstā* would naturally be regarded as a singular as *paouru-aēnō* is an impossible plural masculine. It might, however, be a singular used collectively. In that case we could put the verb in the plural with verse 5 in view. As to concrete or abstract, the first is obviously correct, and is also so rendered by the Pahlavi translation.

² Vid (with the perf. *vaēdā*) seems to occur in the Gāthas in this sense. Or, 'Thou knowest with the Best Mind.'

³ Or 'in the memorised recital;' Ner. *praka/am kalayati*.

⁴ Parsi-persian MS.: *Bisyâr kīnah-varzandah kīnah 'hwâhad, [kûs wanâh-kârân pâdafrâh kûnêd], kih, guft + srûd istêd [kih guft istêd]; kû, kih ôrân bî-sumâr [kû, pâdafrâh pah ân zamân tamâm bih kunand, kih ruwân bâz ân tan dehad]. Zâhir sumâr-kunandah Hôrmuzd [kû pah wanâh wa kirfah sumâr-kunand]; wân i buland âgâh pah Bahman [muzd dânad; kû ân kih bâyard dâdan]. Pah ân i Tû i Sumâ, Hôrmuzd! 'hudâ, ân i Şawâb âmû'than bih dânestuwân (sic vid); [kih Sumâ padirâhî tamâm bih bêd + ya'hni + bârad, har kas pah nêkî âgâh bih bârad].*

⁵ The Pahlavi has *kinîkânō*.

⁶ The *hvaētu* of the first verse, the *dursasti* of the ninth, &c.

⁷ The Pahlavi curiously errs with his *rôshanō*=clear; Ner. *parishphuātaraḥ*. It would be straining a point to call him free in interpreting what is 'collected' and so 'obvious' as 'clear.' We must, however, never forget that the supposed error of the Pahlavi is sometimes the reflex of our own (often necessary) ignorance. *Vīdvau* must refer back to the same subject as *ahyâ* in the first verse, or possibly to *Aka Manah*, going a step further back.

clared as victorious¹ (by his allies) are bound together for the smiting; yea, those things by which he was famed (as victorious) by his (blade of) glittering iron². But the utter destruction³ of those things Thou, O Ahura Mazda! knowest⁴, most surely⁵!

8. Of these wretched beings⁶ Yima Vtvanghusha was famed to be; he who, desiring to content⁷ our men, was eating kine's flesh in its pieces. But from⁸ (such as) these, O Ahura Mazda! in Thy discerning discrimination, am I (to be seen as distinct⁹).

¹ Possibly, 'which are by Thee announced as destined and proper to be smitten.' The Pahlavi has *mûn zanisnô âmûkhtênd* (sic). *Jôyâ=jâyâ* to jan, as *âkâya* is to kan.

² Compare other allusions to weapons, *snaithirâ*, and possibly *dakhshtem*.

³ So also the Pahlavi, *ristak* and *pâdâfrâs*.

⁴ *Naêhîr vidvau* and *vaêdistô ahî* are in antithesis and emphatic.

⁵ A literal rendering of this difficult verse would be as follows: Of these wretches, nothing knowing (is he that) for the smiting (dat. *jâ, jan*; cp. form Sk. *jâ, jan*) (are) the-collected-things, which things (as) victorious (read *jâyâ*) are declared forth, by which (things) he has been heard (of) through glittering iron, of which things Thou, O-Ahura! the ruin, O-Mazda! most knowing art. Others take *senghaitê* in the sense of 'cut' (?) and render very differently.

⁶ The Pahlavi has *shedâân*; Ner. *tân dveshinah*.

⁷ Or 'teaching,' so the Pahlavi; Ner. *samâsvâdayati*.

⁸ The Pahlavi translator hits the true rendering here: 'from among these I am chosen out by Thee.' Otherwise we have a question: Am I of these? The allusion is to the fall of Yima. As to the first eating of the flesh of beasts, recall Genesis ix. 3. Some have rendered: With regard to these I am of Thine opinion, O Mazda (?).

⁹ The Pahlavi may be rendered as follows: Among (of) these demons Yima of the *Vivanzhânas* is famed to have been a wicked scourge. It was he who taught men thus: Eat ye our flesh in pieces [wide as the breast, long as the arm—(or better with West, 'in lapfuls and armfuls')]. From among these [] I am chosen out by Thee, O *Atharmazd*! hereafter; [that is, even by Thee I am considered as good].

9. An evil teacher (as that leader is), he will¹ destroy (our) doctrines, and by his teachings he will pervert the (true) understanding of life, seizing away² (from me) my riches³, the choice and real wealth of (Thy) Good Mind. To You and to Asha, O Ahura Mazda! am I therefore crying with the voice of my spirit's⁴ (need)!

10. Aye, this man will destroy my doctrines (indeed, for he blasphemes the highest of creatures that live or are made). He declares that the (sacred) Kine⁵ and the Sun are the worst of things which eye can see; and he will offer the gifts of the wicked (as priest to their Demon-gods). And at the last he will parch⁶ our meadows with drought, and will hurl his mace at Thy saint (who may fall before his arms⁷).

¹ An improper subjunctive. Otherwise: He (has) destroyed (not irretrievably, of course; the case was not decided, and finally issued favourably).

² Apô—yantâ; otherwise 'they would take'; Ner. apaharati.

³ Zak î li îshî avôrtô [—khvâstak î pavan dastôbar].

⁴ Pavan valmansân milayâ î minavadhâ; Ner. vâgbhih mânasavrîtyâ aham—âkrandaye (not following our present Pahlavi text, the gloss however). Observe that in reading Ner. we by no means ipso facto read the Pahlavi, either in correct translation, or as following our texts. Compare XLVI, 2.

⁵ One thinks somewhat of the familiar foes of the Vedic kine; but there can be of course no connection. The Iranian sacred Cow did not represent the rain cloud, at least not at all directly.

⁶ Read viyâpa/ as a demon. without sign: 'v' was miswritten for 'y' as often 'y' for 'v.' The Pahlavi language, not to speak of the Pahlavi translation, suggests it. How are we to account for the word viyâvânînd? We should not arrest our philology at the Zend and Sanskrit. The long vowel is most awkward for a comparison with the Indian vap=shear. And I think that 'destroying the means of irrigation' gives as good a meaning as 'shearing the land.' Notice that elsewhere a more correct form appears, viâpôtmem (Vd. III, 15, (51 Sp.))=viyâpôtmem.

⁷ Literally, 'he will discharge his club at the righteous.'

11. Yea, these will destroy my life, for they consult with the great¹ of the wicked (enlightening themselves by their words²). And they are seizing away³ the gifts of inherited treasures⁴ from both household-lord and from house-wife⁵; (wretched men that they are), and those who will fiercely wound (my folk, repelled and in no way kindly moved) by the better mind of the holy⁶.

12. (But Ahura will speak His rebuke, for) as to those doctrines which (such) men may be (basely) delivering⁷ (repelled) by the holiest action, (and galled⁸ by its sacred truth) God hath said: Evil (are they! Yea, unto these He hath said it) who have slain the Kine's life by a blessing (and have cursed her while they offered to help her⁹), men by whom Gr̥hmas are loved above Righteousness, and the Karpans,

¹ The Pahlavi translator erroneous, or free, as to *nikōiteres*, indicates the proper sense of *mazibīs* by *pavan masâf* [—*pavan pêshpâyih va pâspâyih*—]; but Neryosangh, *mahattayâ-purâh-saratayâ*.

² Comp. XXXI, 12, 'there high his voice lifts the truthful or liar.'

³ Literally, 'he takes.'

⁴ *Riknah vindisnō*.

⁵ *Kadâk-khûdâi gabrâ nêrman*.

⁶ *Reshînênd*; see V, 10. The ablative of the cause, comp. *ashâ/haâ*; otherwise with *Hübschm.*, 'Sie die Schaden nehmen mögen durch den besten heiligen Geist, O Mazda!' (*Casuslehre*, s. 241.)

⁷ The Pahlavi translator had probably before him a text reading *rashayen*; he renders freely *rêsh srâyênd*. With such a text which is far preferable to the one afforded by the MSS. we may read: Whereby (*yéna*) men will be opposing and retarding (literally wounding) the doctrines which (are derived) from the best (moral and ceremonial) action; but to these men Mazda declared: Evil (are ye). See the previous verse.

⁸ See the previous verse.

⁹ The Pahlavi has *hû-ravâkh-manîh yemalelûnd*.

and the Throne of those who have wished¹ for the Demon of lies (as their deity and friend²).

13. And the Grēhma will seek³ for these things by means of his (evil) kingdom⁴ in the abode of (Hell which is⁵) the Worst Mind (who both are together) the destroyers of life, and who, O Mazda! will bewail⁶ with glad but (envious) wish the message of Thy prophet. (But he will not abate with his vengeance), he will hold them afar from the sight⁷ of the truth!

14. His is Grēhma⁸; aye, his! And to (oppose) Thee⁹ he will establish the Kavis and (their) scheming

¹ So also indicated by the Pahlavi *bavîhûnd*.

² There is elsewhere evidence enough of a desire to encroach upon the truth.

³ So also indicated by *bavîhûnêd*.

⁴ Or, 'which kingdoms, sovereign power.'

⁵ Comp. XXX 6.

⁶ Or, 'they gladly complain;' so also the Pahlavi: *Mûn—garzîsnô kâmak*. The singular *gîgereza* is difficult with *yaêkâ*. Many would alter the text at once, and the temptation is great.

⁷ Hübschm., 'ye îs pâ/daresâ/ashahyâ der sie abhalte vom Schauen des Asha' (Casus. 241). So of XLVI, 4. So also indicated by *pâdênd mîn nikêzîsnô î Aharâyîh*; evidence of a struggle, or at least of a desire on the part of a rival party to possess themselves of some religious privilege or precedence. See the previous verse; also XXXI, 10: Never, O Mazda! never shall the thriftless and thieving one share the good doctrine. See still further XLIV, 15, where the two hosts meet in hostility 'on account of the doctrinal vows.'

⁸ Grēhma appertains to, but is not the particular evil teacher referred to throughout. The Pahlavi translator indicates bribery as the meaning of the word. Possibly some impious chieftain is meant whose procedure was of that nature. The word occurs in the plural.

⁹ *Â hôi*; *Thwôi* is difficult. Or (see Y. XLIV, 14), 'Thine understanding has subdued the Kavis.' The Pahlavi translator renders *masîh*, as if he had read *ahuthwôi*, offering an important alternative.

plans. Their deeds¹ of power are but deceits since they have come as an aid to the wicked², and since he has been (falsely) said (to be set) to conquer the Kine³, he who shall kindle that (very) help of grace which removes our death afar, (and lightens Thy saving flame).

15. And therefore will I drive from hence⁴ the Karpans' and Kavis' disciples. And after these (have thus been driven hence and away) then these (my princely aiding saints) whom they (now) render no longer rulers at will over life, (and deprive of their absolute power), these shall be borne (at

Read: In his dominion he has established the Kavis and their intended plans. Reading *hōithōi*, 'his G. is to be bound.'

¹ The predecessors of the Pahlavi translator seem to have understood the word *var(e)kau* as conveying the idea of power rather than that of brilliancy. He renders freely *pavan zak ī varzânân avârûnō dânakânō*. Supposing the text to stand, and not supplying a formation from *var(e)z*, we may hold that there existed a *var(e)k* beside *var(e)z*, as there undoubtedly was a *har(e)k* (see *harek*) beside *har(e)z*. This casts light on the Vedic *várkas*.

² *Amatiḱ padīrēnd valman darvandân aīyyārīh [] amatiḱ avō Tōra zanisnō gūftō*. The sufferings of the sacred Kine form the central thought of much that occurs.

³ Can *gâus* be a genitive here? But if a nominative, must not *ye* refer to it? How then could the Kine 'kindle' the aid of grace? A genitive looks difficult. It is, however, accepted by Spiegel, although he renders differently from my translation. The Pahlavi may give us invaluable relief here by restoring the text. The ancient translator read *vaokaya*. Reading with him, we might render: When the Kine which (*yâ*?) caused a death-removing help to be declared, was said to be meet for subjection (or slaying, reading an infinitive from *gan*). This rendering is more probable than that from *saoḱaya*. The Kine distinctly caused this help to be declared. See XXIX. But I make it a matter of principle to follow the MSS. in a first translation, where that is at all possible.

⁴ The Pahlavi translator differs greatly here, having taken *anâis* with adverbial force, and as possessing the *a priv.* (they being

last) by the (immortal¹) two to the home of (Thy) Good Mind (in Heaven)²!

16. (And) this entire³ (reward of the righteous) is from that Best One who teaches⁴ in the wide (mental) light of the pious⁵, ruling (as supreme), O Mazda Ahura⁶! whose are my woes and my doubt-

not inclined). He also read somewhat as follows: *anâis avaênî*(?) as *ye*=from his non-inclination he was blind who (belongs to the Karpan and to the Kavi). Whether a truer text is indicated by him here is doubtful on account of XLIV, 13, and its *nâshâmâ*; but the unvarying explanation of the Kavis as blind probably derives its origin from some such reading here, or elsewhere in lost documents.

Certainly if *âis* can be used as a particle, *anâis* is not altogether impossible in some such sense. Moreover, the Pahlavi translation here and elsewhere has afforded us such a multitude of valuable concretes, that we shall do well to think twice before we reject its most startling suggestions. Lit. trl. 'what (things are) of the K.'

¹ The Pahlavi translation gives a fine suggestion in the concrete sense here; seeing the dual *âbyâ*, it explains it as referring to *Haurvatât* and *Ameretatât*, which is very probably correct. So Spiegel also renders. It is very difficult to decide in which sense *yeng daintî nôit jyâteuŕ khshayamaneng vasô* is to be taken. If in an evil sense (as *vase-khshayanant* is sometimes elsewhere taken) one might think of such a rendering as this: I have driven the Karpans' and Kavis' disciples hence to those (evil rulers) whom they (my servants) render no longer wanton tyrants over life. But these (my champion saints) shall be borne by the two to the home of Thy Good Mind. But strict grammar demands of us that *tôit* should refer back to *yeng*. Accordingly I suggest as above first.

² Observe that *Vohu Manah* equals heaven. Recall XXX, 4, 'but for the holy *Vahista Manah*; that is heaven.'

³ The Pahlavi has *ham*; *Neryosangh* has *sarvam*.

⁴ Reading *sâk(a)yâskîŕ* (P¹¹, *skyaskîŕ*; Pahlavi, *âmûkhtisnô* (sic); *Ner.*, *sikhâpanam*). Otherwise *syaskîŕ*, which may well mean 'lying, reposing' in the wide (mental) light of the pious (or of the offering). Geldner lately admirably suggests a 2nd sg.

⁵ *Pavan farâkhû hûshîh*.

⁶ If this 'best one' is the *Ratu* of XXXIII, 1, all is grammatically clear; but the expressions are rather strong in view of

ings¹ (yea, they lie in His power to heal), when I shall make (my prophets) men to be sought² for the harm of the wicked. And this I shall do by the word of my mouth (to defend and avenge my saints)!

XLVIII, 9, where similar language is certainly applied to Ahura. If Ahura is here meant, we have only one instance more to add to the many in which Ahura is spoken of in the third person, with an address to Him thrown in. See the differing views of XLV, 11. Possibly the 'Best One' was Ahura's *Spenta Mainyu*.

¹ *Zak î pavan gûmânîkîh*. As to *âiithi*, *âiithivant* seems to prove that its meaning must be calamity also in this place. Otherwise one is strongly tempted to heed the vigorous indication of the Pahlavi translator. Here and in XLVIII, 9, he renders 'manifest,' 'what is clear in the midst of my doubt.' The etymology would be far simpler. Alternatively *dvaêthâ*=terror (*bî*).

² *Valman î pûmman khvâstâr*. The Pahlavi sees 'to be desired' in *ishyeng*. Otherwise one might render: I will cause (verbal) missiles (comp. *zastâ-istâis*) to be cast forth from the mouth for the harm of the wicked.

(SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE. 'Parch with drought' in verse 10 may be regarded as having figurative application. The destruction of the means of irrigation, so often resorted to in the same regions later, would point also to a literal sense, but 'waste our meadows like drought' is a safer expression. See further *vîvâpa*, and *vîvâpem*=*viyâpa*, *viyâpem*.)

YASNA XXXIII.

PRAYERS, HOPES, AND SELF-CONSECRATION.

Brighter times seem to have arrived. The vengeance so confidently promised in the close of XXXII is described as near at hand. In fact the first three verses seem to belong as much to XXXII as to the present chapter. They remind one of the choruses of attending saints, or 'Immortals,' in XXIX, perfectly germane to the connection, but referring in the third person to a speaker who closes the last chapter with a first, and who begins again with a first in verse 4. The propriety of a division of chapters here rests upon the fact that the thought comes to a climax at XXXII, 16, beginning afresh at XXXIII, 4. Whether Zarathustra, or the chief composer, whatever his name may have been, composed these three verses relating, as they do, to himself, and put them into the mouth of another, or whether their grammatical form indicates another author, is difficult to determine. I doubt very greatly whether either the expressions 'I approach,' 'I offer,' &c., or the words 'he will act,' 'let him be in Asha's pastures,' are at all meant to express more than some modern hymns which use 'I' and 'he.' Both are in constant employment in anthology with no change in the person indicated. 'I' and 'Thy servant' are merely verbal variations. Here, however, the change is somewhat marked by the allusion to the chastisement of the wicked just previously mentioned in XXXII, 16. 1. It is to be noticed that the strictest canon with the original, as indeed with the later, Zarathustrians of the Avesta was the 'primeval law.' Unquestionably the precepts understood as following from the dualistic principle were intended; that is to say, no trifling with any form of evil, least of all with a foreign creed, was to be tolerated. Ahura has no share in the evolution of anything corrupt. We may even add that He had no power to prevent either sin or sorrow, although He possessed all conceivable power to oppose them. According to these fundamental laws, then, the Ratu is said to act, as sternly severe upon the evil as he is beneficent to the saint. 2. The fierce hostilities hitherto pursued are more than justified. The injury of the wicked by denouncing, planning, or by physical violence, is on a par with advising the good. They who pursue the enemies of Ahura are actually operating in love to God, and sacrificing to religion itself.

3. And accordingly the reciter is made to pray in this immediate connection for a sincere and useful friend (a vahista) to the believer, to whichever class he may belong, whether chief, allied peer, or villager, a friend spiritually enlightened (*vidās*), and, according to Ahura's prescript (XXIX, 2), keen, persevering, and brave in the cultivation of cattle (*thwakhshanghâ gavôî*). 'Let such an one as this, so asked for by the Lord himself, so needed by the Kine, let him,' he prays, 'be supported in his holy toil for us. Let him till and tend, not in the pastures of our valleys only, but in the spiritual pastures of the Divine Benevolence where the mystic kine is grazing.'
4. Taking up the peculiar 'I who' of XXVIII, the composer returns to the first person, continuing in that form with little exception until the last verse, which, naming Zarathustra in the third person, implies (if it is not an addition, which, however, it may be) that Zarathustra had been the speaker throughout. As it is highly probable that the author who uses this 'I who' is the same who uses it in XXVIII, and if we may take verse 14 as fair evidence that Zarathustra is the speaker here, we acquire some additional grounds for believing that the person who wrote (if we can apply such an expression to the author) the words 'to Zarathustra and to us,' as well as 'to Vistâspa and to me,' and 'to Frashaostra and to me,' was universally recognised to be Zarathustra himself composing a piece to be recited by another. As if in response to the expression in verse 3, recalling that although a vahista (a best one) to some of each class (verse 1) he was no contentor of the wicked (XLIII, 15), he begins a prayer which is only completed by its *izyâ* in verse 6, and which gathers force by each preceding profession of fidelity. And true to a practical dualism, he first abjures the leading sin of disobedience to God, and of arrogance, discontent, and dishonesty toward man, accompanied (as it seems to have been) with neglect of the all-important duties to the cattle who shared the sanctity of 'the soul' of their representative. And perhaps it is this practical severity of dualism as opposed to the more facile 'lying' of the opposed religion, which was the cause of that high reputation of the Persians for veracity, which was grouped with avoiding debt by Herodotus among the virtues of the race.
5. I, he goes on to say, or to imply, I who not only abjure disobedience, insolence, complaint, and lying, but especially invoke the great genius who is Obedience himself, Obedience toward God, (Thee), endeavouring as I do by this abjuration and prayer to attain, not to a 'hundred autumns' of booty and glory, but to a long life in the kingdom which was established in the spirit of

the Divine Benevolence, and to paths not only for the war-cart, or for commerce, but to those rigidly straight paths of moral purity in which Ahura dwells, 6. I, he adds once more, who am thus Thine actually invoking (zbayâ) invoker, 'straight' like the paths (erezus), I am seeking with longing (kayâ) to know from that Best Spirit (Thy *Spenta Mainyu*?) animated once more by that best mind, to know-what? Shall we regard it as a bathos when we read that he thus with cumulative urgency prays to know what the Best Spirit thought should be done for the recovery and perfection of the fields? If we turn back to XXIX, 1, we shall see that the identical word (vâstryâ) describes the original want of the kine's soul. It was vohû vâstryâ which she implored as her salvation; and it was the sacred agriculturist who alone could afford it, and who as the 'diligent tiller of the earth' always remained the typical saint. And as his useful deeds in reclaiming, irrigating, and cultivating land, were justly ranked among the first services of a human being, and as the last preparation of the gathered grain was perhaps humorously, but yet pungently, said to make the *Daêvas* start, and shriek, and fly (see *Vendîdâd* III, 32, Sp. 165), and as further, a life from the fruits of the earth to this day constitutes the main difference between those who live by murderous theft and those who live honestly in nearly the same regions, I think we may not only see no bathos here, but on the contrary admire the robust sense of this early religion¹, and say that a knowledge as to a true policy in the department of agriculture was one of the wisest possible desires, and the most of all things worthy of a 'sight of Mazda and of consultation with Him.' How the fields had better be worked, and how the people could best be kept from bloody freebooting as aggressors or as victims, this involved Ahura's Righteous Order, Benevolence, Power, and Piety, the four energising Immortals all at once. And this only could secure the other two rewarding personifications, Welfare and Immortality.

7. Having prayed for that which is the first virtue of civilised existence, work (*verezyêidyâi*), he proceeds to further petitions. 'Come Ye,' he beseeches in Vedic fashion. Come Ye, O Ahura, Asha, and Vohu Manah! and behold the attentive monarch, the leading Magavan, as he listens to my instructions with the other

¹ In this particular. As to ceremonies it had at a later period more than its share of absurdities; but as to honest work as against 'foraging on the enemy' there is a great difference between the Gâthas, and some other ancient hymns, for instance the *Rîks* of the Veda. In fact these latter may be regarded as representing the opposite extreme.

chiefs, and the thronging masses. And let too the sacrificial gifts pour in for offering and worship.

8. He rests at no bare morality for the simple multitude. He knows too well the human foible, therefore he asks with vigour for sacrifice and hymn.

9. Encouraging the two pious chiefs whose souls go hand in hand, he prays that an influence like that of the 'eternal two' might bear their 'spirit' (sic) to the shining home of Paradise, it having attained to perfection by the help of the Best Mind of God within it. (For mainyu in this sense compare XLIV, 11.)

10. Asking of Mazda to grant in His love (or 'by His will') all the happy phases of life which have been, or which shall ever be experienced, he prays that their bodies, that is, their persons, as separate accountable individuals (compare *nareṃ nareṃ hvahyâi tanuyê*) might flourish in the graces of the Good Mind, the Holy Sovereignty, and the Sacred Order, till they were blessed with the *ustâ*, the *summum bonum*.

11. He here prays all the grand abstractions, Piety, the Righteous Order (which alone can 'push on' the settlements), the Good Mind of God within His people, and His kingdom, to turn their mental ears and listen, and listening to pardon.

12. And specifying the one central object of desire, the Thrift-law, the Avesta of the Ratu, or Saoshyant, he asks Ahura to arise to his help and give him spiritual strength by sustaining him through the inspiring Righteousness and the Good Mind, in an effective invocation.

13. With a spirituality still deeper than his Semitic colleague, he asks, not to see the person of God, but His nature, and especially to be able to comprehend and bring home to his mind what the Sovereignty of God implies with its 'blessed rewards.' And he asks of Piety as first acquired, practised, and then speaking within him, to reveal the Gnosis, the Insight, that is, the Religion.

14. After the fervent language of the previous verses we may accept verse 14 as a legitimate continuation. Its 'Zarathustra' may mean 'I' just as 'David' is used by the Psalmist for 'me.' And the language can mean nothing but a dedication of all that he is and has to God, his flesh, his body, his religious eminence, the obedience which he offers in word and deed, inspired by Righteousness, and the Kingdom which he has succeeded in saving and blessing. (I do not think that I have at all exaggerated the grasp and fervour of this section. Less could not be said, if the words are to be allowed their natural weight.)

Translation.

1. As by the laws of the primeval world, so will our spiritual chieftain act (that chief besought-for by the Kine¹, and named as Zarathustra² by the Lord). Deeds most just he will do toward the wicked, as toward the righteous, and toward him whose deeds of fraud³ and righteous deeds combine (in equal measure).

2. Yea, (he will act with justice but with vengeance, for) he who does evil to the wicked by word, or with thought (and plan), and (who therein does not dally, but toils labouring as) with both the hands, or he (again) who admonishes one for his good⁴, such as these are offering (a gift) to their religious⁵ faith in the love (and with the approving view) of Ahura Mazda⁶; (they are offering to conscience.)

¹ See XXIX, 1.

² See XXIX, 6, 8.

³ So the Pahl. ; and so also Roth (Z. D. M. G., vol. xxxvii, 5, 223) taking mithahyâ as a nom. pl. (comp. vaḥahya). But I am strongly inclined to a former view of my own. Yêhyâ-mithahyâ look irresistibly like two genitives. I would render as an emphatic alternative 'what fraud he may lay hold of (hemyâsaitê with the gen.), reach (of the one), and what (seem) to him the righteous deeds (of the other).' But if Roth and the Pahlavi are right, we have here the origin of the later hamêstagâ, the souls in the intermediate place between Heaven and Hell, whose sins and good works have been equal (West, Gloss. to M. î K.). The Persian manuscript of Haug 12 b. has: Kih iê (pro ham) û i ân ham rasîd êstêd ân i durûgh, kih iê (ham) û ân i 'hâlis [kû, hamêstân].

⁴ So the Pahlavi also indicates: Val valman î sapîr—kâshisn. Ner. uttamasya vâ âsvâdayanti dehinaḥ.

⁵ Literally, 'they are offering a gift to their own choice' (var = varena ; comp. yâvarenâ).

⁶ They are holding fast by the holy cause, and their vehemence in vengeance does not negative the fact that they are toiling in the love of Ahura. Pahlavi: Pavan zak î lak dôshisnô, Aûharmazd !

3. (And so may it be), O Ahura ! Let the man who is the best toward the righteous saint, whether lord's kinsman¹, or as village labourer, with the allied² peer (of the master), having light, and endowed with energy for the cattle (a Ratu such as Ahura sought to satisfy their wail), let such an one be (for us)³ in the work-field of the Righteous Order, in the pastures of Thy Good Mind⁴.

4. (And I beseech for Thine instruction), I who will abjure⁵ all disobedience (toward Thee, praying that others likewise may withhold it) from Thee ; I who abjure the Evil Mind as well, the lordly kinsman's arrogance⁶, and that lying sin which is (alas !) the next thing to the people⁷ (their most familiar fault), and the blaming ally's falsehood, and from the Kine the worst care of her meadows⁸ (the crime of stint in labour⁹),

¹ Literally, 'with, or as, the kinsman.'

² 'With the true ally.'

³ See XXIX, 2 : 'Let that pasture-giver whom ye would appoint for us, teaching by example and precept *vohû vâstryâ*, let him be on our sacred pastures, and on our side.'

⁴ The Pahlavi may be rendered as follows : He who affords increase to the righteous on account of the relationship [that is, something is given to him ?] does so also on account of the labourer's duty, or class [that is, the labourer is to be considered as his own]. Through the loyalty ; that is, the loyal class, that which adheres to Aûharmazd, he has a thorough understanding as to what is (true) energy toward the herds. Thus Vohûman (a good mind) is a workman with him to whom Righteousness also belongs.

⁵ Hübschm. Casuslehre, 'der ich von dir den Ungehorsam und schlechten Sinn durch Gebet abwenden will' (s. 180).

⁶ Observe that *hvaêtu* certainly designates an upper class. Why else arrogance ?

⁷ Possibly this severity was the cause of the later high reputation of the Zarathustrians for veracity.

⁸ Literally, 'from the pasture of the Kine.'

⁹ The Pahlavi may be rendered : Him who will not listen to

5. I, who (abjuring these sins), call earnestly on Thine Obedience of all (assisting guardians) the greatest one for our help¹, gaining (thereby²) long life in the Realm of (Thy) Good Mind (incarnate in our tribes), and paths that are straight from their Righteous Order, wherein Ahura Mazda dwells³,

6. (Yea), I who, as this Thy faithful priest, invoke Thee through (my) Righteousness, (now) seek⁴ with longing from (Thy) Best Spirit, and with that⁵ (best) intention of mind, (to know) what⁶ he himself thought of the working of (our) fields⁷. Therefore (because I abjure the Evil Mind, and all disobedience,

Thee, O Aûharmazd! will I abjure, and Akôman also, for by him there is the despising of relations, and the deception of the labouring men who live close at hand [that is, of neighbours]. And he is ever bringing censure upon the clients. And he holds to the lowest measure of duty toward the Herd.

¹ Avanghâ *ne*, or avanghânê, an infinitive (see Wilhelm, *de Infin.* p. 16). The Pahlavi has avô aīyyârîh.

² Sraosha (= listening obedience) is the greatest for help, because by a Mâthra which appeals to him the way to Ahura is found out (XXVIII, 6) and the Demon defeated. If *apânô* is read, so strictly. The Pahlavi translator seems to have understood *apâ ne*; *barâm ayâfinâi pavan dêr-zivisnîh, zak î pavan khûdâiyîh î Vohûman*.

Ner.: *Avâpaya dîrghe gîvitatve*. This may well restore for us the proper text. Reading *apâ ne* we should render 'obtain for us.'

³ Ahura Mazda dwells as in His abode amid the paths where His saints walk (see XLVI, 16).

⁴ So also indicated by *bavîhûnêd*. *Kayâ* properly refers to *ye*.

⁵ The Pahlavi translator seems to have seen an imperative in *avâ*, rendering it freely *aīyyârînêdô*.

⁶ *Yâ* may be an instr. sing. or an acc. pl. neut. 'I ask what he thought meet to be done;' *yâ* does not necessarily equal *yéna* in every instance.

⁷ I need hardly remind the reader that agriculture was the great question of orderly and religious life with the Zarathustrians. Without it there was of course no resource but wandering and plunder for them.

arrogance, falsehood), O Mazda ! would I beseech of Thee for a sight of Thee, and for consultation with Thee ! (What is Thy will and mind ?)

7. Come Ye, then, to my best (regulations. Come to my men, and my laws¹), my very own, O Mazda ! and let them see through the Righteous Order and (Thy) Good Mind (which Thou wilt bestow in Thy drawing near) how I am heard before the rich giver² (in the assembly of Thy worshippers). Yea, (come Ye) ; and let the manifold offerings of worship be manifest among us³. (Arouse Ye, and help our zeal⁴ !)

¹ So I render from the context. Otherwise see *tâ tôi izyâ* in the previous verse.

² I was formerly inclined to understand Ahura here, Indian usage permitting. (Indra and other Gods are *maghavan*.) But modern authority, aided by the ancient Pahlavi translator, brings me to a better mind. The Pahlavi has *pavan fravôn magîh*. It is better to refer the word to the disciple. The more prominent members of the congregation are meant.

³ Ner. renders the last line thus : And may these offerings be manifest in the midst of us, and accompanied with (sincerest) worship.

⁴ There are certain cases where allowance for an ancient scholar working under great disadvantages becomes a critical necessity. Here the Pahlavi translator was clearly the victim of a manuscript. The word '*âidûm*' (sic) stood, as similar words so often stand, in his MS. as '*âi. dûm*.' Deeply imbued with a superstitious regard for every letter, and with a public equally scrupulous, he saw no course before him but to translate each as best he could. He chose to render '*âi*' by an infinitive, preserving the root, and could only think of a form of '*dâ*' for *dûm* (so also moderns in another case). Many writers, seeing such a step, cast away his paper, regarding themselves as absolved by such a 'blunder' from mastering his translations. But a little honest labour will always bring one back to sounder exegesis. In the next following verse we have identically the same form in another word, which he renders awkwardly but correctly, using *dâ* again, but as a proper auxiliary.

8. (Come Ye) and show me the worthy aims of our faith, so that I may approach and fulfil them with (Thy) Good Mind, the offering, O Mazda! of the One like You¹, or the words of praises offered with Righteousness. And give Ye as Your offering² (of grace to me) the abiding gifts of Your Immortality and Welfare!

9. And let (one like those³), O Mazda! bear on to Thee the spirit of the two leaders who cause the holy ritual Truth to flourish; let him⁴ bear them to (Thy) brilliant home⁵ with⁶ preternatural insight, and with the Better Mind. Yea, let him bear that spirit on as a fellow-help⁷ in (furthering) the readi-

¹ To approach the offering of a praiser seems certainly an unnatural expression. I think that we are obliged to regard *khshmvatō* as another way of saying Yourself rather than 'of Yours'; and if it equals 'Yourself' here, it may elsewhere; see XXXIV, 2, *khshmvatō vahmē*, also XLIV, 1, *neme khshmvatō*. All acknowledge *mavaitē* to mean 'to me.' Hübschmann, *Casuslehre*, s. 200: 'dass ich mit frommem sinne an eure Verehrung, Mazda, gehen kann.'

² It is curious that *draonō* seems to be in apposition here. The word is used merely in the sense of offering in the later Avesta. It might possibly mean 'possessions' here.

³ See XXXII, 15. There helping princes are spoken of 'as borne by the two (*Haurvatā* and *Ameretatā*).' Here in immediate connection with the same two it is said: Let one bear the spirit of the two united chiefs. By the term 'spirit,' which sounds so suspiciously modern, we must nevertheless understand very nearly what the word would mean in a modern phrase. By these two leaders we may understand either *Gāmāspa* and *Vistāspa* (XLIX, 9) or *Gāmāspa* and *Frashaostra*. (Compare *yāvarenā Frashaostrā Gāmāspā*.)

⁴ 'Let one bear them.'

⁵ *Khvārīh mānīnirō*.

⁶ The Pahlavi gives its evidence for an instrumental and for a less pronounced meaning than the one above.

⁷ *Hamkarzārīh*. If the second *kar* is the root, the sense is figurative.

ness¹ of those (in their holy work) whose souls go hand in hand².

10. (And not for these alone do I pray, but for us³ as well.) All prosperous states⁴ in being which have been enjoyed in the past, which men are now enjoying, and which shall be known in the future, do Thou grant (me) these in Thy love⁵. (Yea), cause (our) bodily and personal life to be blest with salvation⁶ through (Thy) Good Mind, (Thy) Sovereign Power, and (Thy) Sanctity⁷.

11. And, O Thou who art the most beneficent Ahura Mazda! and thou who art Âramaiti (our piety), and also the Righteous Order who dost further on the settlements; and Thou, the Good Mind, and the Sovereign Power! hear ye me all, and have mercy⁸ for every deed which I do whatsoever⁹!

¹ Bûndakô.

² Pavan akvîñô rûbânô.

³ So more probably. See the first person in verses 8 and 11.

⁴ So the Pahlavi also, hû-zivîsnih.

⁵ So the Pahlavi also : Pavan hanâ î lak dôshîsnô. 'In Thy will' is here very weak.

⁶ Nadûkîhiê î avô tanû [am yehabûn] ; Ner. subham tanau.

⁷ Neryosangh : Let them continue to live well, and be prosperous in all things [] those females (yâh most curiously) who are born thus [that is, come from elsewhere (and not from us)], and who are [gained over by myself]. Those, O Great Wise One! who shall exist [(or) come in the future], let them render these persons thine own through friendship to thee. Cause thou the Best Mind to increase within me, O Lord! [that is, make my mind ever the more piously zealous]. And in view of my righteousness grant me a benefit in my body, or person [].

⁸ So the Pahlavi also : Am barâ âmûrzêd.

⁹ Observe that all the Ameshôspends, except the two mentioned in verse 8, are here bidden as persons to listen and be merciful. These recurring instances (recall the two hands of Asha &c.) necessitate the view that the idea of personality is never lost in that

12. And Thou, O Ahura! do Thou (Thyself) arise¹ to me! Through Âramaiti give me power, O most bountiful Spirit Mazda! through (my) faithful appeals and offerings²; and for (my) Righteousness grant me mighty strength, and (Thy) thrift-law³ through (Thy) Good Mind⁴.

13. (Arise to give me power), and then for grace in a wide perception⁵ (that I may view its depth and extent), do Thou reveal to me Thy⁶ nature (?), O Ahura! (the power of Thine attributes), and those of Thy (holy) kingdom, and by these, the blessed gifts⁷ of (Thy) Good Mind! And do Thou, O bountiful Piety⁸ show forth the religious truths through (Thy) Righteous Order.

of the abstract quality; and vice versâ; (the latter especially in the Gâthas where the names always retain much, if not all of their original force). As to âdâi; see vanghuyâ (sic) zavô-âdâ in the next verse.

¹ We seem obliged to suppose that Ahura was poetically conceived of as sitting (like Vohûman in Vendidad XIX, 31 (Wg.)) upon an ornamented throne, or we may take the expression as pure metaphor equalling 'exert Thy power.' Âramaiti may be a voc.

² See âdâi in verse 11.

³ Pavan zak î Vohûman sardârîh. The 'thrift-law' is the regulation established by the Ratu demanded in Y. XXIX for the redemption of the Kine. It expresses the entire polity and theology of the Zarathustrian people as summed up in the original Avesta.

⁴ Neryosangh: Up! O Lord! purify me [that is, make me pure, or free, from the influence of that tormentor, the Evil Mind]; and grant me perfect spirituality and zeal. For we are recipients of Gvahmana, O more mighty spirit [that is, let him be as a guest, arrived within my body]! And let sanctity have power over the murderer (?) [], and through the lordship of the Best Mind.

⁵ The Pahlavi has here pavan kâmak kâshismô, on which see Darmesteter, *Études Iranienues*, vol. ii, as per index.

⁶ Literally, 'Your.'

⁷ Ashi has this meaning in the later Avesta. It also means 'sacred regularity,' 'exactness' in religious duties.

⁸ So the Pahlavi also: As pavan Aharâyîh dînô frâz dakh-

14. Thus, as an offering, Zarathustra gives the life¹ of his very body. And he offers, likewise, O Mazda! the priority of the Good Mind, (his eminence gained) by his holiness (with Thy folk); and he offers (above all his) Obedience (to Thee) in deed and in speech, and with these (Thine established) Sovereign Power²!

shakîñö; Ner.: *Punyena dinim prañihñaya*. Possibly, 'give light to our consciences through Asha' would be better.

¹ The tissues; the word seems contrasted with bones elsewhere. The Pahlavi has *khayâ*, and Ner. *givam* (sic).

² The Pahlavi translation may be rendered as follows: Thus, as a gift of generosity, I who am Zartûst (so freely, and with no error from ignorance (!)) give the life of my own body, as the advance [as the chieftainship] to Vohûman and to Aûharmazd, and to Ashavahist, in actions [that is, I would do the deeds which Aharâyih desires], and would give obedient attention to the word (literally the hearing of the word) to (i. e. of) Khshatraver.

YASNA XXXIV.

1. A tone of thankfulness continues. As if in gratitude for better fortunes, the prophet declares that he will bestow upon Ahura with the foremost, according to the measure of the gifts which he has received. Those gifts were the secured Immortality (not mere temporal 'deathlessness'), the Righteous Order, and the Sovereign Power established in holiness and bestowing the Universal Weal.

2. The kind of gifts which are proposed for offerings are not sacrificial beasts or fruits, but the actions of the truly pious citizen whose soul is intimately united with Righteousness, the homage of prayer, and the songs of praise. As no piety could exist without strict ecclesiastical regularity, so no ceremonial punctuality was conceived of apart from honour and charity (see verse 5 and Yast XXII).

3. Accordingly the meat-offering, the mention of which immediately follows, is spoken of as offered with homage to the Righteous Order and to the Divine Sovereignty for the benefit of all the sacred settlements, in order to equip the wise man fully, and as a helpful blessing among the Immortals themselves and their adherents.

4. And the Fire is likewise mentioned, which was worshipped not so much like Agni as the friendly god of the hearth and the altar, but more and chiefly like Agni as the priest of the church.

Not unlike Agni, it is called upon both for inward spiritual strength and for temporal blessings in various forms, together with vengeance hurled very much as if in the form of a thunderbolt (*zastâ-istâis derestâ-aênanghem*). 5. To explain what he means by his supplications for the coming of the Kingdom, and for holy actions (that is, to make it certain that he does not mean punctilious ritualism apart from the noblest charity), he rhetorically asks: 'And what is Your Kingdom, that which Zarathustra establishes and offers to You? (XXXIII, 14). What is the kind of prayer (comp. XLVIII, 8, and LIII, 1) which I must use, so that I may become Yours (Your property) in my actions, not to load Your priesthood with sacrifices, nor to fatten Your princes with booty (as too often in the *Riks*), nor yet to secure a heavy gift to the poet, but to 'nourish Your poor?' This was the essence of the desired Sanctity and the Sovereign Authority. The Kingdom of God, exalted

and personified as a separate intelligence, is positively said to be something more than a gaudy pageant of material display, even Tavâ Khshathrem yâ erezigyôî dâhî drigavê vahyô (LIII, 9). (See also even Vendîdâd II [part i], where moral duties are lauded.)

And the composer himself seems to be so conscious of the sharply defined difference between such a kingdom and that of the rival religion, that he immediately adds an interdict: 'Such is Your Kingdom, caring for the righteous poor, and therefore we declare You irreconcilably distinct from the Daêvas and their polluted followers. Ye are beyond them and before in the spirit of Your Reign!'

6. He then utters an impressive doubt, which only deepens our admiration at his expressions of faith: 'If it be really true,' he continues (see XLIV, 6), 'that Ye are thus with the Righteous Order and the Good Mind, the God who looks upon the goodness of the heart and the activity of the hands, then give me a sign of it, that I may persevere and increase in the depth of my homage while life shall last.' 7. For the struggle, though not without signs of a favourable issue, was far from over yet. (Hence his misgivings.)

He then asks with some wistfulness after the 'ar(e)drâ,' the men that could help, who from the experience of the grace of God, could turn sorrow into blessing by establishing the holy religious system firmly, but with enlarged and not narrowed understanding. And, still a little dispirited, he declares, as so often: 'None have I other than You; therefore I can wait for the ar(e)drâ. Do ye save us alone by Your already offered means of grace.'

8. 'For Ye have given me already, as it were, a sign. The enemy are checked, and for the moment cowed, if they are not repelled. They among whom there was death for so many when they had the upper hand, and when their ruler persecuted the holy vows, are not only struck with terror by the action which we take, but their chief retribution is, as we hold it, spiritual, and therefore, in the eye of truth the more severe. They will not encourage righteous Order and righteous intentions, and accordingly, the personified Good Intention, grieved, will depart from them.'

9. 'Yea,' he reiterates, amplifying, 'the unfortunate sinners who depart from Thy kindly and sacred Piety in this ignorance of all experience of Thy Good Mind, will suffer an equal desertion. The characteristics of righteousness will, in their turn, avoid them as the unclean creatures flee from us.' 10. 'And this is,' thus he continues, 'a sign or result which the All-wise declares to me to steady my soul as I waver.' 'And these are indeed the cheering proofs of Thy favour,' he adds, addressing Ahura, 'which terrify our enemies

and advance us, giving us a righteous eminence (XXXIII, 14) in Thy Kingdom.'

11. 'Therefore that kindly Piety whom these desert in their judicial ignorance, will increase for us both the all-comprehensive blessings; spiritual Deathlessness begun in anticipation here, and its necessary condition, Welfare. And they shall be increased as food (sic) for Mazda's straitened people, or better, to His glory as their monarch. And by their means Ahura may defend Himself efficiently from the persecuting and idolatrous foe.' 12. Taking into consideration all that depends on a correct understanding as to religious and political duties, he fervently prays to be guided aright in the establishment of a ceremonial and of praises, beseeching Mazda to speak, declaring the kind of worship which may secure the *ashis* (which are the blessed rewards). And he asks to be taught those religious paths about which no error was possible, the paths which are the Good Mind's own.

13. After a fashion already known to us (as in XXIX), he answers his question himself. That way which Ahura had already revealed as the Good Mind's own, was made up of the revealed precepts of the *Saoshyants*. There, as in the paths where Ahura dwells (XXXIII, 5; XLVI, 16), the well-doer may prosper from his devotion to the religious truths, and gain a reward immediately from the hand of God. 14. As if never forgetting the original calamity, the woes of the Kine, he further declares that way to be the one of all to be chosen for this earthly life, as the vestibule to the heavenly one. And he asserts that they who toil for the Kine (who represents here, as generally, the holy settlements as well as their chief source of riches and support) are striving to further and demonstrate the wisdom of that way by every righteous contrivance.

Nay, he declares that the deeds of Piety are themselves the highest wisdom, just as the words and righteous actions of the *Saoshyants* not only declare and make, but constitute, 'the way.'

15. Again, concluding with a climactic and synoptical prayer, he beseeches Ahura to speak and reveal to him all the most available statements, ceremonies, and praises. And never forgetting that all ceremonies, hymns, and sacrifices, sacred as they are, are only means to a greater end; he prays the Deity that He may exert that Sovereign Power which is alone supremely efficient in relieving actual distress (LIII, 9), for by its holy laws and spiritual arms it can alone bring on the *Frashakarz*, and produce that condition in society in which all human progress shall have become complete.

Translation.

1. As to those (three gifts of blessings), Immortality, the Righteous Order, and the (established) Kingdom of Welfare, which Thou, O Mazda! hast given through (holy) deeds, words, and the sacrifice unto these (Thy servants here in my sight¹), gifts (shall) be offered² by us in return to Thee, O Ahura! and with the foremost of them all.

2. Yea, and all those gifts of the Good Spirit³ have been given (back in gratitude) to Thee by the mind and the deed of the bountiful man, whose soul goes hand in hand⁴ with the Righteous Order in the settlement, in homage toward the One like You⁵,

¹ The hymns seem to be all composed for public declamation, as is evident from various passages. Similar indications often occur in the Veda. I formerly connected *aêshâm* with *Ameretatâ*, &c., 'a thank-offering for these (gifts).'

² I am very sorry to oppose progress on such a subject as *dastê*, but I do not think that it is an infinitive, nor that *âitê* or *mrûtê* are such. -*Tê*, or what it represents, I regard as seldom or never a Gâthic suffix, and especially not, as here, where *dastê* falls to the end of the sentence. Too little attention has been paid to the Gâthic sentence. The infinitive seldom falls to the end of it; *vidvanô* *vaoâ*; *ta* *môi* *viđidyâi* *vaoâ*; *viduyê* (*vidvê*) *vohû* *mananghâ*; *menkâ* *daidyâi* *yêhyâ* *mâ* *rishis*; *ashâ* *fradathâi* *aspezeratâ*; *âgôi* (?) *hâdrôyâ*; *ye* *akistem* *vaênanghê* *aogedâ*; but *zbayâ* *avanghânê* (?) *yâ* *verezyêidyâi* *mantâ* *vâstryâ*; *srûidyâi* *Mazdâ* *frâvaoâ*; *kahmâi* *vîviduyê* (-*vê*) *vashî*; *ta* *verezyêidyâi* *hya* *môi* *mraotâ* *vahistem*; *arethâ* *vôizhdyâi* *kâmahyâ* *tem* *môi* *dâtâ*; *dazdyâi* *hâkerenâ*; but *vasmî* *anyâkâ* *viduyê* (-*vê*); *men-dâidyâi* *yâ* *Tôî* *Mazdâ* *âdistis*, &c. The Pahlavi renders here with admirable freedom as a first person, *yehabûnem*.

³ Observe this expression. It is the *spenta mainyu* which, like the 'Holy Spirit of God,' is sometimes identical with Him.

⁴ Souls are elsewhere said to go hand in hand; see Y. XXXIII, 9.

⁵ I suppose that it is possible that *khshmvatô*, here and elsewhere, may refer to the human subject, 'to the praise of your wor-

O Mazda ! and with the chants of the (thankful) praisers¹.

3. And unto Thee, O Ahura ! will we offer the (thankful) meat-offering with self-humbling praise, and to Thy Righteousness (like Thee a person), and for all the settlements in Thy kingdom which are guarded² by Thy Good Mind. For in the perfect preparation of the justly acting (has that offering its power), O Mazda ! together with all (others of its kind). Among those like You and worthy of Yourselves, it is a blessing³.

4. And we pray likewise for Thy Fire, O Ahura ! strong through Righteousness (as it is), most swift, (most) powerful, to the house with joy receiving it, in many wonderful ways our help, but to the hater, O Mazda ! it is a steadfast⁴ harm as if with weapons hurled from the hands⁵.

shipper,' but it does not sound at all natural. I think that khshmvatō is merely another way of saying 'of you,' as mavant=me. So the Pahlavi also seems to render here: Avō zak ī lekūm va nīyāyisnō. Ner. also: Samāgatakkhāmi yushmākam namaskṛitaye, Mahāgānān.

¹ This recalls the dasemē-stūtām of Y. XXVIII, 10.

The Pahlavi renders freely and not uncritically, regarding the spenta nar as Zarathustra himself: Aftānō dēn Garōdmānō stāyem. Ner. : Garothmāne staumi te.

² So also the translations: Aīghas parvarisn va min frarūnīh. Ner.: Uttamena pratipālyā manasā. Compare Y. XXXII, 2 : sāremanō khshathrāt. The singular verb is difficult.

³ Or, 'for as those justly acting, and in preparation will we offer it as a blessing together with all who are among "Your own." ' Here khshmvant equals 'Your own'; rather than 'Yourselves.'

⁴ Or 'visible' as fire, but this seems too feeble a conception for the place. The Pahlavi translator read derestā as a participle from dar(e)z, which is quite as possible as that it should be from dar(e)s. He renders yakhšenunēd kīnō ; Ner., vidadhāti nigraham. That he so translated because he was not aware that derestā could be also a participle from dar(e)s, is no longer tenable.

⁵ As by no means a partially selected specimen, let the reader

5. What is¹ then Your Kingdom, O Mazda? What are Your riches? that I may become² Your own in my actions, with the Righteous Order, and (Thy) Good Mind, to care for Your poor (in their suffering³). Apart from all would we declare You, yea, apart from Daêvas⁴, and Khrafstra-polluted mortals!

consider the following from the Pahlavi: Thus, O Aûharmazd! this which is Thy Fire, which is so powerful, is a satisfaction to him whose is Aharâyih [-when my chieftain (the glossist seeming to have a text with a first pronoun; otherwise the first translator who never saw? us(e)mahî) becomes one by whom duty and charity are fulfilled], for it is quick and powerful [the Fire], and remains continually in friendship with him, and makes joy manifest to him. And therefore, O Aûharmazd! on him who is the tormentor it takes revenge as if with a mighty wish.

¹ Kaŕ is often a mere interrogative particle, so modern interrogatives are also often merely formal.

² Bartholomae admirably follows K₄ here with its hakhmî; it gives a more common explanation of vâo, which I am obliged to take in a possessive sense beside nē. The manuscript used by the Pahlavi writer had, however, ahmî, as many others now extant.

³ Note the recurrence of this care for the poor, showing what the frequent mention of righteousness, the good mind, &c. meant.

⁴ Observe that daêvâis must mean the Demon-gods and not their worshippers here; parē vâo indicates this, and also mashyâis = men, who are separately mentioned. The Pahlavi translator is finely critical here, giving us our first hint as to the meaning: Pêsh Lekûm min harvisp-gûnō levînō gûft hōmanêd [aigh tûbân-kardar hōmanêd, &c.]. So with antare-mrtyê (-vê), he was the pioneer also. I render with impartiality: Which (of what kind) is your sovereignty? [that is, what thing can I do, whereby your sovereignty may be increased through my instrumentality?] And which is your wealth? [that is, what thing shall I do whereby riches may be kept in your possession by my means?] How thus in the actions of Aûharmazd shall I become yours? [That is, I (?) shall do that thing through which, by my means, your sovereignty is extended; and also wealth is kept in your possession by me.] For whenever I (?) shall do righteous deeds, [that is, when I (?) shall do duty and good works], Vohûman gives nourishment to our poor. Before all of every kind, even before them ye are

6. If thus Ye are in verity, O Mazda! with the Righteous Order and Thy Good Mind, then grant Ye me a sign¹ of this in this world's entire abiding² (while I live amid its scenes), how offering sacrifice and praising³ You the more devoutly⁴, I may approach You (in my worship)!

7. Where⁵ are Thine offerers, O Mazda! Thy helpers, who as the enlightened of the Good Mind are producing the doctrines with wide mental light as inherited treasures, (delivering them as Thy word) in misfortune and in woe⁶? I know none other than You; then do Ye save us through Your righteousness!

8. Through these our deeds (of sacrifice and zeal⁷), they are terrified⁸ among whom there was (once) destruction, and for many (at the time) when the

declared; [that is, ye are more capable] than the demons, for their (?) intellect is perverted, (and ye are also before) men.

¹ So also the Pahlavi *dakhsrak*.

² So indicated by *ketrûnânî*. I have no doubt whatever that *maêthâ* should have this sense. See also Y. XXX, 9.

³ So also the Pahlavi: *Pavan âfrînağânô dahisnô va stâyisnô sâtûnam madam*.

⁴ *Urvâidyâo*, if in its original form, looks like a comparative. One naturally thinks of a **vrâd* (?) equivalent to '*vrîdh*.'

⁵ Rhetorically interrogative as often in English, or indeed a mere particle. (Compare XLVI, 9.)

⁶ So also the Pahlavi indicates with its *âmûkhtisnô* (sic) *î hû-varisnô* [*î avô kâr va kîrfak*], *mûniê pavan âsânîh va mûniê pavan tangîh vâdûnyên frâkh-hushîh*. Ner.: *Sikshâm satyâya yaî samâdhânatve, samka/atve* * '*pi kurute vipulakaitanyaî* [*kila, yaî kâryam punyam yat samriddhatayâ kurute*] *taêka yat samka/atayâ* '*pi kurute, tasya vigñânakaitanyam tasmâd bhavati*.

⁷ Nao being taken in a possessive sense.

⁸ But the Pahlavi has: '*Min zak î valmansân maman kûnismô lanman bîm*'; possibly 'by these actions they terrify us'; the middle in the sense of the active.

oppressor of Thy holy vows was as the stronger oppressing the weaker¹. They who have not thought (in consonance) with Thy Righteous Order, from these Thy Good Mind² abideth afar.

9. Aye, they who desert Thy bountiful Piety, O Mazda! that one desired of Thee³, O Thou omniscient! and who thus abandon her by reason of the evil-doer, and in their ignorance of (Thy) Good Mind, from such as these (Āramaiti) with her holiness utterly departs⁴ as the red Khrafstras (who destroy and pollute all life, flee) from us⁵ (Thy faithful servants).

10. Through the action of this (His) Good Mind (as he works his grace within us) the benevolently wise⁶ One declared a result as its fruit, He knowing the bountiful Piety, the creatrix of righteous beings⁷. These all, O Mazda Ahura! in Thy Kingdom (are

¹ It is a mistake to suppose that the Pahlavi translator and his followers, Ner. and the Persian MS. (of Haug's Collection), refer *nāidyauṅghem* and *nadentō* to the same Sanskrit word. They translate them as if referring the first to *nādh*, and the last to *nid*.

² *Min valmansân barâ rakhîk âtō Vohûman*. *Asmanô* seems an impossible reading, and cannot be reconciled with *Vohû*.

³ The hint of the Pahlavi points, as usual, to the general sense, leaving us the task of discovering the grammatical structure.

Here I do not follow the indication of *sedkûnyên*; Ner. *parikshipyanti*. The voc. 'O Thou' is free.

⁴ So also in general the Pahlavi: *Min valmansân kabad Aharâyîh segdak*; Ner. *tebhyaḥ** *prabhuto dharmaḥ** *prabhrasyati*.

⁵ So if *ahma* is read, but the MS. before the Pahlavi translator read *ahmât*; Ner. *etebhyaḥ* (freely). A simpler rendering results; 'as from him flee away.'

⁶ Observe the evidence of the Zend to the prevalent meaning of 'khratu.'

⁷ Or reading *hithām*, and in the sense of 'bond,' we coincide with Ner. *sukhanivâsam*. *Haithām*=the true; *hâtām*=of beings. Lit. 'the true creatrix of Asha (the holy).'

‘helps to our progress’) for they smite (our tyrants) with fear¹.

11. And for Thee hath Âramaiti (who is Our Piety) increased both the Universal Weal and (its continuance in) Immortality, and (with them as ever united) the Righteous (ritual and moral) Order (established and made firm) in the Kingdom of (Thy Good Mind). Those powerful lasting two (hath she increased) to (give us the needful) food². And through these, O Mazda! art Thou with Thy perfect expellers of hate³. (Thou removest Thy foes afar⁴!)

12. What then are Thy regulations⁵? And what wilt Thou? What of praise, or of (fuller) offering? Speak forth that we hear it, O Mazda! what will establish the blessed rewards of Thine ordinance⁶!

¹ The word *voyathrâ* is difficult to place; the Pahlavi translator divided, reading *âvo-yathrâ* (possibly *âvoi athrâ*), and rendered *frôd kûshî-ait*=is smitten down; the Persian better: *Frôd zadar*, is smiting down. We may well hesitate before rejecting this indication, which may point to a better text. Like *vafus*, it may indicate the severity of the influences of the righteous system, in the midst of genial allusion. The *tâ vîspâ* might refer quite naturally to *dus-skayasthanâ* in the previous verse. The form *voyathrâ* (corrected) may represent some derivative from the root *bî*=to fear. Compare *byantê* in verse 8.

² So likewise the Pahlavi with its *khûrisnô*; otherwise ‘for glory;’ *hvar*=*svar*. Lit. ‘To Thee (are) both Weal and Immortality.’

³ *Gavîd bêsh min lak hômanih*; Ner. *vîtakash/as tvam asi*.

⁴ Ner.: Thus both are (to be derived) from thee, *Avirdâda*’s food, and that of *Amirdâda* also, [the (food) of the Lord-of-water, and of the Lord-of-wood* (so the later Avesta and Parsism)], and in the kingdom of the best mind, righteousness is making a revelation together with the perfect mind. Do thou also bestow zeal and power upon this one, O Great Wise One, the Lord! From torment art thou exempt.

⁵ So also *vîrâyisnô*.

⁶ Pahlavi *ârâyisnô*.

* Otherwise simply ‘water and tree.’

Teach Thou us the paths through Righteousness, those verily trod by (Thy) Good Mind¹ as he lives within Thy saints².

13. (Do I ask what is that path?) That way which Thou declarest to me as the path of the Good Mind, O Ahura! (is made³ in its parts by) the religious precepts and laws of the Saviours, wherein the well-doer thrives⁴ from (his) Righteousness⁵. And it marks for the good a reward of which Thou art Thyself the bestower.

14. For that (reward), O Mazda! ye have given as the one to be chosen for (our) bodily⁶ life through

¹ The Pahlavi has the gloss: Teach us the way of the original religion.

² Neryosangh: *Kim te sammârganam* [kila, kâryam, te kim mahânyâyitaram?] *Kah kâmah?* *Kâka yushmâkam stutiñ?* *Kâka yushmâkam igisniñ?* *Srinomi, Mahâgñânin! prakrîshñam brûhi! yat ðetsi** *dharmasya sammârganam*, [aho vireshena parya! tasmât mahânyâyitarât kuru!] *Sikshâpaya** *asmâkam dharmasya mârgam uttamena svâdhînam manasâ.* [*Mârgam yam pûrvanyâyavantam asmabhyam brûhi.*]

³ Observe the certainty of a subtle meaning, 'the way *is* the consciences or laws.'

⁴ Geldner has admirably suggested a comparison with *vrag* on account of the connection 'way.' But as this necessitates two *urvâz*=*vrâz*, and as Ahura is spoken of as 'dwelling' in 'paths,' I do not think that 'thriving in paths' is very difficult. The prominent thought is not the going, but the 'right going.' That path indicates a reward (so also the Pahlavi *kâshîdô*, *Ner. âsvâdayah*). But we must be thankful for the keen and vigorous discussion. Compare *urvâkhshanguha gâya gighaêsa*. The Pahlavi has *hûravâkh-manîh* and in Y. XLIV, 8. If *vrag* is compared, the idea must be happy progress; but *varh* (Justi) seems the more obvious correspondent.

⁵ Asha, very often personified, is a stronger expression than 'correctly.'

⁶ Of course our life on earth, merely in the bodily state. Comp. Y. XXVIII, 3. There *astavatasâ* evidently means 'of earth,' *mananghō*, 'of heaven' (—of corporeal—of mind, without body).

the deeds of Thy Good Mind (in us). They who work in the toil of the mother¹ Kine, these further² Your merciful care through the understanding's action³, and (taught) by Thine Order's (word)⁴.

15. Yea, (show me, O Mazda ! that path and its reward); tell me the best (of truths); reveal the best words and best actions, and the confessing⁵ prayer of the praiser through Thy Good Mind (living within us); and through the Righteous Order, O Ahura ! And by Your Sovereign Power and grace may'st Thou make life really progressive⁶ (till perfection shall have been reached) !

¹ Or the 'mature,' 'drivable' (?) cow. She 'goes on her path' of toil.

² So frâz yehabûnd.

³ Observe that verezenâ cannot well mean 'stall' in this line. The Pahlavi likewise sees varzî-aît in it ; Ner. vidhîyate, both free as to form.

⁴ Neryosangh : Sa yato, Mahâgñânin ! kâmo'smâkam yat tanumate gîvamate dîyate [âkâryâya], uttamena karmaze manasâ [khshatriyâya], yasta gavâ* âkârayitre* Aginâmnyâ, [ku'tumbine], yo yushmâkam sunirvânagñânatayâ, Svâmin ! buddhyâka, punya-pradattayâ vidhîyate [dînih].

⁵ I concede this shade of meaning to the constant and unvarying evidence of the Pahlavi translator. He translates uniformly by avâm yehabûnêd or its equivalents.

⁶ Bring on 'millennial' perfection when progress shall have been completed.

The Pahlavi translation is as follows : Pavan zak î lekûm khûdâyih-Aôtharmazd ! frashakarðo pavan kâmakô âshkârakô dén ahvânô yehabûni-aît.

Ner. : Yushmâkam râgyena, Svâmin ! akhshayatvam svekkhayâ parisphu'tam dâsyate bhuvane.

THE GÂTHA(Â) USTAVAITI(Î).

This Gâtha, consisting of Yasna XLIII–XLVI, is named from the word which begins it, like the three last collections. The fact that the word *ustâ* possesses special significance may have influenced the minds of the Parsis of a later age, inducing them to associate this first chapter with happy anticipations, but it was of course not owing to any such circumstance that the name was given to the Gâtha. The Gâtha, like its fellows, has its existence as a unit from the nature of its metre.

It has lines generally of eleven syllables, arranged in stanzas of five. It seemed convenient to chant all the hymns of one particular metre together. This hymn, from some unknown reason, or from pure accident, having stood first in the collection in this metre, the Gâtha was named from its first word.

The question naturally arises at this place whether this Gâtha, in its parts or as a whole, is older than the Ahunavaiti and the others. For supplementary statements on this subject, see the Introduction, page xxvii, also elsewhere. It is sufficient to recall here that the procedure of the Ahunavaiti, and the sequence of the other Gâthas in the MSS. of the Yasna, have little importance in determining the question of relative age. If originally grouped in the order of their age, they might easily become transposed for the purpose of liturgical recitation. (See the inserted Haptanghâiti, and Y. LII.) As to the metres present, they afford no indications as to relative age. The metre of the Ustavaiti, approaching as it does the Trishûp, may be as old as, or older than, that of the Ahunavaiti. The oldest *Rîshis* sang in Trishûp. The sole remaining test of the relative age of pieces, is their contents. Do those of the Ahunavaiti show a priority to those in the Ustavaiti as regards the particular circumstances of which they treat? So far as I am able to

judge, no part of the Ahunavaiti is older than Y. XLVI. There we have the man before us at a period in his life before he had attained to his supreme position. He not only laments the unfavourable prospects of his cause, but he is full of vehement animosity, urging on his adherents to the overthrow of some powerful opposing leader, and anticipating an armed struggle so formidable that its partisans are elsewhere alluded to (in Y. XLIV) as 'hosts.' We see him also exhorting the various chiefs of his party as they are evidently standing before him in some large assembly, possibly as the army on the eve of an important encounter.

He refers intimately to the monarch, to his own family, the Spitâmas, and to the Hvôgvas, as represented by Frashaostra. He offers the rewards of Ahura, as he pronounces His threats and condemnations. Every feature bears the strongest evidence of originality. But have we not the same in the Gâthas Ahunavaiti, Spentâ-mainyu, and the others? Beyond a question. Those passages which express grief, fear, and passionate resentment, we should naturally refer to Zarathustra personally, and to the earlier portion of his career; and we can make no distinction between such passages when they occur in the Ahunavaiti, Ustavaiti, or elsewhere. As to chapter XXIX with its logical commencement, as expressing the sufferings to be remedied in the entire effort, together with the call of Zarathustra in immediate connection, and chapter XXX with its theosophical statements, we should say that they were composed later, during a period of success and reflection. But this would be a mere surmise. The time of the sage need not necessarily have been consumed in struggles even during the early years of his career.

Chapter LIII seems to belong to a period of mature age, but not necessarily to a period of advanced age. It celebrates the marriage of Zarathustra's daughter, but maidens were married early. With the exception of Y. LIII, I would say that the occurrence of a piece in this or that Gâtha has little, if anything, to do with determining the question of its relative age.

YASNA XLIII.

SALVATION IS ANNOUNCED AS UNIVERSAL FOR BELIEVERS. REFLECTIONS OF ZARATHUSTRA UPON THE SUBLIMITY AND BOUNTIFULNESS OF AHURA.

As, in every instance, it is probable that verses have fallen out here and there in this important piece, and some may have been inserted, not necessarily from another composer, but from other compositions. After certain limits, however, marked signs of at least external connection are present. After the first three verses, which are quite apart, then from the fourth and fifth on, every alternate verse has the formula *Spentem a/ thwâ Mazdâ menhî Ahurâ*. It would indeed present no difficulty for a successor to add these words to stanzas otherwise also imitated, but whether from the leading sage or not, whether from him in one strain, or from him as collected from different fragments, the course of thought does not so fail in logical sequence as that it is either impossible, or displeasing, as a whole in a poetical composition.

Verses 1-3 are admirable as preliminary. Verses 4-6, with their lofty descriptions of power and benevolence in the Deity, prepare the way well, with their allusions to the final judgment, for the closer reflections in verses 7-15 upon the prophet's call, uttered at the instigation of Sraosha (his obedient will). Verse 16 is a closing strophe looking much like an addition from another hand, not at all because Zarathustra is mentioned in the third person, but from its general cast. It possesses, however, very great interest from these circumstances. If a later addition, it enables us to see how the principal features of the system were viewed at a period not identical with the earliest, but closely following it.

1. If we can accept the deeply interesting suggestion of the Pahlavi translator, which is, 'Salvation to him to whom there is salvation for every man,' we need then suppose no necessary loss of verses. Otherwise we are obliged to consider the loss of some laudatory verse, or verses, containing such matter as perhaps Y. XXXIV, 14, 'This princely priest has devoted all to Thee, therefore, salvation to him, whosoever he may be.' Whatever may be the actual truth, the main stress of the thoughts is clear and appropriate. Using the word *vase-khshayās* in a good sense,

the composer beseeches Ahura to grant those two 'mighty and eternal ones,' which logically form the complement to each other, universal wholeness, welfare of soul and body, without which beatitude was inconceivable, and then the unlimited duration of that condition; for it is quite impossible that 'long life' alone was here meant by a term, the equivalent of which soon after designated the Bountiful Immortals. We have here again ample data for affirming the richness and depth of the religious conceptions.

The 'powerful and continuous two' are sought together with splendour as rewards, not for the gratification of any selfish sentiment, but in order to maintain Asha, the religious Order, on which the sacred polity, and the tribal, as well as the national wealth depended, but more than any general blessings, the individual sanctity of life. 2. And this is signalised as the highest good; and to this a prayer is added for the 'māya,' which recalls the supernatural wisdom of the Indian Hercules, about which much phantastic and highly coloured myth is grouped; but here, with the ever-recurring contrast, the māya is the mysterious wisdom of the Divine Benevolence, colourless and abstract indeed, but yet possessing how great religious depth!

3. The highest blessing, in another and more than once repeated phrase, is again besought, as 'the better than the good,' even the attainment of the one who guides to the 'straight paths,' which are the 'way, even the conceptions and revelations of the Saviours' (Y. XXXIV, 13; LIII, 2), in which the believer prospers, and Ahura dwells, as he dwells in his kingdom, and his 'chosen home' itself (Y. XLVI, 16). Whether 'this man who shows the paths' of 'the bodily and mental world' is the same as he who prays for the *âyaptâ ahvau astvatasâ hya/kâ mananghō* (the boons of the two worlds) in Y. XXVIII, 3, here referred to in the third person, there speaking in the first, and whether he is Zarathustra himself, are questions. It is only necessary to say that, if any relief is gained by the supposition, then beyond a doubt Zarathustra may have been the composer of both pieces or fragments, here, as in Y. XXVIII, 7, referring to himself as in the third person, there, in Y. XXVIII, also further representing another who prays, referring by name to him as in the third.

But was Zarathustra the only sacred singer, or was he the centre of a group only, of which he was the life? (Compare *Yathrâ ve afsmâinî* (?) *senghânî*—*Gâmâspâ Hvôgvâ*; Y. XLVI, 17; see also the Introduction.)

4. Proceeding as if the first three verses were absent from his

mind (as indeed they may have been only later brought together with what now follows), the composer begins his ascriptions of praise. He will regard Ahura as all-bountiful and mighty, since He has carefully nurtured, as with His very hand, the aids of grace which He will bestow, as gifts of forbearance on those now wicked, in the hope of penitence, and in the merciful threat of punishment, and to the devout disciple, whose piety is never ceremonial only. And these means of grace, although abounding in the inculcation of moral sanctity in thought, and word, and deed (see Vendîdâd VIII, 100 (Sp. 283)¹, where 'thought' clearly refers to intention in the strongest sense of the term), are yet profane, aside from the flame of that holy Fire which rallied the masses to a national worship, and which was strong for the holy order, as well as by means of it. For these reasons he adores their giver, but for still another. It was because the might of the Good Mind of Ahura approached him within them, and gave him strength for all that was before him. 5. Like the Semitic prophet, he poetically conceives himself as having beheld Ahura, as the chief of the two spirits, and as sovereign over all other powers when the world was born. And he regards Him as having also then established rewards and punishments by his holiness, so separate in its dualistic distinction from all complicity with evil either by infiction or permission. And these rewards and punishments were to have their issue not in time alone, but in 'the last turning of the creation' in its course.

6. And for Ahura's coming in this last changing he fervently beseeches, as well as for the appearance of the Sacred Kingdom, established and guarded by the divine Benevolence. And this consummation, he implies, will take place when the settlements shall be furthered in the Righteous Order, and by means of it, the end of progress having been attained; for then the piety of men's souls will itself be their instructor, delivering the regulations which shall silence the controversy of the two sides (Y. XXXI, 3). And these regulations are as the wisdom of Ahura's understanding (Y. XXVIII, 2), so penetrating that all thoughts lie bare to it (Y. XXXI, 13).

7. He now declares the principles on which he accepted the divine call. Sraosha (verse 12), he says, drew near to question him. As he is called by Ahura, Obedience, the same who constitutes the way to Ahura (or finds His throne (Y. XXVIII, 6)), now draws near

¹ Anaêshem manô, anaêshem vaêô, anaêshem skyaothnem prove that the thought, word, and deed referred to were not limited to a ritual meaning.

him, (I say Sraosha (i. e. Obedience), for if he is not so described as drawing near in this verse, he assuredly is so described in a verse nearly following (the twelfth)). Beyond a question, the fine subjectivity here expressed was intended. As the seer cried: O Righteousness! when shall I see thee (in myself and within my people), so now he means that his obedient spirit listens to the call of God. 8. And as his personified conscience questions him as to his origin, and the principles on which he would proceed, it represents the obedient people, as well as the obedient sage (for the sense of Sraosha, while originally applied to the personal will, is not restricted to it). 'Loyalty' questions him, that 'loyalty' may report his answers. He therefore responds, speaking in his name as Zarathustra (or else one thoroughly in unison with him, here speaks in his name). And this is his statement as to the indications which shall determine his personality. His course will be without a compromise. The unbelieving opposers, as he declares, shall meet no favour at his hands, but detestation, while to the devout disciple he will be as powerful an aid. And this because his mind and thought are (as if blinded to the present) fixed upon the ideal Kingdom, while for the present he never ceases to toil on, making preparations for the Frashakarê, and constructing hymn after hymn to set up the needed machinery of lore.

9. Again, his conscience and obedient will, as the angel of the Deity, questions him; and this time offers him that chief of wished for objects to him, religious knowledge. He mentions the holy Fire, with its proper offering, as the theme of his first inquiry.

10. And he beseeches Ahura to answer and to favour him, since he invokes such a complete endowment, going hand in hand with true Piety, and with no selfish interest in his prayer. He then, with a depth which I confess seems suspicious, asks of Mazda to put his petitions for him, recalling Y. XXVIII, 11, where he beseeches Ahura to fill up his desire with what not he, the speaker, but with what He, Ahura, knows to be the Good Mind's gifts. Or, with a conjectural improvement (?) of the text, he asks of Ahura to question him that he may be questioned indeed, saying as it were, 'search me, and know me.' But the other reading being retained as having superior point, and needing no conjectured text, we may see his further thought: 'Ask Thou our questions for us, and then we shall never fail; then we shall be no desireless (anaêsha) men, spurned by the wailing kine as flinching champions (Y. XXIX, 9), but we shall be indeed Thy rulers, "speaking our mighty wish."

Like the isha-khshathra, whom she sought (Y. XXIX, 9), our wish shall work our will; it will accord with the will of God.'

11. He is, however, not blind to all that lies before him in accepting this call. He worships the bounty and majesty of Ahura while he is impressing his soul with the import of this conference, and that notwithstanding, and none the less, because His will, when obeyed in actions, will bring on earthly sufferings.

12. But notwithstanding all that may be in store for him, he hopes to make those doctrines treasures (Y. XXXIV, 7), that is, a spiritual wealth (compare also Ahura's *īsti*). One only qualification would he add: 'Wait only before Thou givest the word that I should go forth with Thy new truths (which bring such suffering to him who first pronounces them), wait till my obedient will, listening fully to all which Thou shalt say, shall come to me, and then shall that obedient reverence in me and my beloved, help on our effort, that we may spread abroad the tidings of Thy promised recompense to win the living to Thee (Y. XXXI, 3).' 13. 'And that I may know and make known (so he continues) the true aims and objects of desire to those to whom I am at Thy word to go, grant me for this long life within Thy Realm, although that life be full of bitterness (verse 11; and Y. XXXII, 10, 11; XLVI, 1), for those who propagate Thy cause.' 14. 'Yea, as a friend, both wise and powerful, gives to a friend, send to me not only Sraosha, an obedient listening will, but *raṣ(e)nô frâkhshnenem*, abundant grace. Then, and then only, shall I be flanked with a proper ally. Then with Thy Sovereign Power, like my Obedient will, as an angel sent forth from Thee, and inspired by Thy righteous Order in law and ritual, in thought, and word, and deed, then I will go out to arouse and head the chiefs, gathering into spiritual hosts the many believing priests who even now would bear in mind and celebrate Thy mysteries.'

15. And as he began with fearless severity, so he would end without a compromise. 'My patient suffering (so he implies as he proceeds (Y. XLVI, 1)) reveals its lesson to me. My mind is long-enduring, but that patience, although it may seem to some the cowardice of a pusillanimous protector (Y. XXIX, 9), yet it is not such in truth, for it declares within me, and forces me to say: Let no man please the wicked; this is our only prospect of success.'

16. And casting back his thoughts he (or another in his name) sums all up well: 'Thus doth Zarathustra choose the spirit, that spirit which animates the faithful in their chiefs (Y. XXXIII, 9),

and by his side every true believer utters his sympathising prayer : Let the Order of life and of the ritual become incarnate in our tribes, and strong because it has the valiant power of faithful men to obey and to defend it. And let Piety prevail till it covers our land blest with the favours of the sacred sun, and as she lives in the lives of true adherents, may she in sympathy with the Good Mind, thus grant rewards for all our deeds !'

Translation.

1. Salvation to this man¹, salvation to him who-soever (he may be²)! Let the absolutely ruling Great Creator grant (us, He) the living Lord, the two eternal powers. Yea, verily³, I ask it of Thee (O Ahura) for the maintaining⁴ Righteousness. And may'st Thou also give it to me, (O inspiring) Piety! splendour⁵ (as it is), holy blessings, the Good Mind's life⁶.

2. Yea, to this one⁷ may the man endowed with

¹ Ahmâi as=to us, does not seem to be good grammar here, as it necessitates a forced separation between it and yahmâi-kahmâikî. Cp. ahmâi yahmâi-kahmâikî in Y. XLIV, 16.

² I turn from the fine rendering of the Pahlavi with the greatest reluctance : Nadûk valman mûn zak î valman nadûkîh kaðârzâi [aîgh kaðârzâf ansutâ min nadûkîh î valman nadûkîh], happy is he whose benefit is for every one; [that is, for every man there is happiness from his benefit]; Ner. follows.

³ There is a question whether the particle *ga* (gha?) may not have originated from *gât*. Barth. here follows the Pahlavi, reading *gatô* (?) = pavan yâmtûnîsnö. Lak may have been added, as often, to serve as an alternative rendering.

⁴ Or 'I will,' so Prof. Jolly (infinitive for imper.).

⁵ So also the Pahl. *rayê-hômand*, not as a rendering merely, but as a philological analagon. Otherwise 'riches.'

⁶ Gaêm recalls *sraêsta gaya g(i)vainti*.

⁷ As ahmâi would more naturally mean 'to this one' in the previous verse, it is desirable to render it in the same way here.

glory¹ give that best of all things, the (spiritual) glory. And do Thou likewise (Thyself) reveal² Thine own³ (gifts) through Thy most bountiful spirit, O Mazda! (And do Thou teach us) Thy wonderful thoughts of wisdom⁴, those of Thy Good Mind, which Thou hast revealed (to us) by Thy Righteousness (within us) with the happy increase of (our joy⁵), and on a long life's every day⁶.

3. And may that (holy man) approach toward that which is the better than the good⁷, he who will show to us the straight paths of (spiritual) profit, (the blessings) of this corporeal life, and of that the mental⁸, in those veritably real (eternal⁹) worlds, where dwells Ahura; (that holy man) an offerer of Thine¹⁰, O Mazda! a faithful citizen¹¹, and bountiful of (mind).

¹ It is to the last degree improbable that *hvâthrôyâ* (*hvâthravâ*; 'y' miswritten for 'v') indicates a condition of ease and comfort here. The 'easy man' is the farthest possible from the thoughts of the composer. The 'best of all things' makes a word kindred to *hvang* (*hvan*) appropriate here.

² *Kîkî* (?), if an imperative (?), may mean guard over; but the Pahlavi translator gives us the better view; he has *lak pēdākînō*; *Ner. tvam prakāsayā*. Geldner's *kîkîthwâ* is important.

³ *Thwâ*=thy properties. ⁴ The Pahl. has merely *padmânō*.

⁵ This shade of meaning is expressed by the Pahlavi.

⁶ *Ayâre*, acc. pl.

⁷ This expression seems to equal the summum bonum; so also 'worse than the evil' is the ultimate of woe.

⁸ Cp. Y. XXVIII, 3.

⁹ Does *haithyeng* mean 'eternal,' with every passage in which it occurs considered?

¹⁰ *Thwâvant* may, however, like *mavant*, simply express the personal pronoun here. The position of *aredrô*, &c. is awkward if *thwâvant*=thy: 'Where dwells Ahura, Thyself, O Mazda! beneficent, wise, and bountiful.' But *aredra* is almost a special term for a zealous partisan.

¹¹ The Pahl. has *khûp-dânâkîh*, indicating a meaning which would

4. Yea, I will ¹ regard Thee as mighty and likewise bountiful, O Ahura Mazda! when (I behold) those aids of grace (approach me), aids which Thou dost guard and nurture ² as (Thy) just awards to the wicked (to hold him far from us), as well as to the righteous (for our help), Thy Fire's flame therewith so strong through the Holy Order ³, and when to me the Good Mind's power comes ⁴⁺⁵.

5. (For) so I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Great Giver, Mazda! when I beheld Thee as supreme ⁶ in the generation of life, when, as rewarding ⁷ deeds and words, Thou didst establish evil for the evil, and happy blessings for the good, by Thy (great) virtue ⁸ (to be adjudged to each) in the creation's final change.

6. In which (last) changing Thou shalt come, and with Thy bounteous spirit, and Thy sovereign power,

better apply to Ahura than the one given, which cannot be applied to Him.

¹ Subjunctive (see Prof. Jolly, V. S. p. 28).

² 'By Thy hand.'

³ The holy Fire of the altar.

⁴ *Gimaŕ* may be regarded as an improper subjunctive here.

⁵ The Pahlavi: 'and that too which renders justice to the wicked and also to the righteous. And this Thy Fire is burning, since by it the strength of him who lives in Righteousness is (maintained) when that violence which approaches with a good intention comes to me.'

⁶ See Y. XXXI, 8, where the word is also rendered as = *vornehmster*.

⁷ Literally, 'When Thou didst render deeds provided with rewards.' We are forced to put the action in the past on account of *zāthōi*, but the influences originally set in motion were to have their issue in the end of the world.

⁸ I render *hunarâ* literally, and bring its Pahlavi translation to the same sense as necessarily. Otherwise *hunar* would generally mean 'skill.' Ner. has *tava guzeshu*. The Pahlavi would here be recognised by all reasonable scholars as striking in its closeness.

O Ahura Mazda ! by deeds of whom the settlements are furthered through the Righteous Order. And saving regulations ¹ likewise unto these shall Âramaiti utter, (she, our Piety within us), yea, (laws) of Thine understanding which no man may deceive ².

7. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Great Giver Mazda ! when he (Thy messenger, Obedience) drew near me, and asked me thus : Who ³ art thou ? And whose is thine allegiance ? And how to-day shall I show the signs that give the light on this (our) question, (signs) as to the lands (from whence thou camest) and in thyself ?

8. Then to him I, Zarathustra, as my first answer, said : To the wicked (would that I could be) in very truth a strong ⁴ tormentor and avenger, but to the

¹ The word *ratûs* reminds one of the work of the Ratu for the afflicted kine. In the last changing, which shall complete the Fra-shakarê, he, or his representatives, will appear as the last Saoshyant, introducing 'millennial' blessedness.

² I render the Pahlavi here as in evidence: 'Through Thee, O (?) bountiful Spirit! the changing comes [(later (?) gloss) from wickedness to goodness]. And it comes likewise through Aûhar-mazd's supremacy within a good mind, through whose action the progress of Aharâyih's settlements is furthered, those which the master is instructing with a perfect mind [], and in which this Thy wisdom shall in no wise be deceived thereby.'

³ As the kine thought little of her deliverer (see Y. XXIX, 9), so Sraosha, the obedient host, is here represented as inquiring as to the antecedents of the newly-appointed prophet. But he asks more properly concerning the settlements from which he comes than the lands. Gaêtha is not *dahv(h)yu*. An origin external to that of other chieftains is not at all necessarily indicated by the question.

⁴ The Pahlavi sees a denominative in *isôvâ* (*isôvâ*; y for v); it is denom. in the Altiranisches Verbum. It differs, however, as to root. I offer an alternative in its sense. An open tormentor; [that is, I openly torment the wicked] even as much as I desire, do I torment (them) [(later (?) gloss) *Ganrâk minavad*].

righteous may I be a mighty help and joy¹, since to preparations² for Thy Kingdom, and in desire (for its approach), I would devote myself so long as to Thee, O Mazda ! I may praise, and weave my song.

9. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Ahura Mazda ! when (Thine herald) with Thy Good Mind near approached me, and asked me thus : For what dost thou desire that thou may'st gain, and that thou may'st know it ? Then for Thy Fire an offering of praise and holiness (I desired. And on that offering for myself)³ as long as I have the power, will I meditate⁴, (and for its holy power among Thy people will I plan⁵).

10. And may'st Thou likewise grant⁶ me (Thy) Righteousness (within me), since I earnestly invoke that perfect readiness (of mind), joining in my prayer with Âramaiti (our Piety toward Thee. Yea, pray Thou Thyself within me through these holy powers). Ask Thou (Thyself) our questions, those which shall be asked by us⁷ of Thee ; for a question asked by

¹ We must be cautious in accepting the statement that the Pahlavi translations attempt to be literal. Here is one which is free and far from erroneous: Aētūnō avō aharūbō min valman ī aōg-hōmand aītō ; [aīghas, rāmīnam].

² The Pahlavi here shows only the correct root. ³ Mā=smā ?

⁴ 'So long as I can, will I be of this mind,' seems hardly expressed here. Observe the nearly parallel construction in verse 8.

⁵ The Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian translations would here be regarded once more as extremely close even by opponents, if reasonable in their estimates. Manayâi seems to me hardly an infinitive, as it is comparatively seldom that an infinitive falls to the end of a sentence either in Gâthic or Vedic. I prefer the indication of the Pahlavi with Justi and Bartholomae (in the *Altiranisches Verbum*).

⁶ Read perhaps daidhīs (later shortened to suit the metre).

⁷ Or, 'ask us that we may be questioned by Thee.'



Thee (as its inspirer), is as the question of the mighty, whene'er Thy (?) ruler speaks his potent wish.

11. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Ahura Mazda! when (Thy messenger) with Thy Good Mind near approached me, and with your words I¹ first impressed (my soul). Woes then 'midst men Thy heart-devoted one² declared³ (to be) my (portion); but that will I⁴ do⁴ which Thou did'st⁵ say was best.

12. And since Thou, coming thus, Thy legal Righteousness in fulness⁶ spakest, then declare not to me words as yet unheard (with faith or knowledge; command me not) to go forth (with these upon my task) before Thy Sraosha⁷ (Obedience) comes to me, to go on hand in hand with me with holy recompense and mighty splendour⁸, whereby to

¹ The Pahlavi translation bears evidence to a less subtle, and therefore more probable sense here, but at the same time to a rarer grammatical form. It renders *dīdaiñhē* as a third person, indicating an instance of a third person in *ē*, and not in the perfect. It also recognises a reduplicated form by its *pavan nikēzīsnō nikēzēdō*.

² The Pahlavi translator with a curious error, or still more curious freedom, has *rūbāk-dahisnīh* here and elsewhere. Possibly the Gāthic text before the last compiler differed from ours.

³ I still prefer Professor Bartholomae's earlier rendering, after the Pahlavi, as more in harmony with *mraotā* and *mraos*.

⁴ Professor Jolly has the important rendering 'das will ich thun;' the infinitive in a future or imperative sense.

⁵ 'Ye said.'

⁶ The Pahlavi unvaryingly *kabed*.

⁷ Here we probably have the missing subject in the other verses.

⁸ Reading *māzā rayā*. (*Rayā* cannot well mean 'riches' here.) The Pahlavi also indicates the division by its free or erroneous *mas ratū* (*rad*). Sraosha, an obedient will personified, guides the soul as in the later Parsism. Cp. the *Arđā Virāf*.

give the contending¹ throngs(?), as a blessing², (Your) spiritual gifts (of certainty and peace).

13. Thus I conceived of Thee as bounteous, O Ahura Mazda! when with Thy Good Mind (Sraosha, Obedience) approached me. (And I would therefore pray thus of Thee, that bounteous one.) In order that I may make known to men the true and sacred aims of their desires (in the rite or daily toil), grant Ye me long life³ for this, (that blessing⁴) which none with daring may extort⁵ from You, even this (gift) of that desired⁶ place which has been declared to be within Thy Realm.

14. Yea, as the man enlightened⁷ (in Thy law), and who has possessions, gives to his friend, (so give Ye) me, O Great Creator⁸! Thy rejoicing and

¹ Here we have the important reading *rânôibyô* as against the dual of *K₄*, &c. (see Geldner). No mention of the fire occurs; and as the form does not agree with *arazi*, we may well doubt that comparison in view of *āsayau* in Y. XXXI, 2, and the unvarying and uniform *patkarâdârânô* of the Pahlavi. The rendering 'with the sticks' is, however, admirably adapted, and must be considered as an emphatic alternative.

² The Pahlavi supports the reading *vi* for *ve*; it has *barâ*. *Ashî* might also mean merely 'holy,' as adjective.

³ In Y. XXVIII, 7, he asks for it that he may crush the malice of the foe.

⁴ Justi admirably suggested *yânem* understood.

⁵ The Pahlavi divides *dârstaitê*, and, as I hold, mistakes the root as was inevitable. The ancient scribe feared to restore the severed fragments, which appeared, as so often, in the MSS. before him. I would read *darsaitê* with Spiegel's *c(?)* (so Bartholomae, later, however, recurring to a division, with Geldner after the Pahlavi, for the sake of bringing out an infinitive).

⁶ *Vairyau* contracted from *vairyayau* by a corrupting improvement to regulate the metre.

⁷ So the Pahlavi indicates, Bartholomae following as against the rendering 'possessing.'

⁸ With regard to *Mazdau* and *medhâ*, I should perhaps long

abounding grace, when through Thy sovereign Power, and from (the motives of Thy cause of) Righteous Order, I stand forth ¹ to go out to ², or to arouse, the chiefs ³ of Thy (pure) proclamation, with all those (others) who recite Thy well-remembered ⁴ Māthra word.

15. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bounteous, O Ahura Mazda! when with the Good Mind's grace Thy Sraosha (Obedience) approached me, (and said): Let the quiet and long-enduring better mind with understanding teach (thee); let not a foremost ⁵ man

since have stated that I object to the comparison, not only because medhā is a feminine, and, as Grassmann has supposed, possibly represented by the Zend madh, Greek math, but because 'wisdom' is an abstract (while su-medhās, as a compound, does not apply so directly). I hold, however, that mazdā, the fem. noun in Y, XL, 1 = medhā. It is also not impossible that this word may be represented (with differing shades of meaning) by both madh and mazdām (fem.) in Zend.

¹ Read, perhaps, frākhstā; or frāstā, 'with Thine advancing kingdom I (am) to go forth to'; (frā + as, participle.)

² Prof. Jolly has the important rendering, 'Ich will mich erheben'; the infinitive in a future or imperative sense.

³ Chieftainships. Compare (not with exactness, however) sār-dhāmsi.

⁴ The idea of reciting from memory seems to be included in marentē.

⁵ The rendering pourūs (?) as = pl. of pūrūs is attractive, but dregvatō hardly needs, and seldom has, a substantive. The wicked = wicked men; and, on the other hand, nā constantly claims an accompanying word; (nā ismanō; nā vaêdemnō; hvō nā-erethwō; nā spentō, ye-nā, ke vā-nā, &c.) Also it is improbable that the words nā and pourūs, as = pūrāvas, should come together; 'let not a man men evil ingratiate (?).' Compare for sense here purviās in one or more of its applications. Possibly the meaning is, 'let not a man be foremost in conciliating the wicked.' The Pahlavi likewise has kabad (freely). Ner. has: Mā nara^h* prakuram durgatinām bhūyāt* yathā kathamkit satkartā. An important rendering is that of Professor

conciliate the wicked (as sycophant desiring aid), for with that (quiet mind of faith), Thy saints have brought full many a sinner unto Thee (as convert, and in penitence¹).

16. Thus, O Ahura Mazda ! this Zarathustra loves² the Spirit³, and every man most bounteous prays⁴ (beside him) : Be Righteousness life-strong, and clothed with body. In that (holy) Realm which shines (with splendour) as the sun, let Piety be present ; and may she through the indwelling of Thy Good Mind give us blessings in reward for deeds⁵ !

Jolly, V.S. s. 47, 'möchte es wenige Verehrer des Lügners geben.' Cp. Y. XLVI, 1, where the composer speaks of the chiefs as on their side, 'not contenting' him.

¹ Or, with the Pahl. : *Mûn aêtûnô lak harvisp-gûnô aharûbânô pavan anâk yakhsenund*, for they consider all Thy saints as wicked. The rendering above is less natural as conveying the idea of a conversion (comp., however, *yâ g(i)vantô vîspeng vaurayâ*), but it renders the grammatical forms more simply. It is bad policy to force a text to express what we happen to believe to be a more natural idea. Using the hint of the Pahlavi here in an understanding manner, we might then render 'for they hold all sinners as holy.'

² I had long since compared *verentê* with *vrinîte* (-devânâm ávas) ; and am now sustained by Bartholomae's view.

³ Possibly the Spenista mainyu of Ahura. (See also Y. XLIV, 2.)

⁴ The Pahlavi, on the contrary, bears evidence to the meaning 'comes,' which I cannot accept as 'tradition' in view of the following precatives.

⁵ Ner. : 'The kingdom becomes established (in a manner completely manifest) in sun-publicity through mental perfection [] ; and upon the workers of righteousness the Good Mind bestows it.'

YASNA XLIV.

QUESTIONS ASKED OF AHURA WITH THANKFULNESS
AND DEVOTION.

Many verses may here have fallen out, or, on the other hand, the piece having been made up of homogeneous, but not originally connected fragments, has been left with some abrupt transitions. These, however, occasion very little difficulty in exegetical treatment, and are also not displeasing. The formula, 'This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright' seems to have been suggested by Y. XXXI, 14. We might therefore look upon this piece as composed later than Y. XXXI, but not necessarily in a later generation, or even from another hand. In fact the style is thoroughly homogeneous in certain places with that of pieces which we ascribe without a doubt to Zarathustra, and the signs of struggle point to the earliest period. It is possible that the words in Y. XXXI, and the formula here were of common origin, neither having any extended priority to the other, or the words may be original here, and derived in Y. XXXI.

Whether Zarathustra, or another of the narrow circle of religious leaders, was the composer throughout depends upon the further questions already more than once broached, as to how far a corresponding intellectual cultivation was extended at the period in the community, and as to what is the probability of the existence of more than one man in the small group, endowed with the peculiar qualities everywhere manifested in these hymns (see remarks in the Introduction and elsewhere). It is safest to say that Zarathustra composed most of the matter here before us, and that the supplementary fragments were composed under his dominating, if not immediate, influence.

Verses 1 and 2 seem an introduction, but hardly give added emphasis to the fact that the following questions were expressions of devotion, and only in a few instances appeals for knowledge. Verses 3-5 are certainly questions intended to express veneration while naming particular objects of devout inquiry. Verse 6 stands somewhat apart. Verses 7-11 enter into details touching the moral and religious improvement of the people, 12-14 are polemical, 15 and 16 are prophetic, &c.

1. More closely; the composer beseeches Ahura to speak to him, and in a manner characteristic of Himself as in distinction from the falsifying utterance of the opposing religion, which was so familiarly described as the religion of 'Falsehood.' He is entreated to reveal, as is His wont, 'the holy truth.' And the first question propounded to Him by the composer, as comprehensive of all others, is how he may offer homage, the homage of God Himself or of His bountiful spirit; (see *mainyû* in verse 2). And he further asks that Ahura may speak to him, showing him by what ceremonial he may conciliate him, and by what helps of grace that spirit, or Ahura Himself, may be inclined to draw near to him in accordance with his frequent prayer.

2. Once more he asks how he may serve that Spirit as the foremost one of Heaven (compare Y. XXXI, 8, and the Parsi *vahist*) who seeks for this addition of praise to praise, for as the supreme claim to our veneration, He had, as a guardian (Y. XXXI, 13) like Ahura in yet another place, held off destruction from all believing saints and from all repentant men (Y. XXXI, 3), and that although as 'the chief of Heaven,' yet also as a benignant friend.

3. From these introductory petitions, inserted perhaps before many lost verses, he proceeds in another tone, although he may still be said to say what is homogeneous to the foregoing: 'Yea, I ask how I may serve Him, O Mazda! for He is indeed Thyself, and therefore, to show my fervent homage, I ask: Who was, not the first establisher alone, but the first father, of our holy Order as the personified Immortal, and that not by creation, but by generation, as the parent generates the child? Who fixed for stars and sun that "way," the undeviating path through space, long noticed and studied by our fathers, as no random course, or unknown progress save Thee?'

4. The laws of gravitation then become the theme of his praise still expressed in the form of questions, also the atmospheric phenomena, especially the clouds driven by winds, not like the *Maruts* beyond the mountains perhaps, but still terrible as winds can be. But he cannot leave even the sublime objects of nature without thinking once more of that spiritual power, the strength of righteous character, which was justly more impressive, although still more familiar, and which he designates, as ever, by the 'Good Mind.' Here this great Immortal is left an immortal thought, and is spoken of as 'created,' not 'born' like *Asha* (in verse third). 5. Beyond a doubt, recognising the satisfactions of energetic life as well as the solaces of slumber, and as forming by their contrast the necessary

change which builds up happiness, he alludes to the supreme arranger as 'well-skilled,' and asks : Who so wisely relieved the day by night ? But, again, he cannot close without reverting to the course of moral duty. 6. Seized with a doubt which again only heightens the fervour of his assurance, he asks whether indeed the facts which he proclaims are really what they seem. Whether piety, although aided by the Good Mind, implanted through Ahura's grace within us, will indeed at last, or soon, assign the purified Realm to the servants of Ahura, who were there among the masses before his eyes (taēibyō), or to Ahura Himself as their sovereign controller (taibyō?). And, as including all rural riches in herself, he asks for whom He had made the kine, not now wailing in her grief (Y. XXIX, 9), but 'delight-affording,' on account of the influence of Piety and Benevolence embodied in the Kingdom, inferring that God had made her for these same (the faithful masses). 7. And going yet further back ; he asks who made that paternal and filial Piety itself, together with the Realm which it should leaven ? Answering his own inquiries by an inference, he adds : I am pressing Thee with fulness in these questions, O Thou bountiful Spirit (compare mainyus, or mainyû in verse 2), the maker of all (sun, stars, and holy qualities). 8. Turning now to verbal revelations, he asks by what means his soul may prosper in moral goodness, praying that it may indeed thus advance as the expected answer would declare. 9. He prays that he may know how he may still further sanctify that Religion which the King of the Holy Realm (compare anghêus vahistahyâ pourvîm), the one like Ahura (see Khshməvatō and thwāvās, verse 1) would teach, dwelling in the same abode (in which Ahura is also elsewhere said to dwell) with the holy Order, and the Good Mind (see Y. XLVI, 16).

10. Expressing all in a single word, he asks Ahura to reveal to him the Daēna, the Insight, the substance of that Religion which was 'of all things best,' and which alone could 'advance the settlements' with the holy ritual and moral Order as its ally, which would also render all their moral and ceremonial actions, and moral principles just by means of the divine Piety, which was their realisation in practice ; and he closes with the exclamation that the wishes and desires of his soul, when most imbued with wisdom, will seek for God.

11. Following out the influence of Âramaiti (that personified Piety), he asks to know by what practical means she may approach, and be realised as the characteristic of those to whom the holy Insight should be preached, avowing that God knows how prominent

he is in his devotion to the matter, and with what hatred seated 'in his spirit,' he views the opposing Gods. 12. Then casting a searching glance over the masses, and perhaps eyeing their several groups, each headed by its 'chieftainship' (*sardenau sēnghahyā*), he cries, addressing Ahura formally, but the people really (so also elsewhere frequently), and says: 'Who is the righteous believer as regards these my questions asked of God to express my belief in Him, and who is the sceptic? Which man does the Angra Mainyu govern; or which is as evil as that chief himself?' And, recalling the galling fact that some are tolerated who not only do not assist but oppose his efforts, and perhaps having some half-convinced sections in full sight, he cries with bitterness: 'Why is this sinner, that chief who opposes me as Angra Mainyu opposed Ahura (compare *paiti-eretē* with *âat moi paiti-eretē* in *Vendîdād I*), why is he not believed to be what in very truth he is? Why is he still countenanced?' 13. And then with a fierceness which reminds us of *sâzdûm snaithishâ* (*Y. XXXI, 18*), but which is deeper because proposing a less material remedy, he asks: 'Why must we abide the sight of these opposers, representing their Lie-demon as their Goddess? How can I drive her hence to Hell beneath, not to those who hesitate like these, pausing before they condemn the evil party, but to those who are already filled with their disobedience, and who, having no communion at all with us, receive no light, like these, from the reflected glory of the truth, and who have moreover neither sought nor shared like these, the counsels of Thy Good Mind. Yea, how,' he reiterates, 'can I deliver up that Lying Goddess, in the persons of her adherents, to the Holy Order, in the persons of the saints, into their hands, to slay her, not with the *snaithis* only, but to destroy her as a falsehood by the *Māthras* of Thy doctrine, not barely to withstand these wicked corrupters, as we now do, enduring the silence of these masses at their deeds (verse 12), their fear of them, or their connivance with their creeds, but to spread slaughter among them to their total overthrow?'

15. He then presses on the coming collision, and prays to know to which of the hosts (compare *āsayau*, *Y. XXXI, 2*) that claim the *urvâtâ*, Ahura will give the prize. 16. And who, he further asks, shall be the champion who shall lead the victors, the *verethrem-gan* (compare *sargâ*, *Y. XXIX, 3*) who will thus take up the *snaithis* and the *Māthra* (verse 14), and so at once contend for 'both the worlds.' And he wishes him not alone pointed out, but approached, as Zarathustra was approached (*Y. XLIII*), by an obedient will, and moved to his holy work by the inspiring Good

Mind of Ahura, be that champion Ratu whosoever the Lord might wish. Salvation in the shape of success in his great attempt should be his portion (Y. XLIII, 1). 17. Half intimating that he himself may be the coming man, he begs to know when he can have that conference in which, as in the desired *həmparsti* and *darsti* of Y. XXXIII, 6, he may communicate more closely with Ahura, and through the revelation which might be vouchsafed, may become a protecting leader to secure the ever-named 'abiding two,' 'Weal' and 'Immortality,' which were the 'better than the good,' the 'vahista' of the saints.

18. A preliminary wish arising, he asks that he may receive the honorary gift of mated mares and a camel, as material for sacrifice before a battle (?), the highest interests of the people even, their lasting Welfare, demanding that he should receive this help. 19. For the monarch, or leading chief, who may withhold this justly deserved and needed help, or honour, he declares by the terms of his following question, that some instant judgment will be forthcoming, for the threats of the future condemnation seem for the moment only trite.

20. As a peroration, he appeals to the reason of the wavering groups, among the masses who still delay to call evil evil (verse 12), and he asks whether the *Daêvas*, as represented by their adherents, had ever been good rulers, when they had the power. Were not robbery and violence then the law with them as now? And did not the Kine, as representing the sacred herds and people, lift up her wailing voice?

(The piece from verse 12 seems to constitute a religious war-song. These verses seem not to have been originally connected with the calm and thankful contemplations in verses 1-10, but later united with them. Verses 12-20 stand in the closest connection with Y. XLVI, which has, however, preserved more of the elements of sorrow and discouragement which influenced the leader and his followers at times. See also XLIII, 11.)

Translation.

1. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; when praise is to be offered, how (shall I complete) the praise of the One like You ¹, O Mazda? Let

¹ Some who seldom cite the Pahlavi follow it here; *nîyâysnô zak mûn aêtânô nîyâysnô î Lekûm [dînô]*. Otherwise one might

the One like Thee declare it earnestly to the friend who is such as I, thus through Thy Righteousness (within us) to offer friendly help¹ to us, so that the One like Thee² may draw near³ us through Thy Good Mind (within the soul).

2. This I ask Thee, O Ahura ! tell me aright, how, in pleasing Him, may we serve the supreme one of (Heaven) the better world⁴; yea, how to serve that chief who may grant us those (blessings of His grace, and) who will seek for (grateful requitals at our hands); for He, bountiful (as He is) through the Righteous Order, (will hold off) ruin⁵ from (us) all, guardian (as He is) for both the worlds, O Spirit⁶ Mazda ! and a friend.

read *nemê* with B.V.S. (variation) in Y. LVIII, 3, and render, 'how shall I bow myself in your worship?'

¹ The Pahl. *hamkarðâr* is likewise followed. The alteration to *hâkôrenâ* is very interesting, but, I think, hardly necessary.

² Observe the great difficulty in referring *Khshmvâtô* to a human subject. Here we have 'the homage of the One like You (of Yours(?))' some would say); in Y. XXXIII, 8 we have *Yasnem Mazdâ* (Ahurâ) *Khshmvâtô*; in Y. XXXIV, 2 *Khshmvâtô vahmê*; in Y. XLIX, 6 *Tâm daênâm yâ Khshmvâtô Ahurâ*. *Khshmvâtô* is sometimes merely a way of saying 'of Thyself,' as *mavaitê*=to me.

³ Observe also the emphasis on his 'drawing near'; otherwise 'let Your one declare it to my friend'(?).

⁴ See Roth, Y. XXXI, 8. See, however, also de Harlez's suggestion, perhaps after the hint of the Pahlavi: 'qu'elle a été l'origine?' Here we have another instance where an entire verse seems to allude to Ahura in the third person with an address to Him thrown in, or at the close. In connection with *anghêus vahistahyâ* Ahura must be the *pourvya*, as in Y. XXXI, 8, where Roth renders *vornehmster*. The guardian is also Ahura (see Y. XXXI, 13).

⁵ I cannot fully accept the hint of the Pahlavi here as others do who seldom heed it. I do not think that 'sin' is so much indicated as 'destruction.'

⁶ *Mainyû* is suspiciously expressive as a vocative; perhaps 'by spiritual power' would be safer.

3. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright: Who by generation¹ was the first father of the Righteous Order (within the world)? Who gave the (recurring) sun and stars² their (undeviating) way? Who established that whereby the moon waxes, and whereby she wanes³, save Thee⁴? These things, O Great Creator! would I know⁵, and others likewise still.

4. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, who from beneath hath sustained the earth and the clouds⁶ above that they do not fall? Who made the waters and the plants? Who to the wind has yoked on the storm-clouds, the swift and fleetest two⁷? Who, O Great Creator! is the inspirer of the good thoughts (within our souls)?

¹ 'As a generator (?)'

² Bartholomae follows the Pahlavi here as rendered by Ner. putting *hveng* and *starem* (-ām) in the genitive, which is in itself far better than to regard *dât* as governing two accusatives. One would, however, rather expect *hveng* *starām* *adhvânem* *dât*.

³ All follow the Pahlavi here, which renders with allowable freedom. *Nerefsaitî* (=Pahl. *nerefsêd*; Ner. *nimflati*; Persian *kâhad*) might possibly be explained as a nasalised form of an Aryan correspondent to *arbha*, as *nas*=*as*.

⁴ Possibly from thine influence (?)

⁵ The infinitive *viduyê* (= *vidvê*) lies here in an unusual place, at the end of the sentence. It is because the word has no stress upon it. The emphasis rests on the objects which he desires to know about; the entire connection deals with 'knowing'; it has no prominence.

⁶ This rendering is not supported by the Pahlavi, which seems to report a rendering from some text with an a privative, and a form of *dar*. The 'unsupported' object might mean the 'air-space.' See the suggestion of Bartholomae 'the earth and the air-space,' comparing the later Sanskrit.

⁷ Or 'for velocity,' adverbially. Velocity, however, in the abstract as the object yoked-on, is rather too finely drawn. I should prefer

5. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; who, as a skilful artisan, hath made the lights and the darkness¹? Who, as thus skilful, hath made sleep and the zest (of waking hours)? Who (spread) the Auroras, the noontides and midnight, monitors to discerning (man), duty's true (guides)²?

6. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright these things which I shall speak forth, if they are truly thus. Doth the Piety (which we cherish) in reality increase³ the sacred orderliness within our actions? To these Thy true saints hath she given the Realm through the Good Mind. For whom hast Thou made the Mother-kine, the producer of joy⁴?

7. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; who fashioned Âramaiti (our piety) the beloved, together with Thy Sovereign Power? Who, through his guiding wisdom⁵, hath made the son revering the father? (Who made him beloved⁶?) With (ques-

the fleet ones, the lightnings. My rendering follows the indication of another, as a dual, but not as to full exegesis. One naturally supposes the yoking together of the winds and dark clouds to be meant.

¹ Recall svār yād āsman adhipā u āndho.—Rv. VII, 88, 2.

² Ner.: 'Who gave us the lights with his keen discrimination? And who the darkness? Who, in his keen discrimination, gave (us our) sleep and waking; [that is, our diligence and activity?] Who is he who gave us the time of husaina, and the time of rapithvana [], and the method and calculation of him who discerns by means of the just rule []?'

³ So also the Pahlavi indicates by 'stavar.'

⁴ So I prefer; but the indication of the Pahlavi deserves an alternative 'giver of bounty'; skar=kar.

'Geus azyau' was later a common expression for a mature animal, but possibly vulgarised from its older special use here.

⁵ Root nî (?).

⁶ I thus add as the Pahlavi translator indicates such an element in uzemem.

tions such as) these, so abundant ¹, O Mazda! I press Thee, O bountiful Spirit, (Thou) maker of all!

8. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, that I may ponder ² these which are Thy revelations, O Mazda! and the words which were asked (of Thee) by Thy Good Mind (within us), and that whereby we may attain ³, through Thine Order, to this life's perfection. Yea, how may my soul with joyfulness ⁴ increase in goodness? Let it thus ⁵ be ⁶.

9. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, how to myself shall I hallow ⁷ the Faith of Thy people,

¹ Frakhshnî=in abundance (Pahl. kabad; Ner. prakuram; Persian MS. bisyar). The thought refers back to anyâkâ vîduyê [-vê].

² Haug sagaciously renders as if *mendâidyâi* were a miswriting for *pendâidyâi*, which is in itself very possible, as an 'm' looks much like an inverted 'o' in MSS. So the Pahlavi records the irregularity also, from which Haug derived his idea. But Haug explains the word as an allusion to the five prayer-hours of the day. I doubt very greatly whether the five prayer-hours existed at the date of the composition of this passage. Such regulations grew up much later. The Pahlavi translator indicates elsewhere an accusative (*meng*=*mām*) with an infinitive 'that I should give forth,' which is in itself far from impossible. He was aware (!) that *meng* could also equal *man*; see Y. LIII, 5.

³ *Vaēdyâi* is infinitively used for *vōizdyâi*.

⁴ I do think that it is necessary on the whole to postulate two similar words here (although Geldner's suggestion is most keen and interesting). *Urvākhsanguha* and *urvākhsukhti* do not favour a comparison with *vrag* here. The Pahlavi is indifferent: *Kīgûn denman î li rūbânō zak î sapîr hû-ravākh-manîh*? So Ner. *uttam-ânandaž*. Barth. *beglückend*.

⁵ *Kâ-tâ*=*kēna-tēna*.

⁶ Or, 'let those things happen to me;' *gam* means 'come' more frequently than 'go,' here. Lit. 'let it thus advance.'

⁷ *Kīgûn denman î li dīnō yōs-dâsar î avēgak yōs-dâsaryôm*? Ner.: *Katham idam aham yat* dīnim pavitratarām pavitrayāmi*; [*kila, dīnim katham pravartamānām karomi*]? As Zarathustra is

which the beneficent kingdom's lord hath taught me, even the admonitions which He called Thine equal, hath taught me through His lofty (and most righteous Sovereignty and) Power, as He dwells in like abode¹ with Thine Order and Thy Good Mind?

10. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright that holy Faith which is of all things best, and which, going on hand in hand with Thy people, shall further my lands in Asha, Thine order, and, through the words of Âramaiti (our piety), shall render actions just. The prayers of mine understanding will seek² for Thee, O Ahura!

11. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; how to these your (worshippers) may (that Piety once again and evermore) approach, to them to whom O Lord, Thy Faith is uttered? Yea, I beseech of Thee to tell me this, I who am known to Thee as Thy foremost³ of (servants); all other (Gods, with their

represented as sanctifying the Fire (in Y. IX, 1), so here he would doubly sanctify the Faith itself. He would 'hallow its name' and meaning.

¹ Pavanas-hamdemûnih-ketrûnêš [pavan hamkhadûkîh].

² I cannot regard the caesura in this verse as possessing ordinary importance, the *mañvyau* (*mahyau*) *ñistôis* is especially dependent on the following words. The Pahlavi translator hints at an important solution, which is, that a pause should be made before *usen*; 'the wish of mine understanding wishes, and I wish (am wishing); *Khûrsand hômanam*=I am content. If we can accept a break (a possibility far too little recognised), the *usen* as representing a nom. sing. would refer back to the meaning in *mañvyau* (*mahyau*). But reading *îstîs* (as irregular for *îstayô* on account of the metre) we might regard *usen* as a third pl. Or shall we take it as a quasi-third singular, *usen* being *usâm* (*en*=the nasal vowel; comp. *ûšâm* as a third sing. imper. after Barth.)? Let 'the wish (*îstîs*) of my enlightened understanding wish for Thee.'

³ Compare 'aêšhâm tôi, Ahura! *ehmâ pourutemâis dastê*.'

polluted worshippers), I look upon with (my) spirit's¹ hate².

12. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; who is the righteous one in that regard in which³ I ask Thee my question? And who is evil? For which is the wicked? Or which is himself the (foremost) wicked one? And the vile man who stands against me (in this gain of) Thy blessing, wherefore⁴ is he not held and believed to be the sinner that he is?

13. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, how shall I banish this Demon-of-the-Lie from us hence to those beneath who are filled⁵ with rebellion? The friends of Righteousness (as it lives in Thy saints) gain no light (from their teachings), nor have they loved the questions which Thy Good Mind (asks in the soul⁶)!

Auserkoren is a fine but a bold rendering. Election is, however, included in all divine prescience.

¹ I have no doubt whatever, but that mainyus and dvaêshanghâ belong together.

² The Pahlavi translation is as follows: 'That which I ask of Thee, tell me aright, O Aûharmazd! when shall the perfect mind come to those persons [that is, when does the mind of my disciples become perfect]? When shall it come to those who declare this Thy Religion, O Aûharmazd? Grant to me before these the proclamation of the truth. Against every other spirit which is malevolent I keep my guard.'

³ Yâis adverbially, or possibly, 'with whom I question.'

⁴ *Kyanghat* is, I think, simply the equivalent for *kî* (?) *anghat* = *quî* fit, how does it happen that? 'Stands' free for 'comes.'

⁵ The Pahlavi on the contrary takes *perenaunghô* in the sense of combating, *pavan anyôkhshîdârîh patkârênd* = '(who) are opposing you through disobedience.' It is far from certain that he does not indicate some improvement in text, or rendering.

⁶ Or, 'the counsels of holy men.'

14. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; how shall I deliver that Demon-of-the-Lie into the two hands of Thine Order¹ (as he lives in our hosts) to cast her down to death through Thy Māthras of doctrine, and to send mighty destruction² among her evil believers, to keep those deceitful and harsh oppressors from reaching their (fell) aims³?

15. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright. If through Thy Righteousness (within our souls) Thou hast the power over this for my⁴ protection, when the two hosts shall meet in hate⁵ (as they strive) for those vows which Thou dost desire to maintain, how, O Mazda! and to which of both wilt Thou give⁶ the day⁶?

16. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright,

¹ Ashâi with Geldner.

² The Pahlavi anticipates us in the correct general sense here. It has nas,hônisnō. The Persian MS. renders the Pahlavi, hamâ-vandî nîst dehand î darwand.

³ Anâshê seems regarded as an infinitive by the Pahlavi translator, anayâtûnisnō. 'For the destruction of those deceivers' is an obvious alternative to the rendering above (â nâshê?).

⁴ Geldner and Roth render ma/=Sanskrit mad; otherwise 'with complete protection.' Or is ma/ablative for genitive: If thou rulest over me to afford me protection? The Pahlavi affords no indication.

⁵ The Pahlavi translator erred widely in his attempt to render the word anaoꝥanghâ. As it is certain that his MSS. differed from ours often, they probably did so here. The verse alludes beyond a question to some expected battle in a religious war, and perhaps in a religious civil war. It is the most positive allusion to the 'strife of the two parties' (Y. XXXI, 2) which has come down to us. It was a struggle concerning the religious vows, or doctrines; avâis urvâtâis yâ tû Mazdâ didereghzô.

⁶ The Pahlavi renders vananām by 'good thing,' explaining 'the sovereign power.'

who smites with victory¹ in the protection (of all) who exist, and for the sake of, and by means of Thy doctrine? Yea, clearly reveal a lord having power² (to save us) for both lives. Then let (our) Obedience³ with Thy Good Mind draw near to that (leader), O Mazda! yea, to him to whomsoever⁴ Thou (shalt) wish that he should come.

17. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; how, O Mazda! shall I proceed to that (great) conference⁵ with You, to that consummation of Your own, when my spoken wish⁶ shall be (effected) unto me, (the desire) to be in the chieftainship⁷ (and supported) by (the hope of) Weal and Immortality (those saving powers of Thy grace), and by that (holy) Māthra (Thy word of thought) which fully guides our way through Righteousness (within).

¹ Verethrem-gâ thwâ, following the Pahlavi with Westergaard, Geldner, and Bartholomae.

² Compare Y. XXIX, 2 and Y. XXVIII, 3; or it may mean 'promise to establish' (Barth.). *Kiṛdī*, however, hardly seems to need an infinitive with it; it may mean 'appoint.' Compare *dāmsu* (patnī) for a better sense than 'house-lord,' also for *deṅ* patōis.

³ This casts additional light on the 'one that should come' in Y. XLIII, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15.

⁴ This recalls *ahmâi yahmâi ustâ kahmâi* etc.

⁵ The comparison with *gar* has long circulated among Zendists. Many adopt it. It agrees admirably with the Pahlavi as to sense: *Aīmat, Aūharmazd! damânō kardārīh ī Lekūm*, when is Your appointment of the time?

⁶ The Pahlavi *va mūniš zak ī li gōbisnō hōmand khvâstar*.

⁷ *Va sardâr yehevūnīnīh madam Haurvadaḍ va Amerôdâd; Ner. Svāmīno bhavishyanti upari Avirdâde Amirdâde; comp. also Y. XLIX, 8 fraēstaunghô aunghâmâ. Professor Jolly compares būzdyâi with φύεσθαι (Inf. s. 194). The long since circulated comparison with bhug seems to me hardly so probable. It may, however, deserve an alternative; 'to enjoy Weal and Immortality'; but accusatives*

18. (And, having gained Thine audience and Thine Order's sacred chieftainship), then I ask of Thee, O Ahura! and tell me aright, how shall I acquire that Thy Righteous Order's prize, ten (costly) mares male-mated, and with them the camel¹ (those signs of honour and blessing for Thy chief. I ask Thee for these gifts for sacrifice). For it was told me for the sake of our Welfare (in our salvation), and of our Immortality, in what manner Thou² shalt give³ to these (Thy conquering hosts) both of these Thy (gifts⁴ of grace).

19. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; (in the case of the recreant, of him) who does not give this (honoured) gift to him who hath earned it; yea, who does not give it to this (veracious tiller of the earth, to him who in no respect shows favour to the Demon-of-the-Lie, even to the) correct speaker⁵ (of Thy sacrificial word), what shall be his sentence at

do not fall so naturally to the end of the sentence in Gāthic or Vedic, without preceding related or qualifying words.

¹ Those suspected of no partisanship for the Pahlavi translation follow it here as against Haug, who translated the words *ustremâ* by *et amplius*! It means a camel; so the Pahlavi translator rendered many centuries ago before Europeans even knew what the Indian *úsh/ra* meant, which simple analogy Neryosangh first drew. Horses were material for sacrifice among the Persians according to Herodotus. The reasons for the prayer are not fully expressed.

² So better than as a first person aorist subjunctive, if *taîbyô* is to be read. The Pahlavi, however, read *taibyô*, which is not lightly to be passed over.

³ The rendering 'take' has long circulated. I do not, however, prefer it here.

⁴ Weal and Immortality, but *hî* might refer to the two objects, 'the mares' and the 'camel.'

⁵ The ideal Zarathustrian; comp. Y. XXXI, 15; XLIX, 9.

the first (now at this time, and because of this false dealing? I ask it), knowing well his doom at last¹.

20. (And how as to our deluded foes?) Have Daêva-(worshippers) e'er reigned as worthy kings? (This verily I ask of Thee, the Daêva-worshippers) who fight² for these (who act amiss? Have they well reigned) by whom the Karpan and the Usig(k) gave the (sacred) Kine to Rapine³, whence, too, the Kavian in persistent strength⁴ has flourished? (And these have also never given us tribal wealth nor blessings), nor for the Kine have they brought waters to the fields for the sake of the Righteous Order (in our hosts), to further on their growth (and welfare)!

¹ So also the Pahlavi followed by all. *Kađâr valman pavan zak vinâsînô aîtô fratûm*; [*aigas pavan-vinâskârîh pâđafrâs fratûm maman*] ? *Âkâs hômanam zak mûn valman aîtô afdûm* [*mamanas darvandîh*] ? Ner. (with regard to him) who does not give the reward which has come for the one fitted for, or deserving of, it [to Garathustra's equal], (the reward) which the truthful man; [that is, the good man] is giving to him, what is the first thing which happens through this sin of his? [that is, what is his first chastisement in consequence of this fault?] (For) I am aware of what his punishment shall be in the end [].

² The Pahlavi translator either had a text with some form of *pâ*, or was otherwise misled. He renders *mûn netrûnd*, but gives the word the adverse sense of 'hindering' in the gloss. Ner., however, has *pratiskhalanti* which points to *peshyêntî*, and also tends to show that other MSS. of the Pahlavi (and among them the one used by Ner.) read differently from our three, K₅, D. J., and the Persian transliteration. *Kâm* = Ved. *kâm* with dat.

³ See Y. XXIX, 1.

⁴ Professor Wilhelm 'vigour' (De Infin. p. 14).

YASNA XLV.

THE DOCTRINE OF DUALISM. HOMAGE TO AHURA.

This hymn bears fewer traces of a fragmentary condition than others. It recalls Y. XXX, and, like it, appears to belong to a period, or to an interval, of political repose and theological activity. It is smoother and more artificial than is usual, and it goes straight on its way from beginning to end. A powerful adversary had just been crushed. It was the dussasti of Y. XXXII, 9. This may well have been the result of the conflict alluded to in Y. XLIV, 15, 16, and possibly in Y. LI, 9, 10, also urged on by the fierce Y. XXXI, 18 probably often repeated in lost hymns.

An assembly is addressed as in Y. XXX, 1, but this time as coming 'from near and from far.' It may very possibly have been the winning side in a late struggle. The first verse sounds like a congratulation.

It might be said to be intended to be sung, if not shouted, to a multitude whose outskirts were by no means within easy reach with the voice. At all events attention is summoned with three differing expressions. 'Awake your ears to the sound,' literally 'sound ye,' in a receptive sense; ('let the sound peal in your ears'), then 'listen' (sraotâ); and then 'ponder' (māzdaunghôdâtṃ). 'The Antizarathustra, the evil teacher par eminence, has been defeated,' he declares, 'and he will never again destroy the peace of our lives (Y. XXXII, 9, 11). His evil creed has been silenced, and his tongue can no longer shout out its periods of persuasion or invective (Y. XXXI, 12) beside our preachers.'

2. He then reiterates the chief doctrine for which the parties had been at war, and which they should now see clearly in the light of their victory. 'The foul evils of society do not lie within the control of the holy Ahura in such a manner as that he either originates, or tolerates them. They are, on the contrary, the product of the personified Anger of the Daêvas, the Mainyu in its evil sense, the Angra (angry?) Spirit. Between this being, or personified abstraction, and Ahura, there is a gulf fixed. (Never do we see any aspersions upon Ahura's name, or a suspicion of His purity as shown by complicity with cruelty, or the toleration of evil passions.) It is also to be noted that the defeated dussasti may have possibly been a Daêva-worshipper chiefly as being a heretic from this Faith

of Ahura, believing Him to be implicated in the creation, or permission of sin and suffering, or, if the burial or burning of the dead was forbidden at this time, then possibly a heretic on these questions also. But yet, as a recreant Mazda-worshipper he may have claimed a rightful allegiance to the urvâtâ, and the future blessings, as well as temporal advantages, involved in a correct discipleship; and so he may have used the name of the sacred tenets of the Religion itself to help on a nefarious warfare. In fact he may have been a self-styled Mazda-worshipper, but not of 'Zarathustra's order,' not owned at all in any degree by the genuine adherents, and met as a real, if not an open, Daêva-worshipper.

The ardent prophet therefore declares the utter severance between the good and the evil, the God and the Demon. It is a popular corollary to Y. XXX, 3-6. The two spirits came together indeed at first to make life, and its negation, and they co-operate, if such a term can be applied to an irreconcilable antagonism out of whose antitheses and friction sentient existence alone becomes possible. Their union consists in opposition, for if they blend, they each cease to be what they are. They are, while upholders of existence, yet separate for ever, and that as to every attribute and interest.

3. And the sage goes on to assert that in this he is proclaiming the first Mâthra of this life which the all-wise Mazda had revealed to him. And, whether sure of the victorious masses before him, or whether on the contrary perfectly aware that many a group among them had been more convinced by the snaithis than by reason, he presses at once upon them that one terrible doctrine which seems unfortunately too needful for all successful and sudden propagandism, and he declares that they who do not act in a manner accordant with what he speaks, and even thinks, (having formerly announced it), to such delinquents this life should end in woe.

4. Proceeding in a happier vein, he then dwells upon the fatherhood of God. He will declare this world's best being who is Mazda Himself. He is the father of the Good Mind within His people, when that Good Mind is active in good works. So our piety, when it is practical, is His daughter, for no pretended good intention can claim relationship with Him, nor can any idle sentiment. He needs the 'ready mind' within His servant, and He is not to be deceived (compare Y. XLIII, 6).

5. Returning once more to the Mâthra, and this time to hold out rewards rather than to utter threats, he declares that Happiness and Immortality would be the portion of those who listened to, and

pondered his revelation, and that Ahura Himself would likewise approach them with the rewarding actions of His Good Mind, for Ahura was also in all good actions on the one hand, just as His Immortal Archangels on the other had their objective existence likewise in the believer's soul.

6. Turning from admonition to worship, he announces, not what he terms the 'first' (verse 3), nor the 'best' (verses 4 and 5), but the 'greatest,' element of all, implying that praise, which he now expresses, includes both prayer and doctrinal confessions, and he calls on Ahura both to listen and to teach. 7. It is the 'greatest' element indeed, for it concerns those spiritual blessings which not only the offerers who are now living will seek after, but those also who shall live in future; nay, even the spirits of the just desire them in the eternal Immortality. And these blessings are, according to a well-remembered law, woe to the wicked, and that, not only from outward discipline, but from inward grief. And Ahura had established, so he adds, the beneficent, but, as regards the wicked, still solemn regulations by the exercise of His Sovereign Power as the controller of all (Y. XXIX, 4). 8. Zarathustra (or his substitute) then professes his eagerness to serve the Lord with these words which he had called the 'greatest,' and because he had seen Him with his very eyes, which he explains as meaning that he had known Him through the Righteous Order in his soul, and therefore he prays and hopes to pronounce these greatest praises, not in the assembly (Y. LI, 3) alone, but in the 'Home of sublimity or song' (Y. L, 4).

9. And he desires all the more fervently to do homage to Ahura, because He approaches him with the Power of His divine Authority in weal or woe, blessing both men and herds so long as they multiplied under the influences of Piety. 10. As the praises were the 'greatest,' so he seeks to 'magnify' the Lord in the Yasnas of Âramaiti, Ahura being renowned by His unchanging purpose, for He will bestow the 'eternal two' in His holy Kingdom, when it shall have been made firm! 11. Yea, he would seek to magnify Him who contemns the Daêvas and their party as much as they, in their turn, profess to make little of Him and His religious Kingdom, contrasted as they were with Ahura's prophet, who honoured Him in the holy Insight, the Daêna of the Saoshyant. And this Saoshyant is declared to be the controlling master of every faithful worshipper, and he, or the faithful venerator of the reviled Ahura, is also as our friend, brother, nay, like Ahura Himself (verse 4), our very Father in the Faith.

Translation.

1. Yea, I will speak forth ; hear ye ; now listen, ye who from near, and ye who from afar have come seeking¹ (the knowledge). Now ponder² ye clearly all³ (that concerns) him⁴. Not for a second time shall the false teacher slay our life (of the mind, or the body). The wicked is hemmed in with his faith and his tongue!⁵

2. Yea, I will declare the world's two first⁶ spirits, of whom the more bountiful thus spake to the harmful⁷: Neither our thoughts, nor commands, nor our

¹ Ish means 'to come seeking.' The bavihûnêd/ of the Pahlavi, followed by many, is by no means incorrect.

² The reading mǎzdazunghôdûm was suggested to me by Dr. Aurel Stein previously (as I believe) to its announcement elsewhere. Before this the indication of the Pahlavi (which always hesitates to change a MS. regarded at the time as sacred) had been followed by all with its necessary error.

³ The 'e' in kithre must represent a nasalised vowel, as in mehmaidî.

⁴ Îm may be merely a particle.

⁵ I would here strongly insist upon an alternative rendering in the sense of the Pahlavi. The rendering above is given on principle. A text should never be changed, if it is possible to render it as it is. Read, 'the wicked confessing (varetô, active sense) evil beliefs with his tongue.' The Pahlavi has zakas sarîtar kâmakô va zakas darvandîh pavan hûzvânô hêmnunêd/. Many, with this view, would at once read varetâ without MSS.

⁶ Observe the peculiar pouruyê (pourviyê, if not a locative), the two first things, principles, forces; so in Y. XXX, 3.

⁷ Notice that vahyô akemtâ (in Y. XXX, 3) necessarily apply to the mainyû, and not only because, as nominatives, the words fall to the end of the sentence. Here we have analogous adjectives applied unmistakably to the two. The neuters correspond with vahistem manô and akistem manô, and are of capital importance as

understandings, nor our beliefs, nor our deeds, nor our consciences, nor our souls, are at one¹.

3. Thus I will declare this world's first² (teaching), that which the all-wise Mazda Ahura hath told me. And they among you who will not so fulfil and obey this Māthra, as I now shall conceive and declare it, to these shall the end of life (issue) in woe.

4. Thus I will declare forth this world's best (being). From (the insight of His) Righteousness Mazda, who hath appointed these (things)³, hath known (what He utters to be true; yea, I will declare) Him the father of the toiling Good Mind (within us). So is His

expressing that abstract conception which renders the Gāthas so much more impressive as the earliest documents of their kind.

¹ The Pahlavi thus glosses: I do not think what thou thinkest, [for I think what is pious, and thou thinkest what is impious]; nor our teachings, [for I teach what is pious, and thou, what is impious] —nor our religions, for mine is the Gāthic, and thine that of the sorcerer; nor our souls, [for he who takes his stand on my religion, and he who takes his stand on thy religion, are apart; their souls do not occupy the same position]. Ner.: *naṭa dīniḥ* [yato me dīniḥ gāthabhavā teṭa rākshasī*].

² The 'first teaching' was a prominent idea with the Zarathustrians. Z. is called in the later Avesta the *paoiryō/kaēsha* (sic). He hardly plays the rôle of a reformer in the Avesta. He is mentioned after others chronologically, not as repudiating them. He might better be termed reviver. *Yām* is difficult; perhaps *daēnām* is to be understood, or *yem* (māthrem) read; see verse 4, *anghaus ahyā vahistem*. Neither *pourvīm* nor *vahistem* are adverbs.

³ Some change the text here to another which corresponds to some of the terms better. It should, however, first be rendered as it stands; the obscurities may well be owing to idiosyncrasy in the composer; possibly also to an affectation of obscurity (or 'dark speech'). How can Mazda be said to 'know Himself?' or how could any but Ahura be spoken of as 'the Father of Vohu Manah and Âramaiti?' He recognised Himself as having generated V. M. and Â. He was conscious of the completed relation.

daughter through good deeds (our) Piety. Not to be deceived is the all-viewing¹ Lord.

5. Yea, thus I will declare that which the most bountiful One told me, that word which is the best to be heeded by mortals. They who therein grant me obedient² attention, upon them cometh Weal to bless, and the Immortal being, and in the deeds of His Good Mind cometh the Lord.

6. Aye, thus I will declare forth Him who is³ of all the greatest, praising through my Righteousness, I who do aright, those who (dispose of all as well aright). Let Ahura Mazda hear with His bounteous spirit, in whose homage (what I asked) was asked⁴ with the Good Mind. Aye, let Him exhort me through His wisdom (which is ever) the best.

7. (Yea, I will declare Him) whose blessings the offerers will seek for, those who are living now, as well as those who have lived (aforetime), as will they

¹ Hishas looks irresistibly like a nom. sing., but may it not be a nom. actoris from the redup. root? Compare *hīshasa* (although the Pahlavi renders with a different cast of meaning). What Indian word to compare here is hard to say. I prefer Bartholomae's earlier view (as to the meaning) with the Pahlavi *harvispō nikīrīdār*. By dropping the later glosses, the sense of the Pahlavi comes out as usual, much closer to the Gātha.

² Observe the vigour possessed by 'Sraosha.' It designates the angel of Obedience; and at the same time it is the only word which can here bring out the sense when it is understood in its actual meaning; so continually with the words *Vohu Manah*, *Asha*, &c.

³ Lit. 'Him who I, doing aright, (praising Him with His immortals) who (all likewise) are (beneficent).' Or it may be 'that which.'

⁴ So with many who hold the least to the hints of the Pahlavi. Otherwise I would render 'there is furtherance,' comparing *afrašt-mantō*.

also who are coming¹ (hereafter. Yea, even) the soul(s) of the righteous (will desire) them in the eternal² Immortality. (Those things they will desire which are blessings to the righteous) but woes to the wicked. And these hath Ahura Mazda (established) through His kingdom, He, the creator (of all).

8. Him in our hymns of homage and of praise would I faithfully serve, for now with (mine) eye, I see Him clearly, Lord of the good spirit³, of word, and action, I knowing through my Righteousness Him who is Ahura Mazda. And to Him (not here alone, but) in His home of song⁴, His praise we⁵ shall bear.

9. Yea, Him with our better Mind we seek to honour, who desiring (good), shall come to us (to bless) in weal and sorrow⁶. May He, Ahura Mazda, make us⁷ vigorous through Khshathra's royal power,

¹ *Bvaititiâ* (sic) seems, as elsewhere, to express 'those who are becoming.'

² The Pahlavi uniformly errs, or is strangely free, with this word. The sense 'continuous' is here admirably adapted.

³ This word seems evidently used almost in a modern sense of 'character,' 'disposition.' Elsewhere we are in doubt whether to refer it to the *Spēnista Mainyu* of Ahura, or to Ahura Himself.

⁴ Paradise; possibly 'home of sublimity.'

⁵ The change from singular to plural is frequent. *Ner.* varies from the Pahlavi in the last verse, improving upon it: *Evam tasmai prazāmam antar Garothmāne nidadāmahe*. This was probably an intentional improvement, as the Persian MS. follows our Pahlavi text. His MS. of the Pahlavi probably read *barâ yehabûnd*.

⁶ Or, 'who has created weal and sorrow for us with good intention, (and as our discipline);' but this is hardly probable. Ahura did not originate evil. *Spēnâ*, *aspenâ* are used adverbially (see Y. XXXIV, 7).

⁷ I hardly agree to reading *verezenyau* (sic) here in the sense of 'homes.' The meaning is 'endow us with efficiency' in the pursuit of the objects mentioned in the context. Or 'the propitiation and

our flocks and men in thrift to further, from the good support and bearing¹ of His Good Mind, (itself born in us) by His Righteousness.

10. Him in the Yasnas of our Piety we seek to praise with homage, who in His persistent energy² was famed to be (in truth) the Lord Ahura Mazda, for He hath appointed in His kingdom, through His holy Order and His Good Mind, both Weal and Immortality, to grant³ the eternal mighty pair to this our land (and the creation).

11. (Him would we magnify and praise) who hath despised the Daêva-gods and alien men, them who before held Him in their derision. Far different are (these) from him who gave Him honour. This latter one is through the Saoshyant's bounteous Faith, who likewise is the Lord of saving power⁴,

reverential honour' may have been more directly in the composer's mind; 'may He endow our (worship) with efficiency that it may accomplish its desired result.' See the positions of the words.

The Pahlavi translation also bears witness to the rendering above, with its erroneous or free *varzîdâr avô lanman*.

¹ As it is impossible for those who have studied the subject to believe that the Pahlavi translator did not know the meaning of *amavandîh* in Zend, we must suppose him to have had some form like *hazah* before him instead of *huzâ(thwâ/)*.

² The Pahlavi translator, rendering this word in the two other places by *pavan astûbîh*, had evidently some reason for seeing a form of *nāman* here. The natural conclusion is that his MS. read differently in this place. Ner. renders him appropriately.

³ *Dān* looks like an accusative infinitive here (Bartholomae); otherwise the two verbs must be regarded as having indefinite pronouns understood, 'one assigns,' and 'they grant.'

⁴ I cannot see the applicability of Agni's title 'house-lord' here; compare *dāmsupatni* as 'adj. referring to pāti.

a friend, brother, or a father to us, Mazda Lord¹!

YASNA XLVI.

PERSONAL SUFFERINGS, HOPES, AND APPEALS.

In treating this most valuable section, we can as usual presuppose that the several verses were not originally composed in the order in which they now appear. Verses 1-3 seem like a cry 'from the depths.' In verse 4 animosity appears; and an appeal to the energy of some of his warlike adherents seems to prove that, with verses 5 and 6, the composer addressed it to an assembly; 7-10 are questions and appeals to Ahura, but, as a matter of course, they are none the less really intended to impress the hearers, as well as to animate the mind of the reciter. Verses 11 and 12 were again intended to be delivered to adherents.

Verse 13 is addressed to them in terms. Verse 14 would be regarded by some as little suited to the connection, and the rest seem spoken to an assembly of chiefs. However different they may be as to the particular time or circumstances of their origin, they are in general so homogeneous even as to pitch of intensity, that, with a little exercise of the mind, we can as usual see the reasons why they were put together, or were consecutively composed; and in poetic diction sudden changes neither displease nor surprise us. 1. Beyond a doubt the leading prophet is the figure in the first and second verses; and those verses are so free from imagery that we hold them as describing beyond any reasonable

¹ He who despised the Daêvas, they returning the contempt is probably the same person expressed by the two hōi in the previous verse. It is therefore Ahura, but the words which mean friend, brother, father, are grammatically connected with ye—mainyâtâ, the one who revered Ahura. The expression 'father' gives a strong impression that Ahura is referred to, notwithstanding the vocative. Particularly as we have father in verse 4. The word 'brother,' however, inclines one to the more closely grammatical view.

question, together with many other passages in the Gâthas, the afflictions and discouragements of Zarathustra himself. He knows not whither to turn, although he speaks as a public person and in command of forces which are scanty indeed (verse 2), but yet still able to take the field (Y. XLIV, 15, 16); and his movements also concern large districts ('lands'). He is not driven from his house, but from his country. It is superfluous to say that religion, although blended with a natural ambition, is his leading motive. How he shall satisfy Ahura is the one problem which he aims to solve; but his case at this particular juncture shows every discouragement.

2. Not supposing that his *yâ=yéna* is merely lost in the meaning 'that,' we see that in relieving his burdened mind he exclaims, not that he knows that he is poor in means and troops, but that he knows why it is thus. It is the *dregvant's* work, whom we may also well understand as the *drugvant*, the accursed enemy, who holds back (verse 4) the bearers of the Holy Order from all success in their efforts to gain a righteous livelihood from the favoured cattle culture (Y. XXIX, 2), and who, as he with grief long since foresaw, should he attain to power, would deliver up home, village, district, and province to ruin and death (Y. XXXI, 18). He therefore cries to Ahura in common with the Kine herself (Y. XXIX, 9), and his 'behold' is only a changed expression for her exclamations (Y. XXIX, 1).

As a friend, he would have the good Mazda to regard him as seeking an especial form of grace; and he would beseech Him to fill up his need (Y. XXVIII, 11) in his extremity, teaching him, not the value of flocks and followers alone, but of that *îsti* which lay deeper than the material wealth which he yet lamented, even the blessings of the Holy Order in every home. 3. And therefore he continues: Teach me and tell me of those great thoughts, the *kh ratavô*, the salvation-schemes of the Saviours, elsewhere also spoken of as the *kh ratu* of life (Y. XXXII, 9); for these saving helpers would, through a severe conflict and after many a reverse, at last bring on 'Completed Progress.'

4. But he must arouse himself from the relief and indulgence of his grief, he therefore springs to action, and with a cry which we hear elsewhere (Y. LIII, 9), and which was in all probability often uttered in hymns now lost to us, he urges the reward for the chief, who at the head of his retainers, shall expel the world-destroyer, the *dussasti* (Y. XLV, 1), from power and from life. And what is that reward? It seems to be merely the recognition and confirmation of merit among the faithful. The man who shall

expel, or destroy, the heretical tyrant shall be eminent in the recognition of his services in the support of the people and their sacred agricultural civilisation.

That was to be reward enough, and even that prestige (*pourvâtêma*) was to be given back to God in offering for still further service (Y. XXXIII, 14).

5. And every righteous official is urged to repeat the proclamation as a warning to every polluted Daêva-worshipper whom he can discover, or to whom his voice can reach, as well as to those secret adherents who would seem to need encouragement. The charged official is to assail the destructive opponent (Y. XXXII, 6-8), only after careful discrimination. He is to approach the evil chief, the hostile *hvaêtu* (of the blood), as distinct from the inferior noble, or the peasant clansman, and he is to tell him fully of the price set on his head. 6. 'And the superintendent who has the power, and does not thus carry out these instructions, shall himself be delivered over to the bonds of that Lie-demon whom the evil "kinsman" serves. For there is no compromise in the dualistic moral creed. The man who favours the evil is as the evil, and the friend of the good is as the good himself; so had the Lord ordained.'

7. Then, as so often elsewhere, he turns his thoughts to the outward emblem as the sign of inward grace, the sacramental Fire without which the masses would have had no help to fix the eye, or draw prostrations, and he asks with the question of profound devotion: Whom have they (Thy Saoshyants, verse 3) set me, as strengthener in these storms, save Thee and Thy symbolic flames? Yet even here he names the Good Mind with them, and the Order.

8. 'But,' he continues, 'may he who would destroy my settlement find every influence and power combined to form his ruin; may all things keep him back from prosperity, and may nothing keep him back from harm.'

9. He calls, then, for a leading helper who may help him magnify Ahura, not merely in religious celebrations, but in that universal advance of the sacred 'cause,' which follows Ahura's 'conciliation' (verse 1).

10. As if to hinder the discouragement of those who hear his own unburdenings of grief, he declares that he will never leave the faithful few who follow him; he will go with them to the 'dread assize' itself, as if to help them pass the last of tests.

11. But the 'wicked,' open or concealed, should not share these hopes; their conscience, ever the remorseless executioner, shall curse them, as they try to pass the Judgment Bridge; and hurled

from that narrow path (it becomes narrow to the faithless), they shall fall to 'eternal' Hell.

12. Their destruction is not, however, yet decided; there is not only hope for the tribesmen of Ahura, but for the pagan, and not for the 'alien' only, but for the Turanian enemy, whose very name had been a synonym for suffering. If these even shall repent, they may be blest; and some had already turned. The converted tribe Fryána offered many pious proselytes. These would help on the righteous order together with the holy people, and God would dwell with them as well.

13. Rhetorically referring to himself as in the third person, or else representing some second speaker who names his name, he can still offer his reward to any prince who will yet come up with his retainers to his cause, not kept back by the many refusals which he had met (verse 1), nor discouraged by the scant numbers of his bands; and that reward is one which might yet be efficacious to induce self-sacrificing succour, for in addition to what had been said (see verse 4) he could declare spiritual life from Ahura to be the portion of every faithful follower, and with it future temporal wealth. And he should declare this true recruit the 'good mate' in the service, the first helper (verse 9) of the tribes.

14. Here we have what seems a question conceived as uttered by some one in the throng, or else simply rhetorically thrown in: 'Who is that friend, that powerful coadjutor who is thus offered this reward, and for such a service?' Zarathustra names the king. But he diverts the minds of hearers from a pernicious trust in individuals.

He would appeal, so he implies, not to one man only, although that one be Vistâspa, the heroic, but to all whom Ahura would recognise in His assembly, through the inspired suffrage of the mass.

15. And first he addresses the group made up chiefly of his family, the Spitâmas; they were, as he implied, enlightened in the sacred lore, and among the foremost therefore of the Ar(e)dra.

16. He then calls on Frashaostra, with the Hvôgvas, exhorting all to continue in their righteous course, in harmony with those whom they wish for as Saviours for the land, assuring them that they will reach at last that sacred scene where the 'Immortals' dwell with God. 17. 'That scene,' he further adds, 'where the faithful sing their praises in perfection, using the true metres' (as sacred as the Vedic). And he declares that Ahura, who discerns the truth infallibly, will heed and answer; for the praises sung there will be those of obedient men who offer to the cause. 18. He once

more holds out his spiritual rewards as the best gifts of the inspired revelation, threatening as usual commensurate visitation upon the oppressing clans, while both promises and threats are in harmony with Ahura's will, for that alone has been his guide in every statement. 19. After all complaints, and threats, and stern injunctions, he closes with the once more repeated word 'reward,' and that for every man who shall aid in 'his great affair' (Y. XXX, 2), and he appeals to God Himself, asserting His inspiration for all that he has said.

Translation.

1. To what land to turn¹; aye, whither turning shall I go? On the part of² a kinsman (prince), or allied peer, none, to conciliate, give³ (offerings) to me (to help my cause), nor yet the throngs of labour, (not) even such as these⁴, nor yet (still less) the evil

¹ The Pahlavi translator sees the usual meaning in *nemôî* and *nemô*. He also accepts *kām zām* adverbially after the constant Greek usage. 'In what land shall I establish my religion (as it is here rejected); whither with my praises (of the true God) shall I go?' The rendering is so much richer that I turn from it with great reluctance.

² It is to be regretted that able scholars should so hastily change the Gâthic text here without first trying to render it as it is. This is all the more necessary, as each independent writer disputes emendations. *Pairî* I think ought to stand. The *hvaētu*, *airyaman*, and *vereznem* are also elsewhere alluded to, as appertaining to the hostile party sometimes, and therefore not among those from among whom (*parâ?*) the prophet would be expelled.

³ *Dadaitî* as a third plural has long been suggested with the eagerness of discovery. Its subjects would then be *khshnâus*, and that implied in *yâ vereznâ*. But the construction is difficult thus, and it may be greatly doubted whether we had not better alter our discovery back into the singular with the Pahlavi. I am greatly confirmed in my view of the grammatical form of *khshnâus* by Bartholomae's decision for a nominal form. Otherwise it would be a third singular, with loss of the final dental.

⁴ *Hekâ* seems to be an irregular form (see Y. LVIII, 4). I can



tyrants of the province. How then (establish well the Faith, and thus) conciliate Thy (grace), O Lord?

2. This know I, Mazda! wherefore I am thus unable to attain my wish¹, and why my flocks are so reduced in number, and why my following is likewise scant. Therefore I cry to Thee; behold it, Lord! desiring helpful grace for me, as friend bestows on friend. (Therefore to meet my spirit's need, and this as well) declare and teach² to me the Good Mind's wealth.

3. When come, Great Giver! they who are the day's enlighteners³, to hold the Righteous Order of the world upright, and forward pressing? When are

only make an exclamatory isque=talisque of it. The Pahlavi renders freely as if some form of hi=to bind were before him (recall hôis?), or perhaps he read hakâ, rendering as=these all together, hamsâyakîk; Ner. ye svasrenayo.

¹ So the Kine complained of him in Y. XXIX, 9 as anaêsha; so also the Pahlavi, explaining akhvâstar [aîgham denman atû-bânîkîh maman râi khavîûnam]. He proceeds li amat kam ramak va amati^k kam-gabrâ hômanam, explaining anaêshô as not being an ishâ-khshathra. Mâ=smâ notwithstanding position (?).

² 'Nim wahr' has long since circulated as a rendering for âkhsô; and with îstîm in the sense of 'prayer,' it has afforded the admirable sense 'observe, take heed of the desire of the pious.' But we have a positive proof of the meaning 'teach,' 'declare' for khsa; see Y. LXV, 9 (Wg.). So also in Y. XXVIII, 5. That Ahura possessed an îsti is clear from Y. XXXIV, 5. And if the sage could ask, 'What is your îsti (wealth)? what is your kingdom (power over possessions)?' it is certainly not strained to suppose that he could say here; 'tell me concerning your wealth,' especially as he bewails his poverty. Îsti is in antithesis to the idea expressed in kamnafshvâ and kamnânâ. So also the Pahlavi as translated by the Persian 'hezânah.

³ Ukshâno would seem to be an ancient error for ushâno, as the Pahlavi translator renders as if reading ushâ in Y. L, 10, and

the schemes of the saviour Saoshyants with (their) lofty revelations (to appear)? To whom for help does he (their chief) approach, who has Thy Good Mind (as his fellow-worker¹)? Thee, for mine exhorter and commander, Living Lord! I choose.

4. (But e'er these helpers come to me, all rests as yet in gloom.) The evil man is holding back² those who are the bearers of the Righteous Order from progress³ with the Kine, (from progress with the sacred cause) within the region, or the province⁴, he, the evil governor, endowed with evil might⁵, consuming⁶ life with evil deeds. Wherefore, whoever hurls him from his power, O Mazda! or from life, stores for the Kine in sacred wisdom shall he make⁷.

not ukhshâ. Otherwise 'increasers of the days' is a fine expression, but suspicious in view of the Pahlavi rendering in Y. L, 10. Ner.'s *vikâsayitryo (sic) is striking, but I cannot claim for it all that it seems to offer, as Ner. elsewhere renders forms of vakhsh by those of kas. The Persian follows the Pahlavi.

¹ Comp. Y. XLIV, 1.

² Pâ in the sense of 'keeping back from welfare' as well as in that of 'protection,' a sense first taught us by the Pahlavi writers, is now at last generally acknowledged. It now, like many other suggestions of the Pahlavi, actually casts light in the rendering of the analogous Vedic word.

³ So the mass of MSS. with the Pahl. min fravâmisnô; Persian az raftan. The expression might refer to the 'going of the kine,' as representing the people in her 'path.'

⁴ Comp. Y. XXXI, 18.

⁵ Pahl. zak î pavan dûs-stahamak; Ner. dush/o balât-kâri. The elements seem to be duz + hazô + bâo(=vâo).

⁶ Ush in Iranian seems to have the sense of destruction combined with it sometimes; hence aoshah, aoshisnô.

⁷ Kar can well mean 'attain to.' Pathmeng as=paths (so I formerly rendered) gives a far feeblar sense than that indicated by the first Zendist, the Pahlavi writer. The 'wisdom' of preparing stores for the kine, even if we suppose an animal only to be meant,

5. (Yea), he who, as ruler, treats no coming applicant with injury¹, as a good citizen (or nobly wise) in sacred vow and duty, and living righteously in every covenant, who, as an uncorrupted judge, discerns the wicked (that leader who, rejecting me, would keep back those who propagate the Faith), let him, (this righteous judge,) declare (the vengeance) to that (hostile²) lord, (my) kinsman. Yea, let him crush him when he sallies forth³ (to approach us for our harm)!

6. (And he who leaves him in his guilty error has my curse.) Yea, he who has the power⁴, and will not thus (with stern reproof⁵) approach him, shall go to

is obvious. The Iranian winter was something very different from that in India. But the kine is not alluded to without a certain figurative meaning: she represents the people, and as such she cried aloud; and Zarathustra received the commission to relieve her sufferings as such. That the word *huḱistōis* stands in the genitive should not disturb us. The 'care for the kine' was a matter of national importance, and 'wisdom' could not better be exercised than in this direction.

¹ Or we may render 'he who as ruler does not bestow favours upon him who approaches with injury.' The hint of the Pahlavi favours this.

² *Hvaêtavê* is here, as in Y. XXXIII, 4; Y. XXXII, 1, and the first verse of this chapter, the hostile chieftain called 'kinsman' in an aristocratic sense by Zarathustra and his group.

³ I compare *uzûithyauška* which is used of the breaking forth of water. The Pahlavi translator seems to have had some such idea 'mûn lâla hengîdô', but with him the entire line, which divides all writers, favours the sense 'in saving him from his impiety.' *Khrûnyâš* is a verbal form (with Bartholomae).

⁴ The Pahlavi translator sees the root *is*=to wish in *ismanô*, 'who does not willingly approach him;' or 'who does not approach desiring (and seeking?) him.'

⁵ I am gratified to see that another takes nearly this view of this line. He has 'verfolgt.'

the abode of the Lie, (and) the enchainer¹. For he is evil who is the best one to the evil, and he is holy who is friendly to the righteous, as Thou didst fix the moral laws², O Lord!

7. Whom, then, as guard, O Mazda! hast Thou³ set me⁴ then when that wicked one still held⁵ me for his hate? Whom (had I) then but Thee, Thy Fire and Mind, Ahura! by deeds performed in which Thy Righteous rule is saved and nurtured? Therefore that spiritual power⁶ (vouchsafing me) for the (holy) Faith (its truths) declare.

8. And as to him who (now by evil power) delivers up my settlements to harm, let not his burning (wrath) in deeds attain⁷ me. But bearing back⁸ the (evil will and evil influence of such), let these things come (back) to him in anger. Let that to his body come which holds from⁹ welfare; but let no (help)

¹ Haêthahyâ, as a masculine, is awkward, as would be baêthahyâ, so the Pahl. (of the terrifier). A loc. of haithya may be correct, taking dâmân also as a loc. Otherwise 'to the creatures of the Lie, and the enchainer (or terrifier).'

² Or, 'as Thou didst make the souls at first.'

³ So with K6, K9 (Barth.).

⁴ Some render 'me' here, who seem elsewhere loath to translate thwâvazt as=like thee, thee. Khshmâvatô, thwâvâs, and mavaitê, in Y. XLIV, 1, may be rendered, 'of you,' 'thou,' and 'to me.'

⁵ So the Pahlavi indicates. I have, however, elsewhere, as against tradition, rendered as if the root were dar(e)s; 'has set his eye on me for vengeance.'

⁶ One might be tempted to read ta/ môi dâs tvəm; 'that granting me, do Thou speak forth for the faith.'

⁷ The Pahlavi translator indicates the root sâ by his rêsh; so read as alternative, 'let him not wound us.'

⁸ The meaning 'but contrariwise' has been ventured on. The indication of the Pahlavi is 'in opposing;,' pavan pađrak yâm-tûnisnô.

⁹ The Pahlavi here misses the point, and taking pâyâs in its usual

at all (approach him, which may) keep him back from misery. (And let this happen as I speak) from (vengeful) hate, O Lord!

9. But who is the freely helping one who will teach me foremost ¹ how we may adore Thee, Thou the well to be invoked ² as in Thy deeds, the holy³, bountiful Ahura? What (words) the Kine's creator ⁴ spake for Thee by aid of, and to aid, the Righteous ritual Order, these words of Thine, (Thy people coming) with Thy Good Mind, are seeking ⁵ now (to gain and learn from) me ⁶, O Mazda Lord!

sense, falls into confusion. The ancient scholars, like some of their successors, could not always believe that pâ could mean 'to hold back from good' as well as from evil. They recognised it sometimes, giving us our instruction on the subject, but not here.

¹ Did the composer appeal to some powerful coadjutor here, or does he rhetorically express his perplexity?

² Zevîstîm must equal forms of hû; but from the constant evidence of the Pahlavi to the meaning 'endearing,' one is much inclined to suggest a reading as if from zush.

³ Ashavanem is applied to Ahura, and cannot so well mean 'righteous' here. 'Holy' is the more proper term in this connection, while *spentem* is necessarily excluded from that meaning by its occurrence with *ashavanem* in immediate connection.

⁴ Notice that the word *tashâ* occurs here with no mention of wounding in the connection (see note 6 on page 6).

⁵ I am here recalled to the Pahlavi by some who rarely name it. I had rendered, 'these words are inciting me (in duty) through Thy Good Mind;' so *ish* often in the Veda. The Pahlavi translator, like his successors, scandalised at the difficult forms, also anticipated his successors (as elsewhere often) in getting free from the difficulty. He did what is exactly equivalent to what is now practised by scholars (sometimes too often). He rendered the text as if changed from what he could not understand to what he could understand, adhering to the right roots however, which I now follow. He knew that *ishentî mâ* did not mean, 'I am seeking,' but he could not credit the words before him.

⁶ We have now a suggestion which must often have presented itself to those who read the *Rig-veda* constantly, and that is (so

10. Whoever, man or woman, shall give to me those (gifts) of life which Thou hast known¹ as best, O Mazda! and as a holy blessing through (Thy) Righteous Order, a throne (established) with (Thy) Good Mind, (with these I shall go forth; yea, those) whom I shall (accompany and so) incite², to the homage of such as You³ (on earth), forth to the Judge's Bridge (itself) with all of them shall I lead on⁴ (at last).

11. (And they and I have every need for help, for now) the Karpan and the Kavi will join in governments⁵ to slay the life of man with evil deeds, they whom their own souls and their own conscience will betray⁶. And when they approach there where the Judge's Bridge (extends, unlike the believing ones of God, who go so firmly forth with me as guide and helper, these shall miss their path and fall⁷), and

Bartholomae) that mâ may equal smâ here and often elsewhere. It is well possible, as the 's' often disappears.

¹ Notice once more the expression, 'Thou hast known;' so in Y. XXVIII, 11, the composer confides the very direction of his petitions to the discrimination of the Deity. We gain from this the true sense of *peresâ nau yâ tôi zhmâ parstâ*; Ahura's question and prayer are mighty when repeated by us, because He has known what is best, and what are the true *dâtheng* for which we should ask.

² This sense corresponds admirably with the connection; *Ner. uthâpayâmi*.

³ Such as you = you as in the plural of majesty, or as referring to Ahura and His Bountiful Immortals (so often).

⁴ 'Go forth.'

⁵ Or, 'with kings;' but the Pahlavi has, *avô khudâyih ayûgênd mûn Kik va Karapô*.

⁶ So the Pahlavi indicates. Otherwise 'will harden,' or, if *khrao-dat* is read, 'will rage (against).'

⁷ Inserted to shed light on the last line; so the later Parsism.

in the Lie's abode for ever shall their habitation¹ be.

12. (But for the penitent there is yet hope ; for all our former foes shall not thus fall, as from the *K'invat* Bridge to woe, for) when from among the tribes and kith of the Turanian, even among the more powerful ones of the Fryâna, those shall arise² who further on the settlements of Piety with energy and zeal, with these shall Ahura dwell together through His Good Mind (in them), and to them for joyful grace deliver His commands³.

13. Yea, he who will propitiate Zarathustra Spitâma⁴ with gifts midst men, this man is fitted for the proclamation, and to him Ahura Mazda will give the (prospered) life. And he will likewise cause the settlements to thrive in mental goodness. We think⁵ him, therefore, Your good companion to (further and maintain) Your Righteousness (and meet for Your approach).

¹ I am again brought back to the Pahlavi, having formerly rendered 'bodies,' which I would now put in the second place.

² The Pahlavi, although as usual free or erroneous as to forms, gives us the valuable hint of *hengî-ait* for *uzgen* (sic=*gayen*).

³ Here we have the clear evidence of the conversion of a border tribe. The Zarathustrians had saved some Turanian clan from plunder or annihilation, and so secured their friendship. These became known as the 'friendly people.' That true Zarathustrian piety may have arisen among them is of course possible.

⁴ It need hardly be said that this reference to Z. in the third person, does not prove that the composer was not Z. himself. One might even say that his authorship was even not less probable on this account.

⁵ Let it be noted that the Pahlavi translator gives us our first critical knowledge as to the true writing and meaning of *mehmaidî* ; or will scholars object that he renders in the singular? Valman pavan zak î Lekûm Aharâyîh hamîshak minâm khûp hamkhâk ; Ner. dhyâyâmi suddha-sakhâyam.

(A voice from among the Chiefs.)

14. (But where is such an one ?) Whom hast thou Zarathustra¹ ! thus a holy friend for the great (effort of the) cause ? Who is it who thus desires to speak it forth ? (Zarathustra answers. Aye, such an one I have.) It is our Kavi Vistâspa², the heroic ; (and not he alone, but all) whom thou shalt (as in Thy prophet) meet³ in the assembly, O Ahura Mazda ! these likewise will I call (to my attempt), and with Thy Good Mind's words.

15. O ye Haêkat-aspas, Spitâmas ! to you will I now address my words, since ye discern the things unlawful, and the lawful, for these your actions to establish⁴ (firmly on its base) for you the Righteous Order through those which are the Lord's primeval laws.

16. (And to the Hvôgvas would I likewise speak.) Thou Frashaostra Hvôgva (whom I see)⁵; go thou

¹ Shall we regard this verse as misplaced because the subject is in the second person ? It is probable (as of very many verses) that it was often recited by the composer, or others, in a different connection, and perhaps originally so ; but it was a happy thought for the effect to introduce it here. Let it be supposed that this and the previous verse were arranged to be spoken by another voice during the public recital. We see that the interest is much increased by the intruding strophe.

² This passage may be regarded as recording the call of Vistâspa to the holy work. Zu=hû need not always express the invocation of the gods.

³ Others, 'unite.'

⁴ Or, 'ye take to you the righteous character to yourselves,' as the infinitive is difficult ; but in that case Khshmaibyâ becomes awkward. The translation of dâ as 'take' has long been familiar.

⁵ Obviously composed for an occasion when the several parties would be present.

(forth) with the generous helpers¹, with those whom we are praying for as for salvation to the land. Go thou where Piety joins hand in hand with the Righteous Order, where are the wished-for Realms of Good Mind, where Mazda in His most honoured² home abides,

17. Where in your measured verse³ I will declare aloud (the praises), not in unmeasured lines, *Gâmâspa Hvôgva!* but songs of homage (will I weave) with ever gained Obedience in offering. (And unto Mazda) will I chant them, yea, to Him who will discern aright what things are lawful (or) unlawful⁴ (which I thus do, or utter), and with His wonder-working thoughts⁵ of Righteousness (attend).

18. (For) whosoever (offers) sanctity⁶ to me, to him shall be the best gifts whatsoever. Yea, of my

¹ Ar(e)dra seems to be especially applied, and might be left un-rendered.

² I see no impossibility whatever in such a rendering, literally in 'his choice-abode'; so also the Pahlavi indicates: *tamman afgh Aûharmazd pavan kâmak dên demânô ketrûnêd*. The question is of 'going' and 'dwelling,' and the meaning 'abode' is quite in point. As to *var*, see *îstâ khshathrâ*; and compare *mazdâvarâ*. Aside from this, *vardmām*=in blessing.

³ The Pahlavi again, with its followers, gives us our first hint at the general meaning here. What else can his *padmân* and *apadmânîk* mean, but the regularity, that is, the rhythm and cadence of the words?

⁴ *Dâthemkâ adâthemkâ* would be 'the truth and the heresy' in general.

⁵ If *mantû* is taken as an instrumental, (can it be an act. imper.?) *vistâ* might occupy the place of a preterit, but it looks far more like a participle, and might be regarded as forming a compositum with *vahmeng*. Supply the dat. (?) pers. pron. understood before *ya*.

⁶ The alteration to *yaur*, considered as an aorist, has long circulated, but seems now, like so many of the bolder conceptions, to be given up. *Yaos* is the sister word of the Vedic *yós*, and

(spirit's) wealth will I bestow on him through Thy Good Mind (which I give), but oppressions will I send on him who as oppressor will deliver us to anguish, O Mazda! desiring, as I do, to satisfy Your choice by righteous (vengeance). This is the decision of mine understanding and my will.

19. (Yea, this I earnestly announce.) He who from Righteousness (in mind and life) shall verily perform for me, for Zarathustra, that which is thus most helpful (for my cause) according to my earnest wish (and through my words of urgent zeal) on him shall they bestow reward(s) beyond this earth, with all the mental¹ blessings gained through the sacred mother-kine². And these things (all) did'st Thou (Thyself) command to me, O Mazda, Thou most wise³!

shows us that some shade of sanctity may inhere in that word. The Pahlavi renders more indefinitely by 'yân' = a helpful blessing.

¹ The Pahlavi translator, however, saw *menâ*, rendering *avô li*. His text may well have justified him.

² Bearing; or is it 'fit to drive?'

³ The Pahlavi here reports another text.

(SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES. *Askî*, in verse 18, may equal 'verily indeed.' *Vahistâ*, &c. = 'the best things of my wealth will I assign to him through the Good Mind.' The meaning 'wealth' seems much called for here, and if here, then in verse 2. *Vasnâ* in verse 19 may mean 'through grace'.)

THE GĀTHA(Ā) SPENTĀ MAINYŪ (SPENTĀMAINYU(Ū)).

This Gātha, consisting of Yasna XLVII-L, takes its name from its commencing words. Like the other Gāthas it owes its existence as a collection to the nature of its metre, as its matter is homogeneous with that of the others. Its metre may be said to be Trishrūp, as its lines have each eleven syllables, and are arranged in stanzas of four.

A general view precedes each chapter. The grouping of hymns in this Gātha has, as usual, little or nothing to do with the question of their relative age.

YASNA XLVII.

THE BOUNTIFULNESS OF AHURA.

As in every instance, we may have here only the fragments of a more extended piece; but also, as ever, the circumstance does not diminish the value of what remains. Although some signs of authorship apart from Zarathustra are present, the later verses are not at all remote, so far as the period of time which they indicate is concerned, from the Zarathustrian verses, and are therefore of nearly equal interest, possessing the advantage moreover of affording data for estimating the progress of change.

1. The Spentā mainyū here is not identical with Ahura, but is, as so often, His spirit. It is more than possible that the memorable application of the word *spenta* to the seven, giving us the Ameshōspends, the Amshasponds of literature, derives its origin from the first verse here before us, or from lost verses of a similar character. All the seven seem purposely and artificially grouped here, although 'His Spirit' is of course not one of them. The commencing word *spenta* further attracted attention in so far as to form the theme for a sort of play upon words in the later epilogue of Visparad XIX. By means of this His indwelling Spirit (which idea, or expression, has probably no direct connection with the 'Holy Spirit' of the Old and New Testaments, but which, as giving the designation 'spirit' to the Ameshōspends, may well have been the original of the 'seven spirits which are before the throne of God'), by means of this

blessed spirit, that is, in accordance with his inmost thoughts, Ahura bestows a gift upon the ideal saint (verses 4, 5), upon him who works the best results for Zarathustra (Y. XLVI, 19), the Ratu, and the prophet (Y. XXIX, 6, 8). And this gift is declared to be the inseparable two, Happiness in every particular, and then both the prospect and realisation of the continuance of that Happiness in Immortality. And these He bestows, not through His immediate action, which no human intellect, or susceptibility, could take in unaided, but by His especially revealed Benevolence, His Best Mind, as His representative, in accordance with His plan of Order and Purity, pervading every moral as well as every spiritual regulation, and by the exercise of His Royal Power, sent forth as the 'archangel' Khshathra, and embodied in the polity of the sacred Zarathustrian state, and this as influenced in all its relations, public and domestic, by practical piety called Âramaiti, Ahura's daughter (the ready mind). Such a revelation of the component parts of the mind and will of the Deity, the simplest labouring class could understand for the moment, and for some decades; but all was, as a matter of course, soon to be overgrown with the old weeds of superstition and of myth.

2. Falling into detail and varying expressions, the composer prays that Ahura may carry out His holy scheme into action by the busy hands and fingers of domestic piety, and by the preached and recited words of the Good Mind from the mouth and tongue of faithful priests. So, and so only, would He become the Father of Asha, the divine Order, and of moral and ritual regularity among men.

3. From discourse concerning God, he arises, as so often, to an address to Him. That Spirit (referred to in the verses 1, 2) is Ahura's own, for He is the One who makes it bounteous; He is the bountiful One who has created the sacred symbolic Kine, the emblem and the substance of 'joy,' representing at once the possessions of the holy people, and those people themselves. And He it is who, in answer to her wail (Y. XXIX, 1, 9), has spread for her the meadows 'of Piety' as arranged in the consultations (Y. XXXIII, 6) made on her behalf.

4. And this 'Spirit,' as might be expected, does not confine its attention to the inspiration of Piety alone. The justice of Mazda is vindicated. The wicked are afflicted under its influence with a long wounding (Y. XXX, 11) for their sins, and for their cynical preference for prosperous men of bad and dishonest character as well as of heretical faith.

5. But he expresses his confidence that Ahura Mazda will, in the end, set all aright. He will, unlike the persons just mentioned, give unto the ashavan, not kasu alone, but paru, (not a meagre share, but fulness) of whatever is the best, while the dregvant and the aka (verse 4), the faithless and the wicked, although they may be isvanô, prosperous, will only taste the enjoyment of their wealth aside from God, and therefore marred. So long as they pursue their usual course, they live in actions inspired not by the bountiful spirit, but by the Evil Mind, a mind as aka as the person alluded to in the words paraos (kâthê) akô dregvaitê in the previous verse.

6. But, as ever, the moral appeals, and ascriptions of praise, lofty as they are, are not left without the support and service of the ritual. God will give these gifts, and all which are the best, but in connection with His Fire imparted to these struggling sides (Y. XXXI, 2), the believing and the faithless (verses 4, 5), through the increase of His Piety and Order; for that piety, as ever the instructress, will convert all those who come to her, and seek her light (Y. XXX, 1; Y. XLV, 1). Nay, she will cause all the living to choose and believe in God (Y. XXXI, 3).

(If the first two verses here are more like the work of a disciple, the last four show again the original tone. It must never be forgotten, however, that later and even interpolated portions are, in their sense, also original, and differ but slightly in their great age from pieces more directly from the first composer.)

Translation.

1. And to this¹ (man, His chosen saint), Ahura Mazda will give² both the two (greatest gifts, His)

¹ Or, 'to us;' but in that case it would be the Kine who 'took counsel' as mentioned in the third verse. This is, however, far from impossible, as she is mentioned as uttering her wail, and being answered by her maker in Y. XXIX, 1, 2. So understanding, 'to us' becomes an admirable rendering for verse 1; but in verse 3, it is strained, as the Kine for whom (Y. XXIX, 9) Zarathustra was appointed, could not so readily be declared to be the one which was given to 'us,' she representing 'us' in that place to a great extent. There is a certain plausibility about the rendering 'to us,' but I think ahmâi refers to ashaonê understood (see verses 4 and 5). The Pahlavi, moreover, is against a first person.

² Dān (Geldn.) seems to be a 3rd plural aorist subjunctive; the

Universal Weal and Immortality, by means of His bountiful Spirit, and with His Best Mind, from (the desire to maintain His) Righteous moral Order in word and deed, and by the (strength and wisdom) of His Sovereign Power, (established) in Piety (among His folk).

2. Aye, (that blessedness, which is the) best¹ (creation) of this most bounteous spirit, Ahura Mazda will bring forth in action with words from the mouth and tongue of His Good Mind (within His seers), and by the two hands² of Âramaiti (His Piety as she lives within the soul). And by such³ wise (beneficence is) He the father of the righteous Order (within our worship and our lives).

3. And Thou art therein, O Ahura Mazda! the bountiful One who appertains to, and who possesses, that (most bounteous) spirit in that Thou art He who for this⁴ (man, in whom this spirit works) hath made the joy-creating Kine. (And as to her), for her, as

plural being owing to the fact that Ahura gives with the other Ameshôspends. Dã might also be the relic of the proper word which represents the participle; comp. dās (sic).

¹ The idea of the summum bonum seems to have early developed itself, and from this constant use of this word in the neut. singular and plural, and also with anghu.

² Notice once more the pronounced personification of both Vohu Manah and Âramaiti; see Y. XXX, 8, and Y. XLIV, 14, &c. The Pahlavi translation notices the dual form pavan kolâ II yadman.

³ The Pahlavi seems to lead those who regard ôyâ as=a form of ava; it has zak î.

⁴ This is the ahmâi of the first verse, (but always possibly='to us,' if the verses are not to be brought into any kind of connection.) Otherwise it obviously refers to ashâunê* in 4 and 5; so the Pahlavi throughout. See ahmâi and hoi in LI, 6.

joyful meadows¹ of her peace, wilt Thou bestow (Thine) Âramaiti (who is our Piety as earth considered), since he² (for her) hath taken counsel with Thy Good Mind, Lord !

4. (But this Thy bounteous spirit doth not alone bestow rewards and blessings on the good.) The wicked (foemen of the Faith) are harmed, and from (the motives which move) that bounteous spirit (of Thine own), O Mazda³ ! but not thus the saints. (And yet the ruler's pride would ever slight the righteous.) The feeble man alone stands free to give in kindly obligation⁴ to Thy saint, but having wealth and ruling power, the evil (man) is (at the service) of the wicked, and for much⁵.

¹ Many would say that we have here an instance in which the identity of Âramaiti with the earth is recognised in the Gâthas. I would say, on the contrary, that here we have an instance in which a poetical conception gave rise to a later error or fantastical association. Piety, with frugal virtue, induced a thorough husbandry ; and secured the hushiti, peaceful home-life. She gave meadows to the Kine ; at the next step she poetically represents the meadows, and then the earth. If vâstrâi, it would be for 'nurture.'

² Or 'she,' as she once bewailed in a colloquy. Otherwise the person who was appointed to care for her interests is meant. Compare Y. XXXIII, 6, where the righteous Zaothar speaks as desiring counsels (həmparstōis) in the interest of the pastures, and the laws of the sacred agriculture. Cp. also the later reproduction of the idea in an extended form in the Vendidad. The zaotar of Y. XXXIII, 6, may have been the ashavan of verses 4 and 5.

³ Voc. with K₅ (Barth.).

⁴ The Pahlavi gives us, as usual, our first surmise as to the meaning of 'kâthê ;' I follow Geldner with regard to it as against Haug. The expressions here are not literal.

⁵ Isvâkîi connects only indirectly with kasəuski, as kâthê intervenes. I regard paraos akō dregvâitê as presenting the true antithesis to kasəuski/nâ ashâunê. The isvâ may have kîi merely from the influence of jingle, being at the head of the line like kasəus ; isvâ means

5. But Thou wilt give these gifts, and through Thy (most blessed and most) bounteous spirit, O Ahura Mazda! to this¹ Thy holy saint, for they are whatsoever is the best; but far² from Thy love the wicked has his portion, abiding in the actions of the Evil Mind.

6. Aye, these things wilt Thou give (to him), O Thou Ahura Mazda! and through Thy bounteous spirit, (and) by Thy Fire as in a good bestowal to

of itself 'possessing means.' Paraos may depend on kâthê understood, as kasêus depends on it expressed. Moreover, hās in all the instances in which it is used ends the sense, and here is separated by the caesura from paraos, which, however, is of no great importance. The discourse is of the wicked; the holy are incidentally mentioned, and here their ill-treatment is signalised. Akô cannot well mean 'hostile' here; see also akâ/ in the following verse. Isvâkî/, if understood with nâ, alters nothing. 'A man was desirous of little for the service of the saint, but even when he himself was rich, (in the desire) of much was the evil for the evil.' Or, taking kasêuskî/ as governed by isvâkî/ understood with kâthê as before understood in the last line: 'Only a man (men) (possessed) of little was at the service of the righteous, while an evil man (men) possessed of much (was at the service) of the wicked.' The other translation is: 'Even a man of little means stands to the willing service of the saint, but a man even of large means is hostile (?) to the wicked.' This is very glib and so attractive, but I cannot accept it in view of the context. Gâthic expression is often unfortunately far from glib; but cramped, awkward, and apt to contain more thought than could be conveniently expressed within the counted number of syllables. The glib rendering needs other language than that in the MSS. See the following verse, which directly contrasts the treatment of the good and evil by Ahura Himself.

¹ See ahmâi in verse 1, and ashaunê in verse 4. Ahura treats the saint in a manner the reverse from that practised by the nâ kasêus* and akô, not giving sparingly to the good, nor much to the wicked.

² The Pahlavi gives us our first surmise here, as usual, by gavið min hanâ î lak dôshisnih.

the two striving¹ (throngs) through the prosperous increase of our Piety, and of the Righteous ritual and moral Truth; for that (Piety of ours instructing) doth teach² the many coming ones who seek her (face)!

YASNA XLVIII.

ANTICIPATED STRUGGLES AND PRAYERS FOR CHAMPIONS AND DEFENDERS.

This chapter divides itself quite naturally into sections. 1-4 belong together, then 5 and 6, 7 seems less closely connected; then follows 8-12.

1. A struggle is evidently at hand, whether the same as that to which allusion is more than once made, by incitation, as in Y. XXXI, 18; with anxious expectation, as in Y. XLIV, 15, 16; or as if in a sense of victory, as in Y. XLV, 1; or of defeat, as in Y. XLIX, is difficult, or rather impossible to determine. But with the verses 10, 11, 12 in view, together with the dispirited, Y. XLIX, 1, we shall say at once that, if this verse was intended to connect with them, an armed struggle had been expected, whether the decisive one or not, we need not say.

The saint, that is, the pious adherent to the Holy Order, whatever may be the result of the preliminary struggles, is encouraged by a view of the end. 2. But the burdened worshipper craves still further reassurance before the storms of battle came once more upon him. 3. For little as the assurances of Ahura are valued

¹ Or, 'by the two arázi;' but compare the āsayau in Y. XXXI, 2 just preceding ranôibyâ; so here the ashavan and dregvant are mentioned in a preceding verse. The Pahlavi is unvarying with patkardârânô. I will not positively decide as to this point; generally, however, the preferred rendering is in the text, while on very many questions there is nearly an even balance of probabilities.

² Or, 'chooses to herself;' but a causative sense may be expressed by an intensive form; the Pahlavi also here bears evidence in the same sense to a causative by hêmnunêd, itself, however, meaning only the object caused; namely, the belief.

by the heretic, to the man who understands the true relations, what Ahura declares by means of His inspired prophets, the secret-announcers, this is, of all things, best; (he need not ask as elsewhere, Y. XXXI, 17). 4. And whoever would hope for spiritual growth and purity must turn his mind to that word of the Deity, and pursue its teachings faithfully, and so at last his fears will vanish, for his doubts will disappear. He will understand as the Lord has taught.

5. This verse seems a prayer to Âramaiti; when the long struggles shall have found their issues, and the one party or the other wins the day, let not that party be the evil alliance with its monarch. For, if the government is set up, and carried on with all the prescribed ceremonial and moral exactness of the wise Kisti; if men who toil for the sacred Kine, and with the virtue of those who cultivate her, hold the reins of power, and can so suppress the predatory raids on defenceless, as well as unoffending victims, then no gift of Ahura, since the tribes became a nation, could be looked upon as a greater, or as so great a blessing, as the correct Authority, and the Order of the Faith.

6. For that sacred Kine, as so often already implied or stated, was all in all to the pious worshipper. It was she, representing, as she did, all wealth in herds, who alone could sustain the home-life of happy industry. And this is the reason why Ahura had originally caused the herbage to grow for her support.

7. Urging the overthrow of the spirit of Rapine in accordance with the Kine's complaint, he exhorts the armed masses to energetic and offensive valour.

8. He then vehemently, although only rhetorically, asks how he may use the proper prayers to rally the needed coadjutors among the chiefs (Y. XLVI, 9) to carry on the struggle. 9. Again he utters a cry for relief in his suspense, and of entreaty for light as to the rewards, which did not concern this life for its own sake (verse 1) merely or chiefly; but which were spiritual blessings received here in preparation for the spiritual world.

10. 'When,' he repeats as one among similar questions four times repeated, 'when shall the ideal men appear whose thoughtful plans (Y. XLVI, 3) shall drive hence the polluted schemes of the false priests and of the tyrants (Y. XLVI, 1)?' 11. And when shall Âramaiti, the kindly piety of home, appear, she who, like the earth, spreads pastures for the peaceful kine, when shall she appear with holy Khshathra (later well called an angel, or archangel) the personified Authority of God over home and state, without which

an anarchy as bad as that of the Evil Authority (verse 5) might continue or recur; and who was the champion-chief who would give them peace through blood (Y. XLVI, 4; LIII, 9)? In a word, to whom, as to the coadjutors of such a leader, would the light of reason, and the true faith come to inspire and to guide them? 12. There is but one only class of human combatants whom he would thus match against that Demon of furious Rapine (v. 6), toward whom the evil on their part at their first creation rushed as to their leader (Y. XXX, 6), and these are the saving Saoshyants, the vicegerents of the Immortals upon earth, the religious princes Vistâspa, Gâmâspa, Frashaostra, and with them, as the greatest among all, he who was, with much probability, the speaker in the passage, that is, the Ratu appointed by Ahura for the kine and for men, Zarathustra Spitâma elsewhere and later called, with hyperbole, the first tiller, warrior, and priest.

Translation.

1. If through his action ¹ in the offering of gifts in accordance with the Righteous Order, (Thy saint ²) shall smite the Demon-of-the-Lie (the inspiring spirit of our foes), when that in very truth shall come ³, which has been (and is still yet) proclaimed as a deceit ⁴, (when it shall come) in the Immortal life, regarding (as it does both) men (to bless), and Daêvas ⁵ (to afflict them), then shall (Thy faithful worshipper) increase thereby the celebration of Thy praise, O Lord! and with it blessings ⁶ (for Thy folk).

2. Tell me then, Lord! (the end), for Thou dost

¹ The Pahlavi has also pavan zak dahisnô; but a false gloss gives an erroneous concrete [pavan tanû î pasînô]. Recall âdâi paitî.

² See ashaônô, ashâunê (sic) (Y. XLVII, 4, 5).

³ Read 'as âshûtâ' = has been pushed on, enacted. I correct here as seems so evidently necessary; but the Pahlavi anticipates with its amat zak yâmtûnê.

⁴ Pavan friftârih.

⁵ See Y. XXIX, 4.

⁶ See Y. XXX, 11, savaâ ashavabyô.

know it. (Tell me to grant me strength and courage) before those conflicts come which shall encounter me ¹ (as leader of Thy tribes); shall the champion of Thy holy Order, O Ahura! smite (at last) the evil heretic, and when? (I ask Thee this); for this if it be gained (is known) to be the (one) good consummation ² of (our) life.

3. (Yea, tell me then this), for to the enlightened ³ man is that the best of teachings which the beneficent Ahura doth proclaim, and through (the revelations of) His holy Order, bounteous as he and wise with His intelligence, as well as they ⁴ who declare to us (still other) secret sayings (in His name). The one like Thee (their chieftain ⁵) is, O Mazda! endowed with Thy Good Mind's understanding thoughts.

¹ *Meng*=mām or man; -eng is the nasalised vowel. Man is suspiciously significant here; 'mental battles' is rather advanced for the circumstances. It is, however, not impossible. The Pahlavi favours mām(?) here; it has avō li. We might even read menā on its evidence. The Pahlavi indicates the meaning 'crises' under the figure of the 'Bridge,' which was the last great crisis to every man in the eye of the earlier, as well as of the later, Faith; so also in Y. LI, 12. The 'straits of life' would be an admirable meaning; I differ with hesitation.

² Pahlavi *kardārīh*.

³ See Y. XLIII, 14.

⁴ *Yaêkī/ gūzrā-senghaunghō*. Or, 'knowing also those who are the teachers of secret doctrines.'

⁵ We may, with some effort, connect *thwāvās* with *vaêdemnāi*. *Spentō vīdvau*, however, must refer to the immediately foregoing Ahurō, especially in view of the *tvem vīdvau*, Ahurā, of verse 2. 'The one like Thee' might even, as in other cases, be only an oblique way of rendering 'Thyself;' but the expression 'with the understanding of Vohu Manah' induces me to refer the word *Thwāvās* to the servant of Ahura; in this case, however, this last line must of course be drawn to verse 4, although not mechanically separated from verse 3.

4. (Yea, tell me the secret of the future struggle¹; for that enlightened man) must² follow close³ the holy Faith (for which that struggle had its toil and effort). Yea, O Mazda! he who would bend his mind (till it attains to) that which is the better and more holy, must pursue the Daëna close in word and action. His will and wish must be consistent with his chosen creed and fealty, and in Thine Understanding (which discerneth all) shall he in many ways⁴ be (versed) at last!

5.

5. (But while I as yet know not the issue, I can yet hope and pray.) Let the good kings obtain the rule. Let not the evil monarchs govern us⁵, (but let the righteous gain the day and rule us), with deeds done in a good discernment, O thou pious wisdom, Âramaiti! sanctifying to men's minds the best of blessings for (their) offspring⁷. Yea, for the Kine, (O Âramaiti⁶!)

¹ See verse 2.

² Present for imperative, as sometimes in modern languages in giving directions.

³ The words are anticipated from the third line.

⁴ I follow the Indian sense here with great reluctance. Nanâ may well be, in Iranian, equivalent to 'each several one,' and in fact may not impossibly teach us the origin of the word ('man, man:' comp. *nareṃ*, * *nareṃ**). The Pahl. trlr. is so decided for a personal sense, that he renders *gabrâ nêrman* = man and woman. Did he suppose 'woman' to be literally (!) expressed in the text?

⁵ Âramaiti is addressed, unless indeed an instrumental is read without MSS. An instrumental is of course preferable.

⁶ The Pahlavi has, with admirable freedom, *zakatō hû-khûrâi pâdakhshâyinîm, va al lanman zak î dûs-khûrâi salitâ yehavûnâdō*. I read *hukhshathrâ khshayentām, mâ ne dûs-khshathrâ*, to bring the metre somewhat into order, as some gross irregularity is present; the caesura only, not the sense, is affected by the change.

⁷ Or, 'from the birth-hour on;' so the Pahlavi. Its gloss reads [*akhar min zerkhûnisnō avinâsîh pâhlûm*].

let (Thy) toil be given ¹, and may'st Thou cause her to prosper for our life.

6. For she will grant us pleasing homes², and, (while we live) in this Thy Good Mind's longing³ prayer (to gain her welfare), she grants us likewise lasting strength (for every deed which that Thy Good Mind moves us to perform), and therefore hath Mazda caused the plants⁴ to flourish for her (nurture), He, Ahura, in the generation of primeval life.

7. (Then in our coming strife⁵ let both her mortal foes be slain.) Let the Wrath-demon of rapine be cast down. Smite ye against the envy (which would plot against our Throne⁶), O ye who, abiding by the Good Mind, and in accordance with our holy Order, desire to hold that refuge⁷ fast, to whose sacred bond the bounteous man belongs. And therefore,

¹ So Bartholomae, who now holds to a third singular here, leaving the text undisturbed, and explaining as an optative.

² The Pahlavi seems to render 'comfort' here, using *khvârîh* in that sense.

³ So the Pahlavi correctly indicates by its *arzûk*; *Ner. priyataram*.

⁴ Compare Y. LI, 7. Are the plants here mentioned as in connection with *Âramaiti* in her figurative association with the earth?

⁵ See verses 1, 2.

⁶ Or, 'against the blow,' Y. XXIX, 1. The Pahlavi translator here renders *padîrak* † *arêshak*, while in Y. XXIX, 1 he renders † *rêshkûn*. The variations are probably not real; the renderings referring to some forgotten differences of text; or, as often, he may have anticipated modern freedom, and 'changed his text;' that is, rendered it as if changed to a seemingly more intelligible form; so in a throng of similar cases. This is the only rational explanation of some of his errors. (He was able to render, and has rendered, most grammatical forms in different places.)

⁷ The Pahlavi has, however, *navîdîh*. Did he read *vidhyām*, in itself a very possible text?

O Ahura ! (to save Thy struggling saint who toils with changing lot) will I place (that refuge) for him in Thy world.

8. (And how shall I beseech Thee for this victory and gift ?) What is the (potent ¹) prayer to bring on that Thy holy Reign ²? What for Thy sacred reward and blessing for my (soul) ? How shall I seek the open helpers for (the spread and maintenance of) Thy (great) Order ³, while I myself live ⁴ on in Thy Good Spirit's deeds ?

9. (Aye, when shall faith be changed to sight ⁵); and when shall I in verity discern if Ye indeed have power over aught, O Lord ! and through Thy Righteous Order (guarding here on earth), O Thou within whose (power lie) my griefs ⁶ and doubts? Let then Thy saving prophet find and gain aright (for) my delight ⁷ Thy Good Mind's wonder-

¹ Compare *emavantem aêshem*, also *peresâ nau yâ tôi zhmâ parstâ*. Observe that the Pahlavi translator distinguishes the two senses of *îsti*. In Y. XLVI, 2 he transcribes the Gâthic word, the Persian rendering *hezânah*; Ner. *puṇyalakshmîm*; here, however, he has: *Kaḏâr lak*, *Aûharmazd*, *zak î sapîr khvahîsn î khûdâiyh*.

² Compare verse 5.

³ *Ashâ* might certainly equal *âkâ* here (so Bartholomae) if the constant and intentional repetition of the name and idea of *Asha*, = the personified Order, would not have caused confusion.

⁴ The Pahlavi translator renders a word which occupied the place of *gavarô* by *yakhsenunîdârîh*; Ner. following as to root (freely as to form). As he, however, renders related forms elsewhere by 'living,' 'live,' our only safe conclusion is that he had a different word from *gavarô* (*givarô*) before him in his MS.

⁵ Compare Y. XXVIII, 6.

⁶ I am very far from certain that we do not seriously blunder in not following the indication of the Pahlavi here. See remarks Y. XXXII, 16.

⁷ Or, 'let me enjoy as my own;' but *môi* is difficult. *Ûām* might otherwise be a first personal form in the sense of the Vedic *uā*.

working grace¹; yea, let Thy Saoshyant see how gifts of recompense may be his own.

10. When, Mazda! shall the men of mind's perfection come²? And when shall they drive³ from hence, the soil of this (polluted) drunken joy⁴, whereby the Karpans with (their) angry zeal would crush us⁵, and by whose inspiration the tyrants of the provinces (hold on) their evil rule⁶?

11. Yea, when shall our perfected Piety appear

Bartholomae's third sing. imper. is also of course well possible; but were not the originally abnormal third singulars in -âm, duhâm sayâm, vidâm, taken over from third pl. subj. '-âm' really equalling the nasal vowel merely*? Comp. also Indian ádr̥śram, ábudhram, ásr̥gram, Zend vavazirem, -am=an. 'Tradition' has, Pahl. zivisn̥h; Ner. g̥ivitam; Pers. zīstan, for ūkām, as if rendering 'enjoyment,' 'experience of life.' * (âm=tâm is more difficult.)

¹ Comparing vápus; otherwise, with the Pahlavi, 'knowing the destruction (of the evil) which Vohūman works;' see Y. XXIX, 6, where the rendering of the Pahlavi is supported by the previous verse.

² Comp. Y. XLVI, 3. Kadâ Mazdâ fr̥arentê*—saoshyantâm khratavô?

³ Compare Y. XXXII, 15.

⁴ Is Soma-intoxication here referred to? And was the Haoma-worship in abeyance at the time? The Pahlavi seems to have understood 'magic' here, and in the evil sense, that is, judging from the perhaps later gloss. Aside from the gloss, however, the Pahlavi may well have been, nay, more probably was, intended to be read madih as=madahyâ.

⁵ As to this word, we cannot do better than follow Justi (although his work is now a score of years old). The Indian vârpas, in the sense of deceit, has also been compared. The last Pahlavi translator was probably confused by finding this word, as so often, divided in his MS. He rendered as best he could, or rather he handed down the shattered documents, or oral teachings, of his predecessors with his own too often lame additions, the whole mass being rich in the relics of the truth.

⁶ See verse 5.



together with ¹ Thy Righteousness. When shall she come, as having the amenities of home for us, and provided (like our land) with pastures ² (for the kine)? And who shall give us quiet ³ from the cruel (men) of evil life and faith? To whom shall Thy Good Mind's sacred wisdom come (to guide them in their toil to rescue and avenge us)?

12. (To whom? The answer lieth near.) Such shall be the Saviours of the Provinces, and they who, through Thy Good Mind's grace, shall go on hand in hand with mental keenness ⁴ (as it spreads among Thy saints) by the doing every deed of Thy commandment, O Ahura! through the help of, and in accordance with, Thy Holy Order; for such as these are set (for us), as steadfast foes of hate!

YASNA XLIX.

REVERSES AND HOPES. HONOUR TO FRASHAOSTRA AND OTHER CHIEFS.

The chapter divides itself naturally into sections 1-5, 6-11. Verse 12 belongs with chapter L. One of the struggles in the holy cause seems to have gone against the party of Asha. I say 'one

¹ Ma/ following Ashâ shows that we may also have the preposition in pôi ma/.

² As Âramaiti is here spoken of as 'having pasture,' that is, as inspiring the thrifty husbandmen who cultivate the meadows by irrigation, or drainage, she became associated herself with those meadows, and so later with the earth; see Y. XLVII, 2.

³ The Pahlavi sees in râmâm enforced quiet not 'from' but 'to' the wicked; 'who shall deal the finishing blow to the wicked?'

⁴ So also the Pahlavi, shnâsinîdârîh.

of the struggles,' for from the account of a reverse which we have here, and from that of a success which meets us in chapter XLV, 1, and again from reverses in XLVI, 1, 2, &c., we naturally conclude that 'the cause' saw many vicissitudes, in which the last Gātha still leaves us. Whether Y. XLV, 1 records a victory which was subsequent to the reverse before us, referring to a battle alluded to in Y. XLIV, 14, 15, also possibly anticipated in Y. XXXI, can never be decided; the order of the statements in the sequence of our present MSS. has little or nothing to do with the possible order of the events.

1. A border chief, *Bendva* by name, had proved himself too formidable (*mazistō*) for the moment, and the holy Faith knows how to beg for vengeance on the armed *Drūg*-worshipper. The weapons of Ahura were not spiritual only, any more than those of Israel were, or those of Mohammed. The death of an armed religious enemy was devoutly to be desired for every moral and political, as well as for every personal reason. 2. For judicial as well as priestly decisions hung on the issue. And this *Bendva* had his functionaries and a system, and they were in full and active operation. And this was, beyond a doubt, a rival and settled system, and not merely an upstart and insurrectionary one. It had caused the true prophet many an hour of thought as well as anger. Its functionaries gave him pause (*mānayēiti*). Falsity in religion was as ever his opportunity; and invective follows. 'The priestly judge himself who served the *Drūg*-worshippers was a cheat.' 'The holy Order was his foe, and not his helper.' And he did not contribute at all to the spread of Piety as the Zarathustrians conceived of it, nor indeed really in another sense for the reason that he even repudiated the source of pious wisdom, which is holy counsel. 3. But, however, the evil functionaries might resort to subterfuge and strategy, the opposing powers themselves, the Righteous Order on the one side, and the power of the Lie-demon on the other, were planted in the opposing systems with dualistic clearness, to benefit or injure. There was no compromise, as doubtless the *Drūg*-party may have wished.

And so the poet cries once more for the divine Benevolence to be his guardian; or perhaps he may have intended a particular chief who represented the Good Mind, while at the same time he swept the entire throng and company who adhered to the Lie-demon, with his interdict, away from his consideration. 4. He declares them closely allied to the *Daēva*-worshippers, or else he puts their worship of the *Daēvas* in the place of climax as their

highest offence, not failing to point out what should conciliate sympathy with him always ; that is, that those who brought the Daêvas, and opposed Asha, were the devotees of Rapine (aêshmem vareden); for murderous rapine seems to have been, apart from Asha, the universal sin. By this these Daêva-worshippers gained a stolen livelihood, and spent their ill-gotten means in idle waste (fshuyasû afshuyantô). 5. But he who defended the holy Daêna was as meat and drink to the people, wise and faithful, as a settled citizen, and trained in the habits of the holy State.

6. He therefore prays once more for right discernment as to how he may propagate the Faith. 7. And he calls on the steady citizen to listen, beseeching God Himself to give an ear, and to tell him who the faithful prince, or peer, or villager, may be, who may take the lead (see sarē) in giving forth (see srāvayaēmā) that holy Daêna, with its frasasti, to the masses who await it. 8. But he asks the question as if only to give emphasis to his naming a chief and venerated friend. Frashaostra is the man. He is the one fitted for the hearing, apt to proclaim the truth (frasrûidyâi erethwô). And he begs that they both (compare Y. XXVIII, 9) may be lastingly prominent in that holy Realm which was to counteract the depraved polity whose chief had for the moment gained the upper hand (verses 1, 2). 9. But the case is in so far uncertain and undecided, that he cries for help once more to the ideal citizen himself, fearing that he may yet be induced to share the power with the heretic, and still declares that men's souls may reach the reward of priority only through the holy System of Ahura, and under the rulers of His choice.

10. He therefore confides the result to Ahura, and with it, his dependents, those living and those dead. And his thoughts, being turned to heaven (11), they also revert as if by antithesis (the key-note of the Daêna) to future retribution. Those who may be wavering, half-inclined to adhere to the opposing party (verse 9), are warned in words of peculiar meaning. Those that choose the evil sovereign, a dussasti, as in Y. XXXII, 9, or as the sastars of Y. XLVI, 1, will not go forward with the saints to the *Kinva* (Y. XLVI, 10), nor will they be met by their consciences under pleasing images, and later by the souls of saints who had gone before, but the wicked dead shall meet them in the home of Lies, with poisoned food, and sneering words. And this shall be a self-inflicted vengeance.

Translation.

1. *Bendva*¹ has ever fought with me; (yea, since he first appeared at hand to threaten, and alas to his advantage in the strife). He is the most powerful (in brutal might), and (in his predominance) would crush my strength as I seek to win back the disaffected (in my host) through Righteous² (zeal), O Mazda! Come then with gifts of (vengeful³) good to (meet) my sorrow⁴. Through (Thine inspiring) Good Mind obtain (for me⁵) that (*Bendva*'s) death⁶!

2. (Aye, he is indeed the greatest⁷), for that

¹ If this word does not simply mean 'a band,' one might suspect a relation of root with *bānayan*. The Pahlavi has expressively and freely *badtūm* here, and *vīmarīh* in the next verse, with a like word in Y. XXX, 6. This enemy may have been roughly dubbed 'the polluted,' or even 'diseased one;' analogous occurrences are not wanting.

² I cannot agree to rendering *ashâ* 'really,' when applied in an evil sense. The sacred word may mean 'really' when applied to the righteous, but then, in that case, the reality indicated has an element of sanctity in it, and that of no low order. I am also not aware that *riténa* is applied in an evil sense in the *Rig-veda*. The use of *Asha*, like that of *Vohu Manah* and *Khshathra*, &c., is obvious in the *Gâtha*; the six sacred words were, like the theme of a symphony, brought in at every opportunity, with all shades of meaning from those of proper names to those of adverbs. With slight change of text to a nom., we might render, 'He who seeks to please the evil-minded, O Thou A.!'

³ Comp. Y. XXXIII, 2.

⁴ I cannot agree that *arapâ* should be read *rapâ* for the sake of a syllable in the metre. The line has more than eleven syllables here, as the Vedic *Trishūp* often has. Moreover the ancient writing before the Pahlavi translator read likewise *arapâ*, and the sense demands it.

⁵ Or, 'may I obtain.'

⁶ See Y. LIII, 9.

⁷ See the first verse.

Bendva's evil judge doth cause me to hesitate and ponder (in my earnest course of propagation and reform), a deceiver as he is, (estranged) from the Righteous Order, and receiving¹ from it (not happiness) but many a wound. The bountiful and perfect Piety he has not maintained nor strengthened for this² land, nor questions with Thy Good Mind hath he asked³ (to gain him light), O Lord!

3. But (all is not yet lost!); for this religious choice⁴ (our holy creed, for which our last lost⁵ battle has been fought), O Mazda! Thy blessed Order (our guardian help) has yet been set to save and bless us. (But) for (that evil) Judge, the Demon-of-the-Lie, (is set) to deal (for him) her wounds⁶. Therefore do I pray (the more) for the sheltering leadership of Thy Good Mind (within our folk and our commanders). And all the allies of the wicked I abjure⁷.

4. They who with evil scheme and will shall cherish and help on the Wrath of Rapine, and with her Râma⁸, and (not by silent favour, but) with their

¹ I would gladly accede to a subjunctive 2nd singular intensive here in a causative sense, but a 3rd singular precedes, and a 3rd singular follows. I cannot therefore recognise a subjunctive in a precativ, or imperative, sense here. I think the word is a nominative, as its position in the verse corresponds well to that form. It may mean 'delivering against us many a wound.'

² Possibly 'for us in (this) land.'

³ Comp. Y. XLIV, 13.

⁴ Comp. Y. XXX, 2.

⁵ See *mazistô* in the first verse.

⁶ The Pahlavi *mûn rêshînêd pavan Drûg*.

⁷ The Pahlavi translator gave as our first rendering here: *Andarg harvišp-gûnô darvandânô min hamkhâkih andarg yemale-lûnam*; [aigh, min dôstih î levatman valmansân gavidâk yehevûnam].

⁸ The Pahlavi has *arêshkô* = envy.

very tongues, whose will and wish ¹ (run) not with good but evil deeds. These settle and support the Daêvas (in their power, not the Lord). It is ² the wicked's Faith and Insight (so to do. Their faith is the perverted).

5. But he, O Mazda! is our abundance and our fatness³, who (will yet dare these unbelieving foes) and guard the Faith (against that envious Wrath⁴), and with the Good Mind's power. For every man of Piety is a wise citizen⁵ in accordance with the holy Order, and so are all who are (in truth) within Thy Realm, O Lord!

6. And now, will I beseech of You, O Mazda, and Righteousness (within Thy Māthra) speaks⁶ (to tell me) what lies within Your will's intention, that (having discerned Your Insight as the enlightened

¹ The Pahlavi gave us our first surmise as to the general meaning of *vās*; it renders *kāmak*.

² Or, 'by that which is the evil's Faith.'

³ The Pahlavi translator gave us our first general indication here as elsewhere; he has *shîrînîh* and *karpîh*. Reading 'Mazdau,' we have 'Mazda (is our source of) abundance and refreshment.'

⁴ See the fourth verse.

⁵ The Pahlavi has, however, *khûp shinâsakîh*. I differ with hesitation; possibly views may be harmonised.

⁶ Compare Y. XXIX, 3, where Asha answers. I cannot well accept *mrûtîê* as an infinitive. Geldner has keenly pointed out that *fraêshyâ* is inclined to unite with an infinitive, but so are other forms of *ish* and *vas*. Moreover the infinitive does not so naturally fall to the end of the sentence in Gâthic or Vedic. (See above, note on Y. XXXIV, 1.) If an infinitive is insisted upon (so long since) let us at least bring the word into more usual shape, using the Pahlavi translator, as in one of his most valuable offices, as an indirect evidence, where his translation is at fault as a rendering. He has: *Frâzō avō zak î Lekûm farmâyēm, Aûharmazd, va Ashavahistōê râî yemalelûnam*. He had '*mrûvê*' before him, which might be an infinitive.

ever must), I may as well discern aright how we can herald forth those (truths), and that pure Daëna (with them) which is the Faith of Him who is Thyself¹, O Lord.

7. And (as we speak it forth as taught by Asha) then let the (zealous² citizen) give heed, and with Thy Good Mind, O Ahura Mazda! Yea, let him give ear in accordance with (the dictate of) the Holy Order, and do Thou hear alike as well³. Who shall be the ally; and who the kinsman-lord himself, who, with his gifts and (legal rules), shall institute and settle for the serving mass a worthy praise (for God⁴)?

8. (And I do not ask in vain, for such an one is found for us, and near at hand.) To Frashaostra hast Thou given that most favouring guardian power, the headship⁵ of the Holy Order (for us), O

¹ I think that *khshmvâtô* equals simply 'yourself' here, as often (so *mavant*=me); otherwise 'of your disciple,' which would be feeble. Professor Jolly has, V. S., s. 97, 'damit wir ihn verkündigen möchten den Glauben, welcher der euer ist, o Ahura.'

² See the ninth verse.

³ Ahura is elsewhere addressed in close connection with human beings; here the human subject is half lost in Vohûman and Asha. I hardly think that it is wise to change the text without MSS. A lost verse may have relieved all difficulty.

⁴ Others 'the good doctrine,' or again 'the good repute;' but as to the latter, *frasasti* is coupled so constantly in the later Avesta with *yasna*, and *vahma*, &c., that I do not feel at liberty to depart from that sense. The Pahlavi has also *vâfrîgânih*, quite in harmony with the connection.

⁵ This verse is clearly an answer to the questions contained in verse 7. It is a half answer, even if we render *dau* (*dâo*) as a subjunctive. As the question in verse 7 certainly concerns a chief of some kind, I cannot see how we can avoid rendering *sarəm* analogously. We need one who gives a refuge rather than one who receives it. Compare the Pahlavi, and also the Persian, *sar*. The Pahlavi

Ahura! This therefore would I pray of Thee (to confirm to him that gracious gift), and for myself likewise, would I now seek as well that sheltering headship which is within Thy Realm; yea, most blest and foremost¹ may we both for ever be within it.

9. Aye, let the zealous and thrifty husbandman, so formed for giving help and blessings², give heed and listen when I call, (O Mazda!) Let not the truthful (tiller, he who hears and speaks Thy word³), be he who takes⁴ that sheltering chieftainship together with the wicked. Let the believing natures (only) join in that best recompense. And thus in the course of the holy Order are in the fact so joined those two, Gāmâspa and the 'hero'⁵.

10. (And since these champions thus join in that reward), then therefore will I place as well in Thy

translation gives its evidence without intermission for this meaning, a fact largely overlooked.

¹ I think that the connection fairly proves this meaning; and it has likewise the powerful support of the Pahlavi translation: *Hamâi vad avō vîspō farmânpatō hōmanânî* [aîgh, Frashostar [] vad tanû î pasîno hamâi salîtâih yehabûn].

² It is not to be forgotten that *su* is the root of *Saoshyant*.

³ Comp. Y. XXXI, 15.

⁴ Or 'gives;' compare *peresâ avas yâ mainis ye dregvâitê khshathrem hunâitî*. Professor Jolly, V. S., s. 36: 'Nicht soll wer das Rechte redet, die Herrschaft dem Lügner überlassen.'

⁵ *Yâhî* remains a singular, whereas we should expect a dual; (can it be such, the form being altered, as so often by later reciters, to accommodate the metre?) For *Gāmâspâ* and *yukhtâ* as duals compare *utayûitî tevîshî*. *Yâhî* probably refers to *Vîstâspa* (Y. XLVI, 14). Was it an especial epithet for the kings? The later Persian kings took prominent places in battle. If the duals are not admitted, my rendering would be, 'the souls are united with the reward through the (influence and example of the) valiant *Gāmâspa*.' Perhaps *Gāmâspô* is to be read.

protection (Thy) Good Mind¹ (in the living) and the spirits (of the dead. Yea, I confide our very) self-humbling praises, (which we offer, unto Thee), by which (Thine) Âramaiti (who is our Piety, exists), and likewise sacrificing zeal. And this would we do to further Thy great Sovereign Power (among Thy folk), and with undying² (?) strength.

11. (But as to faithless reprobates); the souls (of the evil dead) shall meet those evil men who serve their evil rulers, who speak with evil words, and harbour evil consciences, these souls (in Hell) shall come with evil food³ (to welcome them), and in the Lie's abode their dwelling⁴ verily shall be⁵!

YASNA XLIX, 12 — L.

The most striking circumstance here, after the rhetorical and moral-religious peculiarities have been observed, is the sixth verse; and as to the question of Zarathustrian authorship, it is the most striking in the Gâthas or the Avesta. In that verse we have Zarathustra, not named alone, which might easily be harmonised

¹ This is probably the foundation for the later identification of Vohû Manah and the faithful disciple.

² Here all is conjectural. The Pahlavi reports an adjective from a form of man (or a participle). They who think upon the throne (to seize it) do so with dying power. Wilder conjectures have been made; but the Pahlavi translators seldom wilfully guessed. They took the shattered results of their predecessors, and worked them feebly over; hence their great value, and the unimportance of their errors. They used what intelligence they possessed in re-delivering what they heard and read. Vazdanghâ cannot well be taken in an evil sense, as it is used in a good sense elsewhere. The connection mǎzâ with râ has long circulated; mǎzâ avêmî râ (?). As the souls of the departed are thought of, perhaps 'undying' is the meaning; compare avêmîra (for form) with the Zend avimithris.

³ See Yast XXII by Darmesteter, as supplemented.

⁴ So the Pahlavi; otherwise 'their bodies shall so lie.'

⁵ Verse 12 belongs to the next chapter.

with his personal authorship, nor have we only such expressions as 'to Zarathustra and to us' (Y. XXVIII, 7), but we have Zarathustra named as 'mahyâ râzeng sâhîr,' 'may he declare my regulations, which could only be said, without figure of speech, by some superior, if not by the prime mover himself. Were these verses then written by the prime mover? And was he other than Zarathustra? If so, the entire mass of the Gâthas was of course written by him, or else their style and character may be regarded as of such a character that they could have been composed by four or five closely connected individuals. But while verses here and there are doubtless the productions of secondary persons, the mass of the Gâthas cannot be regarded as the work of several different composers. They are one man's work, directly or indirectly. If then the present section, which is especially original in its tone, was not from Zarathustra, the man whose heart and soul, and, we may add, whose power were in Zarathustrianism, was not Zarathustra, but some unnamed individual far more important. (See note on Y. XXVIII, 7.) The prominence of the name of Zarathustra was in that case solely owing to the personal activity of Zarathustra supported by the social rank of the Spitâmas. Zarathustra was a princely disciple, on the hypothesis mentioned, and nothing more. The real author of Zarathustrianism was, in that case, in no sense Zarathustra; compare 'to Zarathustra and to us:' nor yet Vîstâspa; compare 'to Vîstâspa and to me:' nor Frashaostra; compare 'to Frashaostra and to us;' and, we may also say, not Gâmâspa, for he is addressed in the vocative. He was mentally and personally the superior of all of them. In fact he was the power behind both throne and home, and yet without a name! But, in that case, what becomes of Y. XXIX, 6, 8? Is it probable that the founder of a religion (or of a new departure in a religion) would describe another as the chosen of God, if he were not in fact supposed to be thus eminent? Or, if a popular and sincerely enthusiastic religious composer were about to chant a hymn at a meeting of the religious masses, would he be likely to name a person to the animated throngs, whom they themselves did not feel to be the life of their religious faith? especially, if that person were not prominent from the arbitrary circumstance that he was the reigning prince? I do not think that this is at all probable. But if Zarathustra had, as described, the leading name, and composed a portion of the hymns with their lost companions, is it probable that he possessed no decided prominence in this matter above Vîstâspa, Frashaostra, and Gâmâspa? Was there no central poet, who

composed the mass of the metrical lore, dominating by his influence those who added portions here and there, or was there a quaternion of seers, four Zarathustras, as one might say? As we have said, the hymns decide it. One man's soul is in them, as a composer's feelings are in his compositions, or a master's feelings are in the lines of his disciples. But if there was one central figure instead of four, and he is mentioned as Zarathustra, and as the spokesman in many portions of the Gâthas, being likewise known by inference to be the composer of nearly all of them, how can we account for the words, 'let him, Zarathustra, teach or proclaim my regulations?' Can the verse be regarded as put into the mouth of Ahura, as elsewhere? Hardly, for Ahura is addressed in it. I can therefore only repeat of this verse, as of the others which present analogous questions in Y. XXVIII (with which this chapter L stands in the closest connection), that this thoroughly original piece was composed by Zarathustra as by far the most prominent individual in the religious struggle, dominating his party essentially and positively, and that these verses (6-11) were simply rhetorically put into the mouth of the monarch from the exigency of the style of composition. And I conclude that Vistâspa was supposed to speak them, because in the presence of Zarathustra, it is extremely improbable that any one but the titular head of the State should have been represented as saying of Zarathustra, 'mahyâ râzeng sâhî!'

1. The piece from Y. XLIX, 12 to Y. L, 1-5 joins well on with Y. XLIX, although the tone is brighter. As he begins with questions in Y. XLVIII, 8-11, after the prospective prayers of Y. XLVIII, 1-7, in which he looks forward to a crisis in the armed struggle, so now after the hostile chief has got the upper hand, he cries out once more with interrogatives, uttering the questions, not of curiosity, but of mournful devotion.

'The storm has broken over us,' so he would seem to say, 'and I have prayed for grace to know how we may administer (Y. XLIV, 9) the all-powerful means of help, the Daëna, in which Thy Righteous Order is set (Y. XLIX, 3). I have cried to Thee for chief and peer (verse 7), naming Frashaostra, Gâmâspa, and the Yâhin, and now, while I invoke you, praying for what in your selection is the best (Y. XXVIII, 11; Y. XLIV, 10), I would more than ever declare that I have none other help than Thee and Thy saving Order.'

2. And he asks once more to know how he who seeks to further the sacred herds, as the emblem of the moral thrift of the provinces, should proceed in his allotted work. 3. Answering his own question, he says that it is by advance upon the enemy; he declares

that the heroic settler who pushes the holy system to the utmost verge of the sacred territory or still further, was the man 'to gain the Kine' for the seeking prophet. 4. But in the midst of struggles, he anticipates Garôdman with its praises. 5. For they were all prepared for both worship and work, since God had approached to aid His prophet, encouraging His discouraged spirit. 6. Here Vîstâspa is represented as intervening; and he addresses Ahura literally, but Zarathustra really, exhorting him indirectly to continue on in his work of propagation, undismayed by present circumstances. 7. And with Zarathustra, he would re-engage the other powerful helpers, whom he would yoke on as steeds to gain God's praise in Heaven by passing over every bridge of trial safely. 8. Having heard from Zarathustra his metric words, he will approach with them to pray, and, as in Y. XXVIII, 2, 3, 'with hands stretched out' with homage, and with vigour. 9. And he looks to attain the object of his prayers by religious self-control, and faithful action. 10. His efforts vie with the heavenly bodies in their praise of God. 11. Therefore he will persevere, and as a praiser-king (so the Pahlavi in one place); and he beseeches that Ahura, the life-giver, may help on the all-engrossing cause.

Translation.

Y. XLIX, 12¹. What aids of grace hast Thou for Thine invoking Zarathustra, (O Ahura Mazda!) to grant him through Thy Righteous Order? Yea, what (aids of² grace hast thou for me as) through Thy Good Mind given (within my soul), for me who will (still) pray to Thee with praises, O Great Creator! beseeching what in accordance with Your wished-for aim is best?

Y. L, 1. Aye, doth my soul indeed obtain assisting

¹ This verse is placed here as obviously more closely related to chapter L than to chapter XLIX. Lost verses may, however, have intervened between it and Y. L, 1.

² Another rendering, regarding *ka* as a purely interrogative participle, would be, 'Are they (*tô*) helpful to the invoking Zarathustra?' But *ka* *tô* is a familiar form; see Y. XXXIV, 12, where it must mean *quid tibi*.

grace, and which of Thy blessings is that gift to me, O Lord? What saving champion is found to save both flocks and herds? And who for myself other than Thy Righteous Order, and Thyself, Ahura? Tell me¹, O (ye) invoked ones! Or what of grace is there for me save Thy Best Mind (itself)?

2. (And if Thy guardian is verily to save our wealth) how shall he (obtain, and by what means shall he) seek after² that joy-creating Kine (who is the living symbol of our peace³)? (How shall that man obtain his wish) who shall desire to see her provided with pastures for (the welfare of) this land? (That only way is righteousness.) Do Thou then grant me lands (so would I ask of Thee) which live in justice in the many⁴ splendours of the sun, and lands which openly⁵ thus live, and which are to be

¹ I should be far from denying that *azdâ* may equal *addhâ*, but a strengthening adverb seems to me of no particular force here. I formerly rested at the simple explanation *az + dâ = dhâ* = desire-exciting, much desired one. But the Pahlavi translator affords an explanation which may surpass that of his successors. He sees the meaning: 'When I shall call upon You,' (that is, freely, 'being invoked,') 'cause Thou (sic) me to understand fully.' This is the remnant of some predecessor's work, who rendered 'tell ye me;' *az* = *ah*, otherwise lost in Zend. The plural follows the singular too often to excite much doubt; *azdâ* = tell ye; so *zdf* is from *az*, as *syôdûm* is from *as* (recall the well-known Indian analogies). See also the explanation of the Pahlavi at Y. XXXI, 17. If a plural cannot be admitted, then consider a form extended by *d*.

² The Pahlavi translates freely, *bavîhûnam*.

³ The Kine must represent the people as well as their live-stock. The raids concerned the owners more than their cattle. In answer to the cry of the Kine, Zarathustra was sent to the people.

⁴ I can hardly agree to the rendering 'among people who see the sun' without a needless reconstruction of the text. The Pahlavi likewise has *pavan khvârîh*; for general meaning, compare *Khshathrôî hveng daresôî*, not as equivalent however.

⁵ *Âskârag stî*.

sought and gained by me (as conquests for the cause).
Give Thou this gift!

3. (Yea, let that joy-creating one) be his possession through the Righteous Order (which he helps to bring, that living sign) which (the most valiant citizen) may give to him (at once reward and charge), and in accordance with Thy Sovereign Authority. (May that heroic settler grant him this gift) he who may make the (last imperilled) farm to flourish in the vigour of Thy blest prosperity, the tract which lies the nearest (to the fields) which our foeman holds as his¹.

4. (And therefore both in thankfulness and hope) will I give sacrifice to You with praises, O Ahura Mazda! together with Thine Order and Thy Best Mind (in Thy saints), and in accordance with Thy sacred Sovereign Power, by whose help the wisher (heaven-bound) may stand upon the (certain) pathway², and in Thine Home-of-song shall I (by means of these my Yasnas offered here) there hear the praises of Thine offering saints who see Thy face³.

5. And we⁴ are in readiness as well (to fulfil Your praises and declare your words), O Ahura Mazda! through Your (grace, and) in accordance with Your Holy Order, since Ye advance with friendliness⁵ to cheer the speaker of Your Māthra-word with open acts of visible relief, as if with hand sent forth,

¹ The Pahlavi translation, as usual, not literally exact, still furnishes the correct clue, *Zak ī nazdistō (?) gēhānō min valman ī darvand bakhshēd* [*aīgar zak dēn dārisn barā yansegūnyēn*].

² *Frō tāis vispāis Kīnvatō frā peretūm*.

³ *Ākau* (compare the Indian *ākē*); 'who approach, and are therefore evident (*āshkarak*) to God, and seeing Him.' *Comp. ākau* in *Y. LI, 13*, which has been thought a loc.

⁴ See *nau*.

⁵ To *vrag*.

whereby that Māthra-speaker of Your truth may bring us on, and settle us, in weal and bliss ¹.

6. (Therefore will I incite him to his task the more. Let him indeed proclaim the righteous way ²) he who already lifts his voice in Māthras, O Ahura Mazda! he, Zarathustra ³, the faithful friend in accordance with the Holy Order, and with self-abasing worship, giver of understanding for this land, voice-guider (of the way to glory ⁴), let him indeed proclaim and teach my regulations, and in accordance with Thy Good Mind (as his law).

7. (And together with that chief speaker of your word I would engage yet others in the cause). Your well-incited ⁵ and swift ⁶ (servants), O Ahura! would I yoke ⁷ on (as steeds to take their holy course toward heaven), gaining ⁷ thereby (at last) the Bridges ⁸ where

¹ See the previous verse, where the wisher stands on the path, seeking to reach Garōdman. It seems therefore probable that *hvatrê* refers to *demânê garô*.

² Compare Y. LIII, 2, *daunghô erezûs pathô*.

³ As remarked, this entire piece recalls Y. XXVIII. Here the monarch is represented as speaking precisely as spokesmen are introduced in any other composition. We have no reason to suppose the piece to be the composition of some leading person other than Zarathustra, because of the words 'let Zarathustra speak forth my regulations.' (See page 169.)

⁴ *Īshô staunghaŋ â paithî*.

⁵ Consider a suffix *ishfi*.

⁶ Here the Pahlavi translator gives us both text and translation, *aurvatô*=*arvand*.

⁷ Or, 'yoke Thou, may'st Thou gain.'

⁸ The *Kinvaŋ* Bridge, either literally or figuratively. Compare 'the bridge of the earth' (Y. LI, 12). The crises of effort, or temptation, are meant, as the *Kinvaŋ* Bridge was the last crisis before salvation or perdition. The souls of the good and of the evil were met by their own consciences on the Bridge, and encouraged or reviled.

'When the soul of the pious passes over that Bridge, the width of

Your adoration (rules and is complete). Yea, I (?) yoke on your mighty ones, and with Thy Holy Order, and Thy Good Mind. And with these may Ye drive on; aye, be Ye for my help!

8. (And as I yoke on Your Māthra-speakers for their course, then) would I (myself) approach You in the (highest) deed of worship¹, and with these sacred metric feet (of Zarathustra and his peers²), those which are heard and famed afar, as the metric feet of zealous worship, and with my hands stretched³ out (in supplicating prayer). Yea, You (would I approach), O Mazda! in union with Your sacred ritual Truth, and with the homage of a freely-giving helper⁴, and with the good virtue of (Your) Good Mind (in my soul).

9. Yea, with these Yasnas of Your sacrifice would I approach You, praising back to You (in answer to Your mercies), O Ahura! and Thou, O Righteousness! in (the holy) actions of Your Good Mind, (as he moves within us), so long indeed as I shall have the power, commanding at my will o'er this my sacred (privilege) and gift. (And doing as) the wise man (thus), may I (like him) become a suppliant who gains⁵ his ends.

10. (Mine every wish and prayer is this), then therefore whatsoever I shall do, and whatsoever deeds

that Bridge becomes about one league' (West, *Mainyô-î Khard*,* p. 134). Possibly the extension of the Bridge for the pious arose from the plural use here.

¹ Compare Y. XXVIII, 3.

² See Y. XXVIII, 9.

³ See Y. XXVIII, 2.

⁴ See Y. XLVI, 9.

⁵ The Pahlavi translator accepts a sense of acquisition here as well as of desire: *Aêtûnō zak î valman î avō hû-dânâk pavan khvahišnō griftâr hōmanânî* [mozd]. I accede to its indication, holding that *gardh* certainly has such an element in its meaning.

(of ritual and truth I shall yet further do) on account of, (and to make full¹) these (prior deeds of worship), yea, whatsoever (holy works) shine bright² as having worth in (all) men's eyes through Thy Good Mind (whose character they share; these as) the stars, suns, and the Aurora which brings on the light³ of days, are all, through their Righteous Order, (the speakers) of Thy⁴ praise, O Thou Great Giver, Lord!

11. Your praiser then (by eminence) would I be named, and (more), would be it, so long as by (Thine inspiring) Righteousness I am thus able and may have the power. And may the maker of the world give help through (His implanted) Good Mind (in my fellow-servants). And may that (all) be done⁵ (to further us) which through His veritable grace is most promotive (for the cause)!

¹ I can here only follow the words as they are written; the meaning is clear enough although rather advanced. Reconstructions on a large scale are seldom of value.

² Judging from the context, we may render *argat* thus.

³ The Pahlavi translator here renders as if he read *ushâ*. In Y. XLVI, 3 he translates *ukhshânô*. Professor Wilhelm, preferring as above, still recalls the Homeric usage favouring 'increaser.' The Pahlavi has *vakhshînîdâr* in Y. XLVI, 3. Here *hosh zak î arûs dên bâm I*. Ner. alone understood *arûs*.

⁴ 'Your.'

⁵ An imperative has long been recognised in *varstām*; or read: 'Let him cause that which is the most furthering of deeds to grow influential through veritable grace.' So perhaps better.

THE GÂTHA(Â) VOHÛ KSHATHREM (VOHUKHSHATHRA(Â)).

This Gâtha consists of the single chapter Y. LI. It has lines of fourteen syllables with caesura in the middle.

YASNA LI.

INSTRUCTIONS AND APPEALS TO AN ASSEMBLY OF THE FAITHFUL.

It is hardly possible that we have here a continuous whole. The thoughts, however, harmonise well enough, and the changes give little trouble. 1. As so often the Sovereign Authority of Ahura, His reign over the hearts and in the minds of His faithful worshippers, is the leading theme. That sovereign Power, when it is established, will produce every good thing with it, and repress every evil, and the composer prays that he may never pause at any moment in his efforts to bring that kingdom on. 2. Accordingly, as the foremost of objects, he beseeches for both its blessings and its protection, and names Âramaiti as the especial representative of Ahura in this case to grant the Kingdom as a Realm established in spiritual wealth, and whose first effect should be the glory of God through the agency of holy dispositions in men.

3. The spirit of the Daêna is public and prophetic rather than occult and mysterious. The people therefore gather to hear Gâthas recited, and religious harangues delivered as on political occasions, and all the more because the Mâthras are declared to be the results of direct inspiration from Ahura. 4. The present recitations are invocations calling for the four energising Immortals, the guiding Order, the active Piety, the inspiring Benevolence, and the Power-wielding Kingdom, and, in using these names, the multitude are also beseeching, by the voice of their spokesman, for the Ratu, the Saoshyant cried for by the Kine, looked for by Asha himself, and promised by Ahura.

5. And the men who press this prayer are, each of them, for the moment (*nûîr*), as the Ratu himself. Wise in his homage, he seeks to gain the kine, like the ideal husbandman, both as property and as emblem, and he desires to establish the Ratu, understood as a person, or as the law, which may judge between the two sides (Y. XXXI, 2), and, by the expulsion of the evil, give quiet to the land (Y. XLVI, 4; Y. LIII, 9). 6. Declaring Ahura to be the awarder of the highest good and deepest evil, (7) he calls on Him to grant the 'eternal two,' the rewarding Immortals (not named in the former verse), but only by means of the inspired teachings. 8. And as these inculcations are effective for himself, he will declare forth their threats and promises to others, being repaid for his zealous fidelity in the very act. 9. Recalling the hopes of vengeance, he beseeches Ahura to give forth a sign, or instrument, from the holy Fire, which may settle the disputes by the forged blade of justice. 10. For he declares that the man who murderously assaults his adherents in the opposing interest (see Y. XXXII, 10, &c.) is inherently and originally perverted in his motives, a very son of the Lie, and of the seed of Akôman.

11. While in terms he addresses Ahura, he in reality challenges the devotion of the chieftains, as he calls aloud to the Deity.

12. Here a temptation of Zarathustra is narrated, as in the Vendîdâd, here dwelling on his youth, there on his maturer manhood. But the verse shows marked signs of later age.

13. And the soul of the righteous is encouraged by the recorded example; he shall come off the conqueror, as Zarathustra did.

14. But the Karpans (priestly chiefs?) of the opposing party, following the typical destroyer (as in Y. XXXII), would bring the world to ruin, and the creatures to Hell.

15. The true disciples will however infallibly receive the promised recompense.

16. And as for that *Kîsti*, conceived by Mazda to give the saving knowledge in the sacred verse, the King of the Realm had acquired it. It will be stored in the memory of faithful priests under his care and rule; and he will give his subjects a good worship (Y. XLIX, 7) in accordance with it. 17. A female saint, also illustrious in rank, is celebrated with honourable mention; she is, as it were, the *Kîsti* in her person, as she is named in this connection.

18. Another devoted friend arrests the speaker's eye, as he stands in the assembly; (19) and still another. 20. Then, as if taking in all with his view, and with an expression which shows

his identification with the people, he declares that the 'Archangels' are of one mind with Mazda in bestowing spiritual blessings, the chief of which are inspired words, the source of their discipline, and the guide of their hopes.

21. And with assurances as to the greatness of the spiritual blessings implied in all that he has said, he prays Ahura all the more earnestly to grant them to His elect. 22. And he declares that Ahura knows and observes the man who fulfils every command that he has uttered, as well as believes every doctrine which he has divulged, and that, knowing Him, He also marks Him as the object of His grace. And he ends by expressing once more his desire to approach the Bountiful Immortals, not as naming them alone, but naming them, as we may well suppose, with a full appreciation of all that is meant by the sacred words which belong to them as names.

Translation.

1. The good Government (of Ahura¹) is to be chosen (among all wished-for things²) as that lot which most of all brings on (our happiness). Actions that oppress us it opposes³, through the holy Order (which pervades it), and with the pious zeal (of its true servants). Therefore, O Great Creator! let me

¹ It is far better to take *Khshathra* in its usual and often necessary sense. And it is especially desirable not to confound it with *shôithra*=*kshétra*.

² The choice one.

³ One is somewhat inclined to regard *vidushemnâis* as a monstrous form of *vid*, which has crept into the text under the influence of the two words *vidushê* in verse 8, and owing to an attempt to fill out the metre, the original word having been *videm-nâis*. The Pahlavi gives no indication except for a form of *dû*=to give. Leaving the MSS. intact, I compare *dush*+*vi*.

I render as above on the principle that the text in the MSS. should not be violated where it is possible to translate it at all. Reading *videmnâis* we might render, 'that kingdom's privileges are shared (it is entered and penetrated) by men who act (by actions) in a manner to further its security, (by actions gaining it).'

produce, and help bring on (that Sovereign Power) which is the best for us at every present hour.

2. And first I will ask for¹ these two blessings of Your own, O Thou Great Creator, and thou His Righteous Order! and I also ask of thee, Our Piety (personified, as well); and grant me this Your Sovereign Rule over our desired wealth (to give and to preserve it; and likewise) those spiritual blessings which are advantageous for our worship (of Ahura) through (the inspiration of His) Good Mind (within the soul).

3. (And it is not I alone who thus appeal to You; I speak for all) who are guarded in the (ceremonial and moral) actions of Your (law), and by those (inspired) words (which proceed) from the tongue of Thy Good Mind (as he speaks within Thy Māthra). Yea, these are all assembling (each) to hear You, of whom Thou, O Ahura Mazda! art the foremost guide² and light.

4. (And they cry aloud to Thee, O Mazda! I speaking with them, and in their name): Where is the (promised³) lord of our thrift (the embodied law, saving us from the most dreaded dangers that we fear⁴, the thrift-lord) of (our) ready zeal? Where

¹ I have rather reluctantly read *yêkâ* with long ê. Having in mind Y. XXX, 1, where Sp.'s B. reads *yaêkâ*, and reading *yaêkâ* here, we might regain the lost dual neuter of the pronoun here as in Y. XXX, 1, and so render, 'and which two things belong to thee, the possession (rule) of wealth and the blessings.'

Roth, cited by Geldner, changes to *ashayaêkâ* here and in Y. XXX, 1; and it is certainly striking that *ashâ yêkâ* should occur twice. I render as above, first, as nearer our MSS., and as affording a good sense.

² See Y. XXXI, 17.

³ See verse 5.

⁴ See Y. XXIX, 1; Y. XXXII.

does he stand to (show us) mercy? Whither are (Thy) Righteousness and the Bountiful Âramaiti (our Piety) approaching? From what direction comes Thy Best Mind (to inspire and to guide)? And whence (again), O Great Creator! Thy Sovereign Power (to be our ruler and defence¹)?

5. And it is the tiller of the earth who asks this of Thee, O Ahura! (Thy chosen saint himself); he has asked this all of Thee, striving to discover how he may gain to himself the sacred Kine (and with all wealth in herds beside. And he would seek this) moved by the motives which flow from Thy Righteous Order (and Thy cause), upright as he is in actions, and wise in his self-humbling worship (of that² One) who, as a righteous ruler, has appointed a just controlling guide for those whom He has made.

6. (And in partial answer to his question, and to solve his doubt, I now declare the truth): He who gives to this (good citizen) that which is better than the good³; yea, He who bestows on him in accordance with his religious choice is (our) Ahura Mazda (and not

¹ It is hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that these abstracts are personified here, as in so many other places in the Gâthas. We may indeed doubt whether the idea of personification was ever wholly absent, the original meaning being likewise never lost. Professor Wilhelm prefers taking Ashem as an accusative, 'how does one (do they) come to Asha?' This is admirable; but I am, on the whole, inclined to regard Ashem as a nominative with *fseratus*, *Âr(a)maitis*, &c., taking the plurals *yasô hyen* (*hyen*) as irregularly extending to the other subjects.

² So Wilhelm (by letter), taking a form of the pronoun as understood. It is difficult to suppose that the *vâstrya* could be referred to as appointing the Ratu through the influence of his devotion and pious supplications; as Wilhelm justly says, the third line must apply to Ahura.

³ See Y. XLIII, 3; notice *ahmâi* as referring to *hôi*.



a false god of the Daêvas¹). And this will He bestow through His divine Authority (established in preparation here), while on the withholder of the sacrifice, who offers nothing to His (cause), He will send worse than the evil (and that not here alone, but) in the last turning of the creation in its course !

7. (And as Thou wilt bestow thus graciously on him), so grant me also, O Thou most bountiful Spirit Mazda, Thou who hast made both the Kine and the waters and the plants² (for her support) ! both Immortality and Welfare, those two eternal powers, and through Thy Good Mind in the doctrine (which is revealed through his inspired words³).

8. (Yea, grant me these two inseparable gifts, for having them in store) I will speak for Thee, O Mazda ! because to the man of understanding⁴ one should declare for Thee that which is woe to the wicked, but salvation to him who has maintained the holy Order (in Thy folk and in his soul). For he is (repaid in his deed, and) rejoiced by the Māthra who declares it to the wise.

9. (And when I shall speak, I will declare for You that mental) keenness (which reaches the decision), and which Thou hast bestowed upon the two striving sides⁵, (in Thy satisfying word). And this

¹ See Y. XXXI, 17 where the faith of the dregvant is sufficiently recognised to form the basis for a question, rhetorical indeed, but still a question.

² From this and similar occurrences of the 'water and the plants' beside 'Immortality and Welfare' probably arose the later peculiar identification of those names with water and plants.

³ Compare perhaps verse 20.

⁴ Otherwise ; 'I will speak for Thee, O Lord ! for the (all)-wise one should speak.'

⁵ Or, 'from the two arami ;' see notes on Y. XXXI, 3 and Y. XLIII, 12.

I will announce by means of Thy flaming Fire; yea, I will declare it for the bestowal of that sword of justice which is forged from steel¹, and wrought for both the worlds². And for the wounding of the wicked (with its blade) may'st Thou³, O Ahura Mazda! bless and prosper Thine (avenging) saint⁴!

10. (Yea, let Thy believer wound the wicked to the quick), for he, who totally estranged from this (our holy rule⁵), O Mazda! seeks to destroy my life, is a son⁶ of the Lie's creation, and belongs to the miscreants; (but as for me), I call on Asha (Thy Righteous Order to be my help); and may he come with Thy good blessing.

11. (And ye who throng the great assembly⁷, it is of you I speak while, with my lips, I now address the Lord): Who, O Ahura! is a loyal friend to the Spitâma⁸, to Zarathustra? Who has asked his question of the divine Righteousness, (as he approached⁹)?

¹ Compare Y. XXXII, 7, *hvaênâ ayanghâ* (lit. iron).

Others see the ordeal of fire here, and the bath of melted metal from which the righteous suffers nothing, but in which the sinner is consumed, but *râshayanghê* seems to point to injury produced otherwise than by dipping, and *dakhshta* certainly designates a metallic instrument elsewhere; 'sign' is, however, the original meaning.

² So several times; comp. Y. XXVIII, 3, where the depth is unmistakable; see also Y. XXXI, 18 with *ahûbîr* in the next verse.

³ The Pahlavi while not strictly correct, affords the indication of a causative, *sûdînêd*.

⁴ From this verse probably arose the later association of *khshathra-vairya* and metal founding and forging.

⁵ As invoking Asha is in the antithesis, I regard *ashâ* as understood here. *Gat* seems a particle, but also not impossibly=*gât*. As it is twice followed by *tê* (*tôi*), the interesting change is suggested to *gatê*, *infin*.

⁶ Or a proper name.

⁸ See Y. XLVI, 9, 14.

⁷ See the third verse.

⁹ See the fourth verse.

By whom is the bounteous Piety (received and cherished)? Or who has been regarded as upright and fitted for the great cause of Thy Good Mind?

12. ('Who is worthy?' would I ask, for Zarathustra was ever such, and from earliest days. He was no polluted wretch.) Paederast never gained his ear, nor Kavi-follower on this (temptation-)bridge of earth, when his body was (maturely) grown, when they both hasten(ed) to him with the bosom's¹ impure power².

13. (And he will be likewise victorious on the veritable Judgment Bridge, for) the righteous man's conscience will truly³ crush the wicked man's (spirit) while his soul rages⁴ fiercely on the open *Kinvaŋ* Bridge⁵, as he strives by his actions, and his tongue's

¹ Some other portion of the human body, suggested by the context, may be meant by *aodares*. The word looks like a verbal form, 3rd pl., but see the preceding dual.

² I render the Pahlavi of this most difficult verse as follows: Far from satisfying me is the *Kik*, the paederast, in regard to both of the two particulars [food and clothing] on the path of winter; (far from satisfying me) who am *Zartûsht*, the *Spîtâman*, with whom he is; that is, (or 'where') he incites me with his incitation in my bodily (?) (sensations; reading *astak* (?)); [that is, a person comes, and thus also they, or he, would do it to me]; and this one who (is doing) [that to us] is also leading us on, even in our progress in the cold [of a winter] of accustomed sin, (or in the cold iniquitous winter). This verse seems a very ancient interpolation.

³ *Haithîm* is an adverb; its position also does not so much favour an accusative substantive.

⁴ So our texts; but the Pahlavi translator saw *khraozhdaitf* (see Y. XLVI, 11) in his MSS., rendering *khŕûsirnô yehabûnd*=utter cries: 'while his soul cries fiercely.'

⁵ The occurrence of *peretau(âo)* in this verse sheds light upon the *peretô* in the previous one. *Âkzu(âo)* seems to be an attracted form for a loc. as elsewhere. Perhaps it is miswritten.

(cursing speech) to reach¹ (and to pollute) Asha's paths (where the faithful souls come).

14. (And as are those lost spirits, so are our foes.) No friends to the creatures² are the Karpans, (not granting) complete (harvests) from the fields with complete (pasture) for the Kine (chief objects for our prayer), bringing woe³ by their deeds and their teachings. And they⁴ will deliver these (beings⁵ whom they lead) at the last (?) by their doctrine(s) in the Home of the Lie.

15. But this is the reward which Zarathustra declared before (to his friends who counsel with Asha), and are fitted for the cause⁶; Ahura Mazda will come the first⁷ into His Song Home, Garôdman,

¹ Nāsvau(áo) would naturally mean 'reaching'; but the word is also elsewhere used in an evil sense, 'reaching to harm.' Y. LIII, 7. The Pahlavi, however, indicates the reading nasvau by its nasînênd. Does the Avesta show an original evil sense to nas=to reach? May the two nas possibly have some original connection? That *hwâis skyaothnâis* means here 'by means of' rather than 'because of' is the more probable from the same words in the next verse, and this notwithstanding Y. XXXI, 20.

² So general a term as 'creatures' should be avoided where possible; but see *ye dâthaëibyô eres ratûm khshayâs ashavau kistâ* (verse 5).

³ As to the grammatical structure, all depends on *sendâ*. Shall we bring down *nôit* from the verse above; or shall we regard *sendâ* as in an evil sense from *sad* as in *sadrâ*? The Pahlavi favours the former, as also in Y. XXXVIII, 5 (Sp. 15). The general result is not, however, affected. Read as alternative: No friends to the creatures are the Karpans as to perfect (harvests) from the fields, (not) blessing us in the matter of perfect (care and fodder) for the cattle, &c.; (*sad* in the sense of blessing with *nôit*).

⁴ Free.

⁵ Or, 'doctrines.'

⁶ See the eleventh verse.

⁷ Alternatives would be, 'Ahura will meet these engagements (?) made when the reward was promised;' or, 'the reward which Zarathustra promised before Ahura came into Garôdman.' Ac-

and then these gifts will be given you by the Good Mind (within you), and with blessings for the cause of the Righteous Order (in His hosts).

16. (And one of you, the greatest, has indeed attained to that wisdom which is thus blessed with a promise), Kavi Vîstâspa has reached it in the Realm of our great cause (of devotion ¹), and moved in his toil by the chants of the Good Mind (who speaks in the Māthra ²); yea, he hath attained to that wisdom which the bountiful Ahura conceived in accordance with Asha, thus to teach us salvation.

17. (And not alone amidst our princes hath sanctity been marked), Frashaostra, the Hvôgva, hath presented a blest and an endeared form (his child ³); and may Ahura Mazda, who has the Sovereign Power, grant her (to us), who is so much to be beloved. And for the (progress of the) good Religion ⁴ do ye, O ye people! receive her with desire ⁵, and for the gaining of Asha; (she will help the great cause).

18. Yea, that (holy) wisdom, O Gâmâspa the Hvôgva ⁶! these (pious throngs) are choosing through

ording to the general form of the Gâthic sentence, *lôist parâ* go more naturally together than if the force of the *parâ* was extended to *gasa*. The coming of Ahura is elsewhere mentioned; here He enters His audience-chamber before His approaching saints.

¹ Maga may have some such cast of meaning. I have, moreover, more than once suspected that the origin of 'magian' may, notwithstanding the *môghu* of the later Avesta, be simply this *maga* so often used in the Gâthas to designate 'the cause.'

² See verse 20.

³ So also the Pahlavi translator in his gloss; *aîgham bartman pavan nêrmanîh barâ yehabûnêzô*.

⁴ So also of Zarathustra's daughter, Y. LIII, 4.

⁵ Or, 'cry ye for the gaining of Asha,' as in Y. XXIX, 1.

⁶ Or, reading a nominative, 'Gâmâspa is choosing,' which is itself

their Righteousness as the (true) splendours of riches (these pious men who are) gaining the kingdom where the Good Mind (doth govern). And grant me also, O Mazda! that which these with glad wishes¹ receive from Thy grace².

19. (And this prayer is already and beforehand heard.) This established Sovereign Power the heroic (Kavi Vîstâspa has given), O Maidhyô-mâh the Spitâma. He who is wise through the Religion, and who seeks (the true) life, he is granting it to us³; yea, he has pronounced the laws of Ahura our Maker, and declared that which is for (our) life's actions (beyond all other things) best.

20. And, that gift of blessedness for you, all (the Bountiful Immortals) with one consent in sympathy to help us (are disposed⁴) to grant; (and may they likewise make) the Holy Order (firm) for us through the Good Mind (in our folk); and may they reveal to us the words with which Piety likewise (speaks her truths). And receiving sacrifice with homage (from our praises), may they seek⁵ for us Ahura Mazda's grace.

21. (Yea, this Kavi Vîstâspa) the man of Âramaiti is bounteous, and with understanding in his words and his actions. (And as a reward) may Ahura give

well possible, as *var* is also conjugated with *n*; but *rapən* seems a plural, and *vidô* likewise.

¹ I concede this shade of meaning to the indications of the Pahlavi.

² The Pahlavi gives us our first indication here.

³ If *Gâmâspô* (nom.) is read in verse 18, *ahmâi* might here refer to him; 'to this one.'

⁴ Or, 'let them grant;' infinitive as imperative.

⁵ Seeking; a dual is here disapproved by the source from which the suggestion originated.

him that Righteousness which is blest, (but) with the Religion (alone), and that Sovereign Power which is established through the Good Mind (in His folk). And this same blessing would I pray from His grace¹.

22. For Ahura Mazda knoweth the man whose best gift for the sacrifice is given unto me, and from the motive of Righteousness; (and in thankfulness for all, and in prayer for yet still further grace), I will worship (the eternal ones); yea, I will worship those who have ever lived, and who still live, and by their own (holy) names, and to their (thrones²) will I draw near with my praise!

THE GĀTHA(Ā) VAHISTĀ ÎSTIS (VAHIS- TÔISTI(Î)).

This Gātha, named from its first words, consists of chapter LIIL of the Yasna. While its matter is homogeneous with that of the other Gāthas, it bears some evidence of having been composed in the latter portion of Zarathustra's life. It is, as usual, separated from the other Gāthas by its metre, which shows four lines with two half lines. The first two have eleven or twelve syllables; the third seems to have fourteen plus a half line with five, so also the last. Irregularities seem frequent. The composition has for its substance a marriage song, but one of a politically religious character.

The piece â-airyemâ-ishyô, Y. LIV, 1, has been considered by some as susceptible of a similar metrical arrangement, and it certainly looks as if it originally belonged to Y. LIIL. It is, however,

¹ I refer tem to Ahura, supposing it to stand; reading tām, I would refer it to ashi.

² Compare Vend. XIX, 31.

otherwise divided by Bartholomae (see *Arische Forschungen*, 2^{ter} heft, s. 23). From the past form of *srâvî*, some have thought that Zarathustra was no longer living when this hymn was composed, but the word may only mean '(his prayer) has been, or is heard.' If we must, however, render 'was heard,' this does not determine the certainty of Zarathustra's death. The expression *Zarathustris Spitâmô* also gives the impression that some heir to Zarathustra's office and prestige existed, but even this is not decisive, for a future successor may be for a time a contemporary, while, on the contrary, the nuptials of Zarathustra's daughter, with the mention of his name, and the reference to her 'father' as the one from whom her bridegroom obtained her, indicate that Zarathustra may well have been still living. The later forms *Zarathustrahê* and *fedhrô* remain as the indications of a later origin than the actual period of Zarathustra's lifetime; but these circumstances may be owing to accidental causes.

The style has freshness and vigour throughout, and would indicate Zarathustrian influence, if not authorship. That Zarathustra does not speak in the first person, has no importance whatever in the question. The piece is not of course a whole; but it may well be a whole out of which parts have fallen. That the subject passes on to the old polemical vehemence in the last verses, is far from unnatural. The marriage festival of Zarathustra's child must have been, if without intention, a semi-political occasion, and the bard would express himself, as naturally, with regard to the struggle which was still going on. This latter fact also shows an early date; the passages referring to the struggle are strongly kindred with some in Y. XLVI, and elsewhere.

Verses 1 and 2 form an admirable introduction; the transition to the marriage occasion was, however, contained in lost verses. Verses 3, 4, and 5 hang well together; and 6 and 7 are not at all remote from them; the warlike close, although far from surprising us, must have been introduced by one or more now missing stanzas.

1. As the object of the 'great cause,' next to the preservation of its adherents, was the extension of its influence, first over hesitating parties (Y. XLIV, 12), and then over all the living (Y. XXXI, 3), it is not surprising that the central prayer of Zarathustra should have culminated in a desire for the conversion of opponents. Even Turanians had been known to come over to the holy creed, and help prosper the settlements which their kith had so often plundered (Y. XLVI, 12); he had therefore prayed that those who

had heretofore injured the holy Daëna might become its disciples by a genuine conversion. 2. Having observed the fidelity of converts and original disciples, the king and his chief nobles would celebrate their devotion by hymns, ceremonies, and sacrifices, as the symbols of every moral virtue, laying down for the people the moral law of the Saviour. 3. As it would be pushing rather far to suppose the Saoshyant to be referred to in *təmââ*, and as moreover, according to Geldner's admirable suggestion, that title may here well refer to Zarathustra, it is better to accept a loss of verses, and to suppose a person alluded to as the bridegroom, who, if not one so eminent as to merit the imposing name of Saoshyant, was still at least one of his more prominent satellites, for the ancient poet goes on to address a daughter of Zarathustra as a bride. She is the youngest, and her name is as pious as that of a maid of ancient Israel, for she is called 'full of the religious knowledge.' Her husband is to be a support in holiness, and she is to take counsel with piety. 4. Her response is appropriate; she will vie with her husband in every sacred affection, as well as in every domestic virtue. 5. The priestly thaliarch then addresses the bridesmaids and the pair with suitable admonitions to piety and affection. 6. Turning now to the assembly, possibly after the recital of some stanzas long since vanished, he proceeds with warnings and encouragements. He will exorcise the Demon who was especially the slave of the Daëvas; but he warns all men and women against the evil Vayu, the spirit of the air. 7. Charitably concluding that they would come forth as conquerors from the trials which still awaited them, he next warns them against all solicitations to vice. 8. Having named profane Demons, his polemical zeal becomes fully inflamed. Anticipating with fierce delight the sufferings of the wicked, he calls vehemently for the champion, who may, in alliance with neighbouring potentates, deliver up the murderous false-leader, giving peace to the masses; and he entreats that all haste may be used. 9. To arouse the great chiefs to their duty, he recalls (as in Y. XXXII) the successes of the foe; and he calls for the prince who may overthrow and expel him, but, as if well aware that the human arm could not alone bring salvation, he attributes to Ahura the Sovereign Power, which alone can guard helpless innocence against lawless plunder and oppression.

Translation.

1. That best prayer has been answered¹, the prayer of Zarathustra Spitâma, that Ahura Mazda might² grant him those boons, (the most wished-for) which flow from the good Order, even a life that is prospered³ for eternal duration, and also those who deceived⁴ him (may He likewise thus grant him) as the good Faith's disciples in word and in deed⁵.

2. And may Kavi Vîstâspa, and the Zarathustrian Spitâma⁶, and Frashaostra too with them, offer propitiation to Mazda in thought, word, and deed, and

¹ Some lay stress upon the literal form 'was heard,' and regard the expression as indicating the fact that Zarathustra was no longer living (see the remarks in the summary).

² Free.

³ I follow the Pahlavi with all; it has *hû-âhûînâd*.

⁴ I follow the *friftâr* of the Pahlavi, as the conversion of those formerly hostile is suggested by *vaurayâ* and *Fryâna*, not to speak of the primary rendering of *duserethrîs êikhshnushâ*. The Pahlavi also has, 'even he who is the deceiver is to be instructed in the word and deed of the good religion.' The MSS. should not hastily be abandoned.

⁵ That more than a ritualistic sanctity is meant is certain (see Y. XXX, 3); but that no sanctity could be recognised apart from worship is equally undeniable.

⁶ Who was the Zarathustrian Spitâma? Some change the text after the Pahlavi translator, reading Zarathustra Spitâma; but I would not follow this evil example in a first translation of a translatable text. Why should a Spitâma, who was not Zarathustra, be called Zarathustrian? Were some of the Spitâmas not in sympathy with their great kinsman, Spitâmas who were Mazda-yasnians, but not 'of Zarathustra's order?' One would however suppose that some one of Zarathustra's family was meant who occupied the position of his especial representative and natural successor.

Yasna confessions¹ as they render Him praise, making straight paths² (for our going), even that Faith of the Saoshyant which Ahura will found³.

(The master of the feast.)

3⁴. And him will they give Thee, O Pouruêista, Haêkat-aspid and Spitâmi! young⁵ (as thou art) of the daughters of Zarathustra, him will they⁶ give thee as a help in the Good Mind's true service, of Asha's and Mazda's, as a chief and a guardian⁷. Counsel well then (together⁸), with the mind of Ârmaiti, most bounteous and pious; and act with just action.

(She answers.)

4. I will love⁹ and vie with him, since from (my) father¹⁰ he gained (me). For the master and toilers, and for the lord-kinsman (be) the Good Mind's bright

¹ Free.

² Recall the 'path made for the Kine,' and 'the way' which 'Thou declarest to be that of the Good Mind.'

³ That is, will permanently found, establish.

⁴ Verses have here fallen out, as some allusion must have been made to the bridegroom.

⁵ So more according to the hint of the Pahlavi and the statement of the Bundahis; West, XXXII, 5. So Geldner, K. Z. 28, 195.

⁶ Or, 'will he, the Saoshyant, the bride's father.'

⁷ A chieftain, a protecting head.

⁸ It is, perhaps, safer to refer this 'questioning' to the pair; but forms of ham with pares are also used of consultations with the Deity (see Y. XXXIII, 6). Y. XLIV, 13 nearly necessitates the wider and less concrete view here.

⁹ Varânî looks somewhat like a gloss, but the metre seems to demand it.

¹⁰ Her father's sanction was a reason for devotion to the man to whom he had given her.

blessing¹, the pure for the pure ones, and to me (be²) the insight (which I gain from his counsel³). Mazda grant it, Ahura for good conscience for ever.

(The priestly master of the feast.)

5. Monitions for the marrying I speak to (you) maidens, to you, I who know them; and heed ye my (sayings): By these⁴ laws of the Faith which I utter obtain ye the life of the Good Mind (on earth and in heaven). (And to you, bride and bridegroom⁵), let each one the other in Righteousness cherish; thus alone unto each shall the home-life be happy.

6. [Thus real are these things, ye men and ye women⁶!] from the Lie-demon protecting, I guard o'er my (faithful), and so (I) grant progress (in weal and in goodness). And the hate of the Lie (with the hate of her) bondsmen (?) I pray from the body, (and so would expel it⁷). For to those who bear Vayu⁸, (and bring him to power), his shame⁹ mars the glory. To these evil truth-harmers by these means he reaches. Ye thus slay the life mental (if ye follow his courses¹⁰).

¹ The Pahlavi translator has *sīrīh* here.

² *Be* = *bád* lies certainly nearer than *bee* = *bava*.

³ See the previous verse. ⁴ Or, 'being zealous.'

⁵ These words do not seem adapted to the bridesmaids.

⁶ *Gaini* is elsewhere used in an evil sense.

⁷ I can only render thus literally: From the *Drûg* as a generous guide (I) who (compare *ye* in Y. XXVIII) (for) mine, (*mê*) a watching guardian (I guide as a *râthema*; nom. sing. with verbal force) increasing prosperity, i.e. progress, of the *Drûg* I pray (forth*; I exorcise) of the bond(?) (of the *Drûg*) the malicious injuries* from the body or person. * *yêšê-parâ*. * to 3rd *pî*.

⁸ 'If ye bear, or promote, the interests of Vayu.'

⁹ Or, 'evil food.'

¹⁰ Some line here is gloss; the first thought would be to eliminate

7. But yours be the recompense, (O ye righteous women!) of this great cause. For while lustful desire heart-inflamed from the body¹ there beyond goeth down where the spirit of evil reaches (to ruin, still) ye bring forth the champion² to help on the cause, (and thus conquer temptation). So your last word is 'Vayu'; (ye cry it in triumph³).

8. And thus let the sinners by these means be foiled⁴; and consumed⁵ be they likewise. Let them shriek in their anger. With good kings let (our champion⁶) deliver⁷ the smiter⁸ (as a captive in

the difficult second line; but the third line might be an effort (by the poet himself, or an associate, see the metrical form) to explain, or relieve, the awkward second line. Reading *yemâ* and *râthemâ*, and taking *genayô* as in an evil sense, with *spasuthâ* as a second plural, we might render as a question: 'Do ye, O ye twain, ye helpers of the *Drûg*; do ye regard promotion (as thus to be gained)?' But in that case verses 6 and 7 should be regarded as separated by many lost verses from the fifth verse. But is not the first line the gloss? It is merely an address.

¹ Free.

² Lit. 'the greatness.'

³ The difficulty here lies in the first line which seems to declare a reward in a good sense. *Mîzdem* is hardly used of retribution. It must therefore be taken in a good sense. The following evil results must be supposed to have been avoided; and 'Vayu' to be uttered in triumph. Vayu is used in an evil sense in verse 6.

If *mîzdem* could be supposed to express retribution, then evil men and women would be threatened, and Vayu would be a cry uttered in woe. As to Vayu with his two natures, see part ii as per index.

⁴ The foiling of the evil here recalls *âdebaomâ*.

⁵ The Pahlavi translator seems to me too free in rendering *zahvyâkâ* (*zahyâkâ*), *zanisn-hômand*. It also makes a curious imitation of letters in *gêh va mar* for *genarâm*. It is of course far from certain that he had our present text.

⁶ See verse 9; also Y. XLVI, 4.

⁷ Recall the delivering of the evil into the two hands of Asha (Y. XXX, 8, and Y. XLIV, 14).

⁸ *Khrûnerâmâ* must be a gloss.

battle), giving peace to our dwellings, and peace to our hamlets. Let him charge¹ those deceivers, chaining death as the strongest²; and swift be (the issue).

9. Through false believers the tormentor makes Thy helpers³ refusers⁴; (those who once helped our heroes shall no longer give succour). The estranged thus desires, and the reprobate⁵ wills it, with the will that he harbours to conquer our honour⁶. Where is then the Lord righteous who will smite them from life⁷, and (beguile) them of license? Mazda! Thine is that power, (which will banish and conquer). And Thine is the Kingdom⁸; and by it Thou bestowest the highest (of blessings) on the right-living poor⁹!

¹ 'Let him "rout" or "stir" them.'

² Comp. mazista=the strongest in Y. XLIX, 1, 'the prevailer.' Lit. 'with the chaining of death the greatest.'

³ For narps I can only suggest the suspiciously simple nar=hero (comp. the frequent nâ) and pî=nourish, support. The Pahlavi translator seems likewise to have had some such rendering in mind, for he translates dastôbar.

⁴ As to rigîs, the Pahlavi translation, which is here more than usually difficult, hints in the direction above followed, by a word which I would restore as rêgînêd.

⁵ The Pahlavi translator erroneously sees 'bridge' in peshô, or is free with his tanâpûharkânô hômand. See Geldner, Stud. 3.

⁶ See Geldner, Stud. 54.

⁷ See Y. XLVI, 4.

⁸ Comp. the Ahuna-vairya which takes its last line from this place, and Y. XXXIV, 5. Vahyô is a variation for vanghêus vahyô.

⁹ Here I have endeavoured to imitate the swing of the rhythm by breaking up the sentences, especially in the second line. Literally it would be, 'with the desire, with the virtue-conquering (desire) of the reprobate.' Such freedom as the above is often a critical necessity in the attempts to reproduce the warmth of the original.

THE YASNA.

IT is now hardly necessary to say that the Yasna is the chief liturgy of the Zarathustrians, in which confession, invocation, prayer, exhortation, and praise are all combined as in other liturgies. Like other compositions of the kind, it is made up of more or less mutually adapted fragments of different ages, and modes of composition. The Gâthas are sung in the middle of it, and in the Vendîdâd Sâdah, the Visparad is interpolated within it for the most part at the ends of chapters.

We have no reason to suppose that the Yasna existed in its present form in the earlier periods of Zarathustrianism, but we have also no reason to doubt that its present arrangement is, as regards us, very ancient. The word Yasna means worship including sacrifice. Introductory excerpts occur in several MSS., and are now printed by Geldner. They are to be found in Y. I, 23; Y. III, 25; Y. XI, 17, 18; Y. XXII, 23-27; Y. XXVII, 13, 14; Ny. I, 2.

YASNA I.

THE SACRIFICE COMMENCES.

1. I announce¹ and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the radiant and glorious, the greatest and the best, the most beautiful (?) (to our conceptions), the most firm, the wisest, and the one of all whose body² is the most perfect, who

¹ Or, 'I invite;' but the word seems equal to âvaêdhayêma; compare the Vedic vid + ni. Comp. also nî tê vaêdhayêmi and nî vô vaêdhayêmi in Y. I, 21, 22. The Pahlavi favours 'I invite.'

² Not that Ahura was conceived of as having a body proper. The stars are elsewhere poetically described as his body, as other

attains His ends the most infallibly, because of His Righteous Order, to Him who disposes our minds aright¹, who sends His joy-creating grace afar; who made us, and has fashioned us, and who has nourished and protected us², who is the most bounteous Spirit³!

2. I announce and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Good Mind, and to Righteousness the Best, and to the Sovereignty which is to be desired, and to Piety the Bountiful, and to the two, the Universal Weal and Immortality, to the body of the Kine, and to the Kine's Soul, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, that one who more than⁴ (all) the Bountiful Immortals has made most effort (for our succour)!

3. And I announce and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Asnya, the day-lords of the ritual order, to Hâvani the holy, the lord⁵ of the ritual order; and I celebrate, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to Sâvanghi and to Vîsya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order. And I announce and (will) complete (my Yasna) to Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken⁶ name, and to Râman *Hvâstra*.

divinities are said to be tanu-mâthra, having the Mâthra as their body; that is, incarnate in the Mâthra.

¹ 'Disposing aright as to mind.'

² Pahlavi parvard.

³ Elsewhere the Spenta Mainyu is spoken of as His possession.

⁴ The Fire seems almost spoken of as one of the Amesha Spenta.

⁵ Lords of the ritual because ruling as chief at the time of their mention, and in this sense regarded as genii protecting all ritual seasons and times of their class. Vîsya presides over the Vîs; Sâvanghi, over cattle.

⁶ Having an especial Yast.

4. I announce and (will) complete (my Yasna) to Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Frâdatfshu, and to Zantuma, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order; and I celebrate and complete (my Yasna) to Righteousness¹ the Best, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire¹.

5. I announce and complete (my Yasna) to Uzayêirina the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Frâdat-vîtra and to Dahvyuma², the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and to that lofty Ahura Napât-apâm (the son of waters), and to the waters which Ahura Mazda³ made.

6. I announce and complete (my Yasna) to Aiwisrûthrima (and) Aibigaya⁴, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and to Zarathustrôtema, and to him who possesses and who gives that prosperity in life which furthers all. And I celebrate and complete (my Yasna) to the Fravashis of the saints, and to those of the women who have many sons⁵, and to a prosperous home-life which continues without reverse throughout the year, and to that Might which is well-shaped and stately⁶, which strikes victoriously, Ahura-made, and to that Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

7. I announce and I complete (my Yasna) to Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Beregya (and) Nmânya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and to Sraosha (who is Obedience) the blessed, endowed with blessed recompense (as a thing com-

¹ Constantly associated together in the later Avesta.

² *hv*=h before y.

³ As opposed to those which might belong to Angra Mainyu.

⁴ Or, 'who furthers life.' ⁵ 'Men and herds?'

⁶ 'Well-grown.'

pleted¹), who smites with victory, and furthers the settlements, and to Rashnu², the most just, and to Arstât³, who advances the settlements, and causes them to increase.

8. And I announce and I complete (my Yasna) to the Mâhya, the monthly festivals, lords of the ritual order, to the new and the later⁴ moon, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the full moon which scatters night.

9. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Yâirya, yearly feasts, the holy lords of the ritual order. I celebrate and complete (my Yasna) to Maidyô-zaremya⁵, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Maidyô-shema, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Paitishahya, and to Ayâthrima the advancer, and the spender of the strength of males⁶, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Maidhyâirya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Hamaspathmaêdhaya, the holy lord of the ritual order; yea, I celebrate and complete my Yasna to the seasons, lords of the ritual order.

10. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to all those who are the thirty and three⁷ lords of the ritual order, which, coming the nearest, are around about Hâvani, and which (as in their festivals) were

¹ I should say that the suffix has this force here as in close connection with ashyô.

² Genius of rectitude.

³ Rectitude in another form.

⁴ Literally, 'to the moon within,' showing little light.

⁵ See the Âfrinagân.

⁶ The rutting season.

⁷ Haug first called attention to the striking coincidence with the Indian. In the Aitareya and Satapatha Brâhmanas, in the Atharvaveda, and in the Râmâyana, the gods are brought up to the number thirty-three. The names differ somewhat however. (See Essays, ed. West, 2nd edition, p. 276; see also Rv. 240, 9; 250, 2.)

inculcated by Ahura Mazda, and were promulgated by Zarathustra, as the lords of Asha Vahista, who is Righteousness the Best.

11. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the two, to Ahura¹ and to Mithra, the lofty, and the everlasting, and the holy, and to all the stars which are Spenta Mainyu's creatures, and to the star Tistrya, the resplendent and glorious, and to the Moon which contains the seed of the Kine, and to the resplendent Sun, him of the rapid steeds, the eye² of Ahura Mazda, and to Mithra the province-ruler. And I celebrate and complete my Yasna to Ahura Mazda (once again, and as to him who rules the month³), the radiant, the glorious, and to the Fravashis⁴ of the saints.

12. And I announce and complete my Yasna to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! together with all the fires, and to the good waters, even to all the waters made by Mazda, and to all the plants which Mazda made.

13. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Bounteous Māthra, the holy and effective, the revelation given against the Daêvas⁵; the Zarathus-

¹ The star Jupiter has been called Ormuzd by the Persians and Armenians, and it may be intended here, as stars are next mentioned, but who can fail to be struck with the resemblance to the Mitra-Varuna of the *Rîg-veda*. Possibly both ideas were present to the composer.

² Recall *Kakshur Mitrasya Varunasya Agneḥ*.

³ The first day of the month is called Ahura Mazda.

⁴ The first month is called Fravashi. These are put for the particular day of celebration.

⁵ This was the Vendidad, the name being a contraction of *vidaêvâ-dâta*. It will not be forgotten that the Vendidad, although later put together, contains old Aryan myths which antedate

trian revelation, and to the long descent ¹ of the good Mazdayasnian Faith.

14. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the mountain Ushi-darena ², the Mazda-made, with its sacred brilliance, and to all the mountains glorious with sanctity ³, with their abundant Glory Mazda-made, and to that majestic Glory Mazda-made, the unconsumed ⁴ Glory which Mazda made. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to Ashi the good, the blessedness (of the reward), and to Kisti, the good religious Knowledge, to the good Erethe (Rectitude ⁵?), and to the good Rasāstāt (persisting zeal ⁶?), and to the Glory and the Benefit which are Mazda-made.

15. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the pious and good Blessing of the religious man ⁷, the holy, and to the curse of wisdom, the swift and redoubted Yazad of potency (to blight).

16. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to these places and these lands, and to these pastures, and these abodes with their springs of water (?) ⁸, and

Zarathustra, although in its present greatly later form, Zarathustra is a demi-god in it, and his name is involved in myth.

¹ 'The long tradition;' so Spiegel.

² From this mountain the Iranian kings were later supposed to have descended; hence the mention of the 'glory.'

³ Observe the impossibility of the meaning 'comfort,' or mere 'well-being' here.

⁴ Or possibly 'the unseized,' the Pahlavi agrift(?); Ner. *agrīhītām*; *hvar*, to eat, may have meant 'seize' originally.

⁵ Erethe (*riti*?) seems without inflection.

⁶ The state of activity (?).

⁷ Shall we say, 'of the departed saint' here?

⁸ The Pahlavi with its afkhvâr points here perhaps to a better text. Recall awzhdâtemka, awzhdaunghô, awrem.

to the waters, land, and plants, and to this earth and to yon heaven, and to the holy wind, and to the stars, moon, and sun, and to the eternal stars without beginning¹, and self-disposing², and to all the holy creatures of Spenta-Mainyu, male and female, the regulators of the ritual order.

17. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to that lofty lord who is the ritual Righteousness³ (itself), and to the lords of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, to the moons, the years, and the seasons which are lords of the ritual order at the time of Hâvani⁴.

18. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Fravashis of the saints, the redoubted, which overwhelm (the evil), to those of the saints of the ancient lore, to those of the next of kin, and to the Fravashi of (mine) own⁵ soul!

19. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to all the lords of the ritual order, and to all the Yazads, the beneficent, who dispose (of all) aright, to those both heavenly and earthly, who are (meet) for our sacrifice and homage because of Asha Vahista, (of the ritual Order which is 'the best').

20. O (thou) Hâvani, holy lord of the ritual order, and Sâvanghi, Rapithwina, and Uzayêrina, and Aiwisrûthrima, (and) Aibigaya, (thou that aidest

¹ Meaning 'without beginning to their course,' and so 'fixed' (?).

² Self-determining, not satellites, having the laws of their own motion in themselves.

³ The divine Order par eminence, expressed in the ritual and the faith.

⁴ Not 'to the chief of Hâvani,' possibly 'in the lordship,' the time when it is especially the object of worship. Thus each object of worship becomes in its turn a 'lord or chief' of 'the ritual order.'

⁵ The soul of the celebrant or his client is intended.

life !) if I have offended you, and thou, O Ushahina, holy lord of the ritual order !

21. If I have offended thee¹, whether by thought, or word, or deed, whether by act of will, or without intent or wish, I earnestly make up the deficiency of this in praise to thee. If I have caused decrease² in that which is Thy Yasna, and Thy homage, I announce (and celebrate³) to thee (the more for this) !

22. Yea, all ye lords, the greatest ones, holy lords of the ritual order, if I have offended you by thought, or word, or deed, whether with my will, or without intending error⁴, I praise you (now the more) for this. I announce to you (the more) if I have caused decrease in this which is your Yasna, and your praise.

23. I would confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, of Zarathustra's order, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for Hâvani, the holy lord of the ritual order, for (his) sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, for Sâvanghi, and for Vîsya, the holy lord of the ritual order, for (his) sacrifice, homage, propitiation and praise, and for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation and praise of the lords of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, for

¹ Compare *Rv.* VII, 86, 3-6.

² Practised, or induced neglect, or omitted portions of it.

³ 'I invite for Thee' (?).

⁴ That the thought, word, and deed here were more than the mere semi-mechanical use of faculties in reciting the liturgy, is clear. At the same time all morality was supposed to be represented in the liturgy. The evil man would offend in thought, word, and deed, if he recited it carelessly, or with bad conscience, and as guilty of any known and unrepented sins. The moral and ceremonial laws went hand in hand.

those of the monthly festivals, and for those of the yearly ones, and for those of the seasons !

YASNA II.

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES.

1. I desire to approach¹ the Zaothras² with my worship. I desire to approach the Baresman with my worship. I desire to approach the Zaothra conjointly with the Baresman in my worship, and the Baresman conjointly with the Zaothra. Yea, I desire to approach this Zaothra (here), and with this (present) Baresman, and I desire to approach this Baresman conjoined with this Zaothra with my praise³; and I desire to approach this Baresman with praise provided with its Zaothra with its girdle, and spread with sanctity.

2. And in this Zaothra³ and the Baresman I desire to approach Ahura Mazda with my praise, the holy

¹ Referring yâs to its more original sense. Or read, 'I desire the approach of' the various objects of worship, which may be correct, as we understand the genius of each several object to be invoked. Aside from this, a desire 'to approach' seems quite necessary to fill out the sense here. Many of the objects referred to were already present, although some, like 'the mountains,' needed to be spiritually approached, or indeed invoked.

² Zaothra seems to me hardly a vocative here. If declined as other nouns, it would seem to be exceptionally a masculine; compare ahmya zaothrê below. I should feel constrained to regard it here as a masc. plural accusative (comp. haoma).

³ If zaothrê is not a loc. masc. it may be used with the loc. masc. pronoun irregularly. It would then equal Zaothraya. The letter **yo** is often simply the Pahlavi **yo** a little lengthened and equivalent to ya (aya). **yo** does not merely stand for ya (aya), but it is sometimes the correct writing for those letters. (Useless repetitions are curtailed.)

lord of the ritual order, and the Bountiful Immortals, (all) those who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright, these also I desire to approach and with my praise.

3. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Asnya with my praise. I desire to approach the Hâvani with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Sâvanghi and Vtsya, the holy lords of the ritual order. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Mithra with my praise, of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and Râman *Hvâstra* with him, the holy lord of the ritual order.

4. And in this Zaothra and with the Baresman I desire to approach Rapithwina with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order; and Frâdat-fshu and Zantuma, the holy lords of the ritual order; and in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach toward Righteousness the Best with my praise, and with him the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son.

5. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Uzayêirina with my praise, and Frâdat-vira and Da^hvyuma¹, the holy lords of the ritual order; and with them that lofty lord, the kingly and brilliant Apâm-napât², of the fleet horses, and likewise the water Mazda-made and holy,

6. And Aiwisrûthrima, (and) Aibigaya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and Frâdat-vîspâm-hugâiti, and Zarathustrôtema, the holy lord, and the good, heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the women who have many sons, and a peaceful and prosperous home-life that continues without reverse throughout the year, and Force well-shaped and

¹ *hv*=h before y.

² Sometimes Napât-apâm.

stately, and the Victorious-blow Ahura-given, and the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures), and (7) Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order, Beregya and Nmánya, the holy lords of the ritual order, and Sraosha, Obedience, the blessed and the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, furthering the settlements, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Rashnu, the most just, and Arstâz, who furthers the settlements, and causes them to increase.

8. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Mâhya, the monthly festivals with my praise, the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within), the holy lords of the ritual order, and the full moon which scatters night, (9) and the Yearly festivals, Maidhyô-zaremaya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Maidhyô-shema, and Paitishahya, and Ayâthrima, the promoter, who spends the strength of males, and Maidhyâirya and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, and the seasons, the holy lords of the ritual order.

10. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all the lords of the ritual order with my praise, the three and thirty who come the nearest round about our Hâvanis, who are those lords (and seasons) of Righteousness the Best, which were inculcated by Mazda, and spoken forth by Zarathustra.

11. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Ahura and Mithra with my praise, the lofty, eternal, and the holy two; and I desire to approach the stars, moon, and sun with the Baresman plants, and with my praise, and with them Mithra the governor of all the provinces, and Ahura Mazda the radiant and glorious, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, (12) and thee, the Fire,

Ahura Mazda's son, the holy lord of the ritual order, with all the fires! And I desire to approach the good waters in this Zaothra with this Baresman with my praise, all best waters, Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which are Mazda-made and holy.

13. And I desire to approach the bounteous Māthra in this Zaothra with this Baresman, and with my praise, the most glorious as it is, and with it the law instituted against the Daêvas; yea, I desire to approach the Zarathustrian law with my praise, and (with it) its long descent, and the good Mazdayasnian Religion (as complete).

14. And I desire to approach Mount Ushi-darena in this Zaothra, with this Baresman with my praise, Mazda-made, and glorious with sanctity, the Yazad-(mount). And I desire to approach all the mountains with my praise, glorious with sanctity as they are, and with abundant glory, Mazda-made, and holy lords of the ritual order; and I desire to approach the mighty kingly Glory Mazda-made and unconsumed; yea, (even) the mighty unconsumed Glory Mazda-made. And I desire to approach Ashi Vanguhi (the good blessedness) in my praise, the brilliant, lofty, powerful, and stately, saving by inherent power. Yea, I desire to approach the Glory Mazda-made with my praise; and I desire to approach the Benefit conferred by Mazda.

15. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Blessing, pious and good, and the pious and holy man who utters it, and the mighty and redoubted Curse of the wise, the Yazad.

16. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach these waters with my praise, and these lands and plants, and these places, districts,

and pastures, and these dwellings with their springs of water ¹, and this land-ruler, who is Ahura Mazda.

17. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all the greatest lords with my praise, the day-lords, and the month-lords, those of the years, and of the seasons, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

18. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all the holy Yazads with my praise; yea, even all the lords of the ritual order, Hâvani at his time, and Sâvanghi at his time, and all the greatest lords of the ritual at their proper times.

YASNA III.

THE YASNA ADVANCES TO THE NAMING OF THE OBJECTS OF PROPITIATION.

1. With a Baresman brought to its appointed place accompanied with the Zaothra at the time of Hâvani, I desire to approach the Myazda-offering with my praise, as it is consumed, and likewise Ameretâtâ ² (as the guardian of plants and wood) and Haurvatât (who guards the water), with the (fresh) meat ³, for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, and of the Bountiful

¹ See note on Y. I, 16.

² Spiegel has observed with truth that Ameretâtâ and Haurvatât may represent severally all the fruits and the liquids offered.

³ The modern Parsis, Haug following, render 'butter'; but Spiegel is inclined to discredit this later tradition, holding that 'flesh' was originally intended; but on its becoming disused in India, milk was substituted, hence the error.

Gaus hudhæu, in its primary sense, meant of course 'the Kine of blessed endowment.' (Repetitions are again curtailed.)

Immortals, and for the propitiation of Sraosha (who is Obedience) the blessed, who is endowed with sanctity, and who smites with the blow of victory, and causes the settlements to advance.

2. And I desire to approach Haoma and Parahaoma¹ with my praise for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Spitâma Zarathustra, the saint. And I desire to approach the (sacred) wood with my praise, with the perfume, for the propitiation of thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son!

3. And I desire to approach the Haomas with my praise for the propitiation of the good waters which Mazda created; and I desire to approach the Haomawater, and the fresh milk² with my praise, and the plant Hadhânaêpata, offered with sanctity for the propitiation of the waters which are Mazda-made.

4. And I desire to approach this Baresman with the Zaothra with my praise, with its binding³ and spread with sanctity for the propitiation of the Bountiful Immortals. And I desire with (?) my voice the thoughts well thought, and the words well spoken, and the deeds well done, and the recital of the Gâthas as they are heard. And I desire to approach the well-said Mâthras with my praise, and this (higher) lordship with this sanctity, and this exact regulation⁴ (of the Ratu), and the reverential prayer for blessings (spoken at the fitting hour); and I desire to approach them for the contentment and propitiation

¹ The Haoma-juice.

² So better than 'fresh meat.' Fluids are the chief objects of attention here.

³ With its girdle.

⁴ Anghuyãm—rathwãm stand related as ahû and ratu; so also the Pahlavi ahûôih and radîh, and Ner. svâmitâmkâ gurutâmkâ.



of the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly, and for the contentment of each man's soul.

5. And I desire to approach the Asnya with my praise, the lords of the ritual order, and the Hâvani and Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order. And I desire to approach with the Yast¹ of Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and with him Râman *Hvâstra*.

6. And I desire to approach Rapithwina with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Frâdat-fshu and Zantuma, and Righteousness the Best, and Ahura Mazda's Fire.

7. And I desire to approach Uzayêrina, and Frâdat-vîra and Daivyuma* with my praise, with that lofty Ahura Napât-apâm, and the waters Mazda-made,

8. And Aiwisrûthrima, and Aibigaya, and Frâdat-vîspâm-hugaiti, and Zarathustrôtema with the Yast of the Fravashis of the saints², and of the women who have many sons, and the year long unchanged prosperity, and of Might, the well-shaped and stately, smiting victoriously, Ahura-made and of the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

9. And I desire to approach Ushahina, Beregya, and Nmânya with the Yast of Sraosha (Obedience) the sacred, the holy, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, and with that of Rashnu, the most just, and Arstât

¹ Yestî seems used of an especial Yast here, and subsequently, as genitives intrude among datives, the form possibly taking the place of the words 'for the propitiation of'; here Yast X may be referred to.

² Yast XIII.

who furthers the settlements, and causes them to increase.

10. And I desire to approach the monthly festivals, the lords of the ritual order, and the new moon and the waning moon, and the full moon which scatters night,

11. And the yearly festivals, Maidhyô-zaremaya, Maidhyô-shema, Paitishahya, and Ayâthrima the breeder who spends the strength of males, and Maidhyâirya, and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, and the seasons, lords of the ritual order, (12) and all those lords who are the three and thirty, who approach the nearest at the time of Hâvani, who are the Lords of Asha called Vahishta (and whose services were) inculcated by Mazda, and pronounced by Zarathustra, as the feasts of Righteousness, the Best.

13. And I desire to approach Ahura and Mithra, the lofty and imperishable two, the holy, and with the Yast of those stars which are the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and with the Yast of the star Tistrya, the radiant, the glorious, and with that of the moon which contains the seed of cattle, and with that of the resplendent sun, the eye of Ahura Mazda, and of Mithra, province-lord of the provinces, and with that of Ahura Mazda (as He rules this day) the radiant, the glorious, and with that of the Fravashis of the saints, (who rule this month),

14. And with thy Yast, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! with all the fires, and to the good waters with the Yast of all the waters which are Mazda-made, and with that of all the plants which Mazda made.

15. And I desire to approach with the Yast of the

Māthra Spenta, the holy, the effective, the law composed against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian, and with that of the long descent of the Religion which Mazda gave.

16. And I desire to approach with the Yast of Mount Ushi-darena, Mazda-made, and of all, glorious with sanctity, and abundant in brilliance, and with that of the Kingly Glory, Mazda-made; yea, with that of the unconsumed glory which Mazda made, and with that of Ashi Vanguhi, and Kisti Vanguhi, and with that of the good Erethê, and the good Rasāstât, and the good Glory, and of the Benefit which Mazda gave.

17. And I desire to approach with the Yast of the good and pious Blessing of the pious man and of the saint, and with that of the awful and swift Curse of the wise, the Yazad-curse, (18) and to these places, regions, pastures, and abodes, with their water-springs, and with that of the waters, and the lands, and the plants, and with that of this earth and yon heaven, and with that of the holy wind and of the stars, moon, and sun, and with that of the stars without beginning, self-determined and self-moved, and with that of all the holy creatures which are those of Spenta Mainyu, male and female, regulators of the ritual order, (19) and with that of the lofty lord who is Righteousness (himself, the essence of the ritual), and with that of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, and with that of the monthly festivals, and the yearly festivals, and with those of the several seasons which are lords of the ritual at the time of Hâvani.

20. And I desire to approach the meat-offering with a Yast, and Haurvatât (who guards the water), and Ameretatât (who guards the plants and wood), with

the Yast of the sacred flesh for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the mighty, whose body is the Māthra, of him of the daring spear, the lordly, the Yazad of the spoken name.

21. And I desire to approach both Haoma and the Haoma-juice with a Yast for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint, the Yazad of the spoken name. And I desire to approach the wood-billets with a Yast, with the perfume for the propitiation of thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! the Yazad of the spoken name.

22. And I desire to approach with a Yast for the mighty Fravashis of the saints, the overwhelming, the Fravashis of those who held to the ancient lore, and of those of the next of kin.

23. And I desire to approach toward all the lords of the ritual order with a Yast, toward all the good Yazads, heavenly and earthly, who are (set) for worship and for praise because of Asha Vahista (of Righteousness the Best).

24. I will confess myself a Mazdayasnian, of Zarathustra's order, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord for Hâvani, the holy lord of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, and for Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of the day-lords of the days in their duration, and of the days during daylight, and for the month-regulators, and the year-regulators, and for those of the (several) seasons, for their sacrifice, and homage, their propitiation, and their praise.

(The Zaothar speaks¹): As the Ahû to be

¹ So at least the rubric. One would think that the sentence was intended to be dictated to the Ratu to be repeated; that is, if the

(revered and) chosen, let the priest speak¹ forth to me.

- (The Ratu responds): As the Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, let him who is the Zaoatar speak¹ forth to me.

(The Zaoatar again): So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA IV.

THE OFFERING TAKES PLACE.

1. These good thoughts, good words, and good deeds², these Haomas, meat-offerings, and Zaothras, this Baresman spread with sanctity, this flesh, and the two, Haurvatât (who guards the water) and Ameretatât (who guards the plants and wood), even the flesh, the Haoma and Haoma-juice, the wood-billets, and their perfume, this sacred lordship³ and chieftainship³, and the timely prayer with blessing, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-said Mâthras, these all we offer, and make known with celebrations (here).

2. Yea, these do we announce with celebrations, and we present them to Ahura Mazda, and to Sraosha

rubric is correct. The sentence as uttered by the priest seems difficult.

¹ Present, or infin. for imperative (?).

² The fact that somewhat of a more technical *sumatî*, *sûktâ*, *sukrîtâ* adheres to these expressions in this place must not for a moment induce us to suppose that their deeper meaning was lost. All good thoughts, words, and deeds culminated in the ritual, as in an enlightened high ecclesiasticism. They were nourished by it, and not lost in it. (Expressions are here varied.)

³ The prominence and supremacy of each deity, or genius, while he is especially the object of worship in the ritual order, the expressions being taken from the Ahuna-vairya.

(Obedience) the blessed, and to the Bountiful Immortals, and to the Fravashis of the saints, and to their souls, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the lofty lord of the entire creation of the holy, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise.

3. Yea, further, we present (them to the Bountiful Immortals with an especial gift) these thoughts well thought, these words well spoken, these deeds well done, these Haomas, Myazdas, Zaothras, and this Baresman spread with sanctity, the flesh, and Haurvatât (who guards the water), and Ameretatât (who guards the plants and wood), even the flesh, Haoma and Parahaoma, the wood-billets, the perfume, and this their lordship and their sanctity, and this chieftainship, this prayer for blessing, the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-said Mâthras.

4. We offer with our celebrations, and we announce them (of a verity) to the Bountiful Immortals, those who exercise their rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, the ever-living, ever-helpful, the male divinities among their number who dwell with the Good Mind¹, [and the female² ones as well].

5. And we announce them in our celebrations as more propitious for this house³, and for the furtherance of this house, of its herds, and of its men, of those now born, and of those yet to be born, the holy, yea, for the furtherance of that house of which these (men) are thus.

6. And we present these offerings to the good

¹ Vohu Manah, Asha, and Khshathra.

² Âramaiti, Haurvatât, and Ameretatât.

³ It would seem that the Yasna must have been at the time celebrated in the houses of the worshippers. Hence perhaps some of the priests were pairigathans.

Fravashis of the saints who are mighty and overwhelming for the succour of the saints.

7. Yea, we present these hereby to the Creator Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, and the heavenly spirit, for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of the Bountiful Immortals (all).

8. And we present these hereby to the Day-lords of the ritual order, to Hâvani, to Sâvanghi, and to Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, and the thousand ears, and the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name,

9. And to Rapithwina, Frâdat-fshu, and Zantuma, the holy lords of the ritual order, and to Righteousness the Best, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire,

10. And to Uzayêirina, Frâdat-vîra, and Dahv-yuma¹, the holy lords of the ritual order, and to that lofty lord Napât-apâm, and to the water Mazda-made,

11. And to Aiwisrûthrima, the life-furtherer², and to Frâdat-vîspâm-hugyâiti and Zarathustrôtema, the holy lords of the ritual order, and to the Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who bring forth many sons, and to the Prosperous home-life which endures without reverse throughout the year, and to Force, well-shaped and stately, and to the Blow of victory which Mazda gives, and to the Victorious Ascendency which it secures, for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation, and their praise,

12. And to Ushahina, with Beregya and Nmânya, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, smiting with the blow of victory and furthering the settlements, and to Rashnu, the most just, and to Arstât, furthering the settlements, and causing them to increase.

¹ Dahyuma.

² Aibigaya.

13. And these we announce and we present hereby to the Month-lords of the ritual order, to the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within), and to the full moon which scatters night, the holy lord of the ritual order, for (their) sacrifice, homage, their propitiation, and their praise.

14. And these we announce hereby and we present to the Yearly festivals, to Maidhyô-zaremaya, Maidhyô-shema, Patishahya, and to Ayâthrima, to Maidhyâirya, Hamaspathmaêdhaya, and to the Seasons as holy lords of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise.

15. And these we announce and we present hereby to all those lords who are the three and thirty lords of the ritual order, who approach the nearest around about our Hâvani, and which are the festivals of Righteousness the Best, inculcated by Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathustra for their sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise.

16. And these we announce and we present to Ahura and to Mithra, the lofty, and imperishable, and holy two, to the stars, the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and to the star Tistrya, the radiant, the glorious, and to the Moon which contains the seed of cattle, and to the resplendent Sun, of the swift horses, Ahura Mazda's eye, and to Mithra, the lord of provinces, for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation and their praise; yea, these we present hereby to Ahura Mazda (as he rules this day) and to the Fravashis of the saints (as they rule this month), for their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation and their praise.

17. And these we announce hereby to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! with all the fires for

thy sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and to the good waters for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise of all the waters Mazda-made, and to all the plants which Mazda made,

18. And to the Māthra Spenta, the holy, the effective, the law against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian statute, and to the long descent of the good Mazdayasnian religion.

19. And these we announce and we present hereby to Mount Ushi-darena, Mazda-made, brilliant with sanctity, and to all the mountains shining with their holiness, abundantly luminous, and Mazda-made, and to the Kingly glory, the unconsumed¹ glory Mazda-made, and to the good Blessedness, and the good Religious-knowledge, and the good Rectitude, and to the good Rasāstāt, and to the Glory and the Benefit which Mazda created.)

20. And these we offer and present to the pious and good Blessing of the pious, and to the swift and dreadful Yazad, the Curse of wisdom.

21. And to these places, pastures, and dwellings with their springs of water, their rivers, to the lands and to the plants, to this earth and yon heaven, to the holy wind, to the stars, moon, and sun, to the stars without beginning, self-disposed, and to all the holy creatures of the Spenta Mainyu, male and female (the rulers as they are of the ritual order).

22. And these we announce and we present hereby to that lofty lord who is Asha, the ritual righteousness itself, to the Day-lords, and the Month-lords, the Year-lords, and the Seasons who are the lords of the ritual at the time of Hāvani, and for

¹ Unseized (?).

their sacrifice, homage, their propitiation and their praise.

23. Yea, these we announce and we present to Sraosha, the blessed and mighty, whose body is the Mâthra, him of the daring spear, the lordly one, and to the holy Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint.

And these we announce and we present to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! for thy sacrifice, homage, thy propitiation, and thy praise.

24. And these we announce and we present to the Fravashis of the saints, the mighty and overwhelming, of the saints of the ancient lore, and of the next of kin.

25. And these we announce and we present hereby to all the good Yazads, earthly and heavenly, who are (meet) for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, because of Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best).

We worship the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright.

26. And that one of beings (do we worship) whose superior (service) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows, and from his righteousness (which he maintains, and those of all female beings do we worship) whose (higher service is thus likewise known; yea, all male and female beings do we worship (who are such))¹!

YASNA V.

This chapter is identical with Yasna XXXVII.

¹ Elsewhere with slight verbal change.

YASNA VI¹.

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES WITH FULLER EXPRESSION.

1. We worship the Creator Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice, and the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright.

2. And we worship the Asnya with our sacrifice, and Hâvani, Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order, and Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and we worship Râman *Hvâstra*.

3. And we worship Rapithwina with our sacrifice, and Frâdat-fshu, and the Zantuma, and Righteousness the Best, and the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, holy lords of the ritual order.

4. And we worship Uzayêirina, and Frâdat-vîtra, and Da^hvyuma*, the holy lord of the ritual order, and that kingly Ahura, the radiant Napât-apâm, of the fleet horses, and the water holy, and Mazda-made.

5. And we worship Aiwisrûthrima and Aibigaya in our sacrifice, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Frâdat-vîspâm-hugyâiti and the Zarathustrôtema, the holy lord of the ritual order, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the women who bring forth many sons, and the Prosperous home-life which endures without reverse throughout the year, and Force which is well-shaped and stately, and the Blow which brings the victory, which is Ahura-given, and the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

6. And we worship Ushahina with our sacrifice, and

¹ This chapter differs from Y. II only in having yazamaidê instead of the formula ahmya zaotrê baresmanaêka—âyêê yêsti. Expressions for the same Zend words are purposely varied.

Beregya, and Nmânya, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately who smites with victory, and makes the settlements advance, and Rashnu, the most just, and Arstât who makes the settlements advance and causes them to increase, the holy lords of the ritual order.

7. And we worship the Mâhya in our sacrifice, the new moon and the waning moon (the moon within) and the full moon which scatters night, the holy lord of the ritual order.

8. And we worship the Yearly festivals in our sacrifice, Maidhyô-zaremaya, Maidhyô-shema, Paitishahya, and Ayâthrima, the furtherer (or breeder), the spender of virile strength, and Maidhyâirya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, and the Seasons (in which they are).

9. And we worship with our sacrifice all the lords of the ritual order, who are the thirty and three who approach the nearest around about us at Hâvani, who are the lords of Righteousness the Best, and whose observances were inculcated by Ahura Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathustra.

10. And we worship Ahura and Mithra with our sacrifice, the lofty, and imperishable, and holy two, and the stars, moon, and sun, among the plants of the Baresman, and Mithra, the province-lord of all the provinces, even Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, and the good, valiant, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

11. And we worship thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, together with all the fires, and the good waters, the best and Mazda-made, and holy, even all the waters which are Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which Mazda made.

12. And we worship the Māthra Spenta with our sacrifice, the glorious and of a truth, the law revealed against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian law, and we worship with our sacrifice its long descent, and the good Mazdayasnian Religion.

13. And we worship Mount Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, the glorious Yazad, shining with holiness, and all the mountains that shine with holiness, with abundant brilliance, Mazda-made, the holy lords of the ritual order. And we worship the mighty Kingly glory Mazda-made, the mighty glory, unconsumed and Mazda-made, and the good Sanctity, the brilliant, the lofty, the powerful and the stately, delivering (men) with its inherent power. Yea, we worship the Glory, and the Benefit which are Mazda-made.

14. And we worship the pious and good Blessing with our sacrifice, and the pious man, the saint, and that Yazad, the mighty Curse of wisdom.

15. And we worship these waters, lands, and plants, these places, districts, pastures, and abodes with their springs of water, and we worship this lord of the district with our sacrifice, who is Ahura Mazda (Himself).

16. And we worship all the greatest lords, the Day-lords in the day's duration, and the Day-lords during daylight, and the Month-lords, and the Year-lords.

17. And we worship Haurvatât (who guards the water) and Ameretatât (who guards the plants and the wood), and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, the holy lord of the ritual order.

18. And we worship Haoma with our sacrifice

and the Haoma-juice. And we worship the sacred Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint.

And we worship the wood-billets, and the perfume and thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, the holy lord of the ritual order.

19. And we worship the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

20. And we worship all the holy Yazads, and all the lords of the ritual order at the time of Hâvani, and Sâvanghi, and all the greatest lords at their (proper) time. (The Yênhê hâtâm follows.)

21. The Ratu. As an Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, the priest speaks forth to me.

The Zaothar. So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA VII.

PRESENTATION OF OFFERINGS BY THE PRIEST WITH THE OBJECT OF PROPITIATION NAMED.

1. With a complete and sacred offering¹ I offer and I give this meat-offering, and (with it) Haurvatât (who guards the water), and Ameretatât (who guards the plants and the wood), and the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift, for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, and of the Bountiful Immortals (all, and) for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with sanctity, who smites with the blow of victory, and who causes the settlements to advance.

¹ With Ashi; possibly 'for a blessing,' as Ashi often has the sense of 'reward,' but scrupulous sanctity and completeness seem to be the sense here. (Expressions here are as usual varied.)

2. And I offer the Haoma and Haoma-juice with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint, and I offer the wood-billets with the perfume for Thy propitiation, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son!

3. And I offer the Haomas with a complete and sacred offering for propitiation [to the good waters] for the good waters Mazda-made. And I offer this Haoma-water with scrupulous exactness and with sanctity, and this fresh milk, and the plant Hadhâ-naêpata uplifted with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the waters which are Mazda-made.

4. And I offer this Baresman with its Zaothra (and with its binding) for a girdle spread with complete sanctity and order for the propitiation of the Bountiful Immortals, and I offer with my voice the thoughts well-thought, the words well-spoken, and the deeds well-done, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, the Mâthras well-composed and well-delivered, and this Lordship, and this Sanctity, and this ritual mastership, and the timely Prayer for blessings, with a complete and sacred offering for the propitiation of the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly, and for the contentment of the individual soul!

5. And I offer to the Asnya with a complete and sacred offering, as lords of the ritual order, and to Hâvani, and to Sâvanghi and Vîsya, holy lords of the ritual order, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name, and to Râman Hvâstra.

6. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order; and I offer to Frâdat-fshu and to the Zantuma, and to

Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best) and to Ahura Mazda's Fire.

7. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Uzayêirina, Frâdat-vîra, and to the *Dahvyuma**, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to that lofty Ahura Napât-apâm, and to the waters which Mazda created.

8. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Aiwisrûthrima, the life-furtherer, and to Frâdat-vîspâm-hugyâiti, and to the Zarathustrôtema, and to the Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who have many sons, and to the Prosperous home-life which endures (without reverse) throughout the year, and to Force, the well-shaped and stately, and to the Blow which smites with victory Ahura-given, and to the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures).

9. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Beregya, and Nmânya, and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with sanctity, who smites with the blow of victory, and makes the settlements advance, and to Rashnu the most just, and to Arstât who furthers the settlements and causes them to increase.

10. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Mâhya, lords of the ritual order, to the new and the waning moon (the moon within), and to the full moon which scatters night, holy lords of the ritual order.

11. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Yearly festivals, the lords of the ritual order, to Maidhyô-zaremaya, and Maidhyô-shema, to Paitishahya, and to Ayâthrima the furtherer (the breeder), the spender of the strength of males, and

to Maidhyâirya and Hamaspathmaêdhaya, holy lords of the ritual order, and I offer with sanctity to the several seasons, the lords of the ritual order.

12. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to all those lords who are the thirty and three, who approach the nearest round about our Hâvani, and who are the lords of Asha (the ritual by-eminence), of Righteousness who is (the Best), whose observances are inculcated as precepts by Mazda, and uttered forth by Zarathustra.

13. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ahura and Mithra, the lofty and imperishable, and holy two, and to the stars which are the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, and to the star Tistrya, the radiant, the glorious, and to the Moon which contains the seed of cattle in its beams, and to the resplendent Sun of the fleet horses, the eye of Ahura Mazda, and to Mithra, the lord of the provinces. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, (who rules this day), and to the Fravashis of the saints (who name the month).

14. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! together with all the fires, and to the good waters, even to the waters which are Mazda-made, and to all the plants which Mazda made.

15. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Mâthra Spenta, the holy, the effective, revealed against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian law, and to the long descent of the good Religion, of the Mazdayasnian faith.

16. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Mount Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, brilliant

with holiness, and to all the mountains shining with holiness, of abundant brightness, and which Mazda made, and to the Royal glory unconsumed and Mazda-made. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to Ashi Vanguhi, and to Kisti Vanguhi, and to Erethe, and to Rasāstāt, and to the Glory (and the) Benefit which Mazda made.

17. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the good and pious Prayer for blessings of the pious man, and to that Yazad, the swift and dreadful Curse of the wise.

18. And I offer with a complete and sacred blessing to these places, districts, pastures, and abodes with their springs of water, and to the waters and the lands, and the plants, and to this earth and yon heaven, and to the holy wind, and to the stars, and the moon, even to the stars without beginning (to their course), the self-appointed, and to all the holy creatures of Spenta Mainyu, be they male or female, regulators (as they are) of the ritual order.

19. And I offer with a complete and sacred blessing to that lofty lord who is Righteousness (the Best), and the Day-lords, the lords of the days during their duration, and to those of the days during daylight, and to the Month-lords, and the Year-lords, and to those of the seasons, the lords who are lords of the ritual, and at the time of Hâvani.

20. And I offer the Myazda meat-offering with a complete and sacred offering, and Haurvatât (who guards the water), and Ameretatât (who guards the wood), and the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift, for the propitiation of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whose body is the Māthra, him of the

daring spear, the lordly, the Yazad of the spoken name.

21. And I offer the Haoma and the Haoma-juice for the propitiation of the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint, the Yazad of the spoken name.

And I offer the wood-billets with the perfume for Thy propitiation, the Fire's, Ahura Mazda's son, the Yazad of the spoken name.

22. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to the Fravashis of the saints, the mighty and overwhelming, to those of the saints of the ancient lore, and to those of the next of kin.

23. And I offer with a complete and sacred offering to all the lords of the ritual order, and to all the good Yazads heavenly and earthly who are (meet) for sacrifice and homage because of Asha who is Vahista (of Righteousness who is the Best).

24. May that approach to us, and with a sacred blessing (O Lord!) whose benefits the offerers are seeking for. Thy praisers and Māthra-speakers, O Ahura Mazda! may we be named; we desire it, and such may we be. What reward, O Ahura Mazda! adapted to myself Thou hast appointed unto souls,

25. Of this do Thou Thyself bestow upon us for this world and for that of mind; (yea, do Thou bestow) so much of this as that we may attain to Thy ruling protection and to that of Righteousness for ever.

26. We sacrifice to the Ahuna-vairya, and to the veracious word correctly uttered, and to the good and pious prayer for blessings, and to the dreadful curse of the wise, the Yazad, and to Haurvatâ/ and Ameretatâ/, and to the flesh of the Kine of blessed gift, and to the Haoma and Haoma-juice, and to the wood-billets, and the perfume, for the praise of the pious and good prayer for blessings.

The Yênhê hâtâm.

27. (To that one) of beings do we sacrifice whose superior (fidelity) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows through his Righteousness (within him, yea, even to those female saints do we sacrifice) whose (superior sanctity is thus known. We sacrifice to all) both males and females whose (superiority is such). (The Ratu speaks.) As an Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, he who is the Zaothar speaks forth to me.

(The Zaothar.) So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth!

YASNA VIII.

OFFERING OF THE MEAT-OFFERING IN PARTICULAR.
THE FAITHFUL PARTAKE.

I. A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best.

It is weal; it is weal to this (man),

When toward Righteousness Best there is right.

I offer the Myazda (of the) meat-offering with a complete and sacred offering; and I offer Haurvatatâ (who guards the water), and Ameretatâ (who guards the plants and the wood), and the flesh of the blessed Kine; and I offer the Haoma and the Haoma-juice, the wood-billets and the perfume for the praise of Ahura Mazda, and of the Ahuna-vairya, the veracious word, and for that of the pious and beneficent Prayer for blessings, and for the redoubted Curse of the wise, and for the praise of the Haoma, and of the Mâthra of the holy Zarathustra; and may it come to us with sacred fulness (to accept and to recompense our gift).

2. (The Ratu speaks.) Eat, O ye men, of this Myzda, the meat-offering, ye who have deserved it by your righteousness and correctness!

3. O ye Bountiful Immortals, and thou, the Mazdayasnian law, ye just men and just women, and ye Zaothrás, whoever among these Mazdayasnians would call himself a Mazdayasnian desiring to live in the practice of the liberality of Righteousness [for by sorcery the settlements of Righteousness are ruined], do ye cause (such an one) to be (still further) taught, (ye), who are the waters, the plants, and the Zaothras !

4. And whoever of these Mazdayasnians, adults, when he invokes with earnestness, does not adhere to these words, and (so) speaks, he approaches to that (word) of the magician ; (but, as against that magician's word) 'a blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best.'

5. May'st Thou, O Ahura Mazda ! reign at Thy will, and with a saving rule over Thine own creatures, and render Ye the holy (man) also a sovereign at his will over waters, and over plants, and over all the clean and sacred (creatures) which contain the seed of Righteousness. Strip ye the wicked of all power !

6. Absolute in power may the holy be, bereft of all free choice the wicked ! Gone (may he be), met as foe, carried out from the creatures of Spenta Mainyu, hemmed in¹ without power over any wish !

7. I will incite, even I who am Zarathustra², the

¹ Or 'shut out,' which would seem better adapted.

² This piece is a reproduction, or close imitation, of some earlier fragment. It sounds like an exhortation delivered while the Faith was still new.

heads of the houses, villages, *Zantus*, and provinces, to the careful following of this Religion which is that of Ahura, and according to Zarathustra, in their thoughts, their words, and their deeds.

8. I pray for the freedom and glory of the entire existence of the holy (man) while I bless it, and I pray for the repression and shame¹ of the entire existence² of the wicked.

9. Propitiation to Haoma who brings righteousness (to us) for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise. (The Zaothar ?) As the Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaothar speaks forth to me. (The Ratu.) As an Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaothar speaks forth to me. (The Zaothar.) So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth !

YASNA IX.

THE HÔM YAST.

The Haoma-yast has claims to antiquity (owing to its subject, but not to its dialect), next after the *Srôš-yast*. H(a)oma=Soma, as a deity, flourished not only before the Gâthas, but before the *Riks* of the Veda, in Aryan ages before Iranian and Indian became two peoples.

The astonishing circumstance has been elsewhere noted that a hymn, which is a reproduction of an Aryan original, should, notwithstanding its earlier characteristics, be necessarily assigned to

¹ The Pahlavi translator, as I think, had a text before him which read *duszhvâthrem* ; I so correct. Against the keen and most interesting suggestion of *dusz + âthrem*, I am compelled to note *ahvâthrê*, showing a compositum *a + hvâthra*, which seems not probable if = *a + hu + âthra*. *Duszâthra*, not *ahvâthrê*, would have been written. Cp. *hveng*=*hvan* for root.

² Possibly 'house.'

a date much later than the Gâthas in which H(a)oma worship is not mentioned.

Probably on account of bitter animosities prevailing between their more southern neighbours and themselves, and the use of Soma by the Indians as a stimulant before battle, the Iranians of the Gâthic period had become lukewarm in their own H(a)oma worship. But that it should have revived, as we see it in this Yast, after having nearly or quite disappeared, is most interesting and remarkable. Was it definitively and purposely repudiated by Zarathustra, afterwards reviving as by a relapse? I do not think that it is well to hold to such deliberate and conscious antagonisms, and to a definite policy and action based upon them. The Soma-worship, like the sacramental acts of other religions which have become less practised after exaggerated attention, had simply fallen into neglect, increased by an aversion to practices outwardly similar to those of 'Daêva-worshippers.' The Yast is, of course, made up of fragments, which I have endeavoured to separate by lines. In the translation I have given a rhythmical rendering, necessarily somewhat free. It was difficult to import sufficient vivacity to the piece, while using a uselessly awkward literalness. The freedom, as elsewhere, often consists in adding words to point the sense, or round the rhythm. (Expressions for identical Zend words have been here, as elsewhere, purposely varied.)

1. At the hour of Hâvani¹. H(a)oma came to Zarathustra, as he served the (sacred) Fire, and sanctified (its flame), while he sang aloud the Gâthas.

And Zarathustra asked him: Who art thou, O man! who art of all the incarnate world the most beautiful in Thine own body² of those whom I have seen, (thou) glorious [immortal]?

2. Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer³, the holy one who driveth death afar: I am, O Zarathustra

¹ In the morning from six to ten.

² Or, 'beautiful of life.'

³ 'Me,' omitted as interrupting rhythm, seems to be merely dramatic; or did it indicate that there was an original Zarathustrian Haoma Gâtha from which this is an extension?

H(a)oma, the holy and driving death afar ; pray to me, O Spitâma, prepare me for the taste. Praise toward me in (Thy) praises as the other [Saosh-yants] praise.

3. Thereupon spake Zarathustra : Unto H(a)oma be the praise¹. What man, O H(a)oma ! first prepared thee for the corporeal world ? What blessedness was offered him ? what gain did he acquire ?

4. Thereupon did H(a)oma answer me, he the holy one, and driving death afar : Vivanghvant² was the first of men who prepared me for the incarnate world. This blessedness was offered him ; this gain did he acquire, that to him was born a son who was Yima, called the brilliant, (he of the many flocks, the most glorious of those yet born, the sunlike-one of men³), that he made from his authority both herds and people free from dying, both plants and waters free from drought, and men could eat imperishable food.

5. In the reign of Yima swift of motion was there neither cold nor heat, there was neither age nor death, nor envy⁴ demon-made. Like fifteen-yearlings⁵ walked the two forth, son and father, in their stature and their form, so long as Yima, son of Vivanghvant ruled, he of the many herds !

6. Who was the second man, O H(a)oma ! who

¹ Might not the entire sixteenth verse be placed here ?

² The fifth from Gaya Maretan the Iranian Adam, but his counterpart, the Indian Vivasvat, appears not only as the father of Yama, but of Manu, and even of the gods, (as promoted mortals ?).

³ Compare svar-dṛśas pávamânâs.

⁴ So the Pahlavi.

⁵ Males, like females, seem to have been considered as developed at fifteen years of age.

prepared thee for the corporeal world? What sanctity was offered him? what gain did he acquire?

7. Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer, he the holy one, and driving death afar: Âthwya¹ was the second who prepared me for the corporeal world. This blessedness was given him, this gain did he acquire, that to him a son was born, Thraêtaona² of the heroic tribe,

8. Who smote the dragon Dahâka³, three-jawed and triple-headed, six-eyed, with thousand powers, and of mighty strength, a lie-demon of⁴ the Daêvas, evil for our settlements, and wicked, whom the evil spirit Angra Mainyu made as the most mighty Drug(k) [against the corporeal world], and for the murder of (our) settlements, and to slay the (homes) of Asha!

9. Who was the third man, O H(a)oma! who prepared thee for the corporeal world? What blessedness was given him? what gain did he acquire?

10. Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer, the holy one, and driving death afar: Thrîta⁵, [the most helpful of the Sâmas⁶], was the third man who prepared me for the corporeal world. This blessedness was given

¹ Comp. Tritá âptîá.

² Comp. the Indian Traitâná connected with Tritá.

³ Let it be remembered that Tritá smote the Ahi before Indra, Indra seeming only to re-enact the more original victory which the Avesta notices. Concerning Azhi Dahâka, see Windischmann's *Zendstudien*, s. 136.

⁴ Free.

⁵ In the *Rîg-veda* âptyá seems only an epithet added to the name Tritá*; and the two serpents of the Avesta are suspicious. Two names seem to have become two persons, or has the Avesta the more correct representation?

⁶ Have we the Semites here? They certainly penetrated as conquerors far into Media, and it seems uncritical to deny their leaving traces. The gloss may be very old.

* And to that of other gods.

him, this gain did he acquire, that to him two sons were born, Urvâkhshaya and Keresâspa, the one a judge confirming order, the other a youth of great ascendant, ringlet-headed¹, bludgeon-bearing.

11. He who smote the horny dragon swallowing men, and swallowing horses, poisonous, and green of colour, over which, as thick as thumbs are, greenish poison flowed aside, on whose back once Keresâspa cooked his meat in iron caldron at the noon-day meal; and the deadly, scorched, upstarted², and springing off, dashed out the water as it boiled. Headlong fled affrighted manly-minded³ Keresâspa.

12. Who was the fourth man who prepared thee,

¹ Comp. Kapardînam.

² I abandon reluctantly the admirable comparison of hvîs with the Indian svid (Geldner), also when explained as an inchoative (Barth.), but the resulting meaning is far from natural either here or in Vend. III, 32 (Sp. 105). That the dragon should begin to sweat (!) under the fire which was kindled upon his back, and which caused him to spring away, seems difficult. The process was not so deliberate. He was scorched, started, and then sprang. Also in Vend. III, 32 when the barley is produced the demons hardly 'sweat (with mental misery).' The idea is too advanced for the document. Burnouf's and Haug's 'hiss' was much better in both places. But I prefer the hint of the Pahlavi lââ vazîrînd. In Vend. III, 32 (Sp. 105), khîst-hômand. Ner. taptastka sa nrisam-sah kukshubhe [dvipâdo * babhûva]. Whether hvîsatka=hîsatka (?) has anything to do with hiz or khiz=Pahlavi âkhîzîdanô †, N. P. 'hîzîdan, is a question. I follow tradition without etymological help; perhaps we might as well write the word like the better known form as a conjecture.

³ The Pahlavi translator makes the attempt to account for the epithet 'manly-minded' as applied to Keresâspa while yet he fled affrighted; he says: Hômand marðmînisnih hanâ yehevînd, aîghar libbem-man pavan gâsdârt; Ner. asya paurushamânasatvam * idam babhûva yad asau kaitanyam sthâne dadhau, 'his manly-mindedness was this, that he kept his wits on the occasion.' See the same story treated somewhat differently in the Yasts by Darmesteter (p. 295, note 2).

† Or, âkhêzîdanô.

O H(a)oma ! for the corporeal world ? What blessedness was given him ? what gain did he acquire ?

13. Thereupon gave H(a)oma answer, he the holy, and driving death afar : Pourushaspa¹ was the fourth man who prepared me for the corporeal world. This blessedness was given him, this gain did he acquire, that thou, O Zarathustra ! wast born to him, the just, in Pourushaspa's house, the D(a)êva's foe, the friend of Mazda's lore, (14) famed in Airyêna Vaêgah ; and thou, O Zarathustra ! didst recite the first the Ahuna-vairya², four times intoning it, and with verses kept apart [(Pâzand) each time with louder and still louder voice].

15. And thou didst cause, O Zarathustra ! all the demon-gods to vanish in the ground who aforetime flew about this earth in human shape (and power. This hast thou done), thou who hast been the strongest, and the staunchest, the most active, and the swiftest, and (in every deed) the most victorious in the two spirits'³ world.

16. Thereupon spake Zarathustra : Praise to H(a)oma. Good is H(a)oma, and the well-endowed, exact and righteous in its nature, and good inherently, and healing, beautiful of form, and good in deed, and most successful in its working⁴, golden-hued, with bending sprouts. As it is the best for drinking, so (through its sacred stimulus) is it the most nutritious⁵ for the soul.

17. I make my claim on thee, O yellow one ! for

¹ Son of Pâtîrasp or Spêtârasp ; Bundahis XXXII, 1, 2, &c.

² The Ahuna-vairya is in the Gâthic dialect, and in the Ahuna-vaiti metre ; it may have been composed by Z. It named the Gâtha.

³ Comp. Y. XXX, 6 ?

⁴ Free.

⁵ Comp. pathmæng gavôî.

inspiration¹. I make my claim on thee for strength ; I make my claim on thee for victory ; I make my claim on thee for health and healing (when healing is my need) ; I make my claim on thee for progress and increased prosperity, and vigour of the entire frame, and for understanding², of each adorning kind, and for this, that I may have free course among our settlements, having power where I will, overwhelming angry malice, and a conqueror of lies.

18. Yea, I make my claim on thee that I may overwhelm the angry hate of haters, of the D(a)êvas and of mortals, of the sorcerers and sirens³, of the tyrants⁴, and the Kavis, of the Karpans, murderous bipeds, of the sanctity-destroyers, the profane apostate bipeds, of the wolves four-footed monsters, of the invading host, wide-fronted, which with strata-gems⁵ advance.

19. This first blessing I beseech of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar ! I beseech of thee for (heaven), the best life of the saints, the radiant, all-glorious⁶.

This second blessing I beseech of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar ! this body's health (before that blest life is attained).

This third blessing I beseech of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar ! the long vitality of life.

¹ Or, is madhem related to medhá as well as mazdâ (fem.) ?

² Pahl. farzânakîh.

³ Hardly 'witches,' outwardly attractive, but evil female beings.

⁴ Pahl. sâstârânô.

⁵ Pahl. pavan frîfârîh ; Ner. pratâranatayâ.

⁶ Vispô-hvâthrem does not mean 'comfortable' here. *Hvan* is the root ; comp. *hveng*=sun.

20. This fourth blessing I beseech of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! that I may stand forth on this earth with desires gained¹, and powerful, receiving satisfaction, overwhelming the assaults of hate, and conquering the lie.

This fifth blessing, O H(a)oma, I beseech of thee, thou that drivest death afar! that I may stand victorious on earth, conquering in battles², overwhelming the assaults of hate, and conquering the lie.

21. This sixth blessing I ask of thee, O H(a)oma, thou that drivest death afar! that we may get good warning of the thief, good warning of the murderer, see first the bludgeon-bearer, get first sight of the wolf. May no one whichsoever get first the sight of us. In the strife with each may we be they who get the first alarm!

22. H(a)oma grants to racers³ who would run a course with span both speed and bottom (in their horses). H(a)oma grants to women come to bed with child a brilliant offspring and a righteous line.

H(a)oma grants to those (how many!) who have long sat searching books, more knowledge and more wisdom.

23. H(a)oma grants to those long maidens, who sit at home unwed, good husbands, and that as soon as asked, he H(a)oma, the well-minded.

24. H(a)oma lowered Keresâni⁴, dethroned him from his throne, for he grew so fond of power, that

¹ Pahl. min hvâstâr.

² Pahl. vâniđâr pavan kûshânô.

³ Arvantô=aurvantô; so the Pahl. arvand.

⁴ Comp. the Vedic Kṛiśānu, archer and demi-god who guarded the Soma. Ner. seems to notice that the name recalls that of the Christians.

he treacherously said: No priest behind ¹ (and watching) shall walk the lands for me, as a counsellor to prosper them, he would rob everything of progress, he would crush the growth of all !

25. Hail to thee, O H(a)oma, who hast power as thou wilt, and by thine inborn strength ! Hail to thee, thou art well-versed in many sayings, and true and holy words. Hail to thee for thou dost ask no wily questions, but questionest direct.

26. Forth hath Mazda borne to thee, the star-bespangled girdle ², the spirit-made, the ancient one, the Mazdayasnian Faith.

So with this thou art begirt on the summits of the mountains, for the spreading of the precepts, and the headings ³ of the Māthra, (and to help the Māthra's teacher),

27. O H(a)oma, thou house-lord, and thou clan-lord, thou tribe-lord, and chieftain of the land, and thou successful learned teacher, for aggressive strength I speak to thee, for that which smites with victory, and for my body's saving, and for manifold delight !

28. Bear off from us the torment and the malice of the hateful. Divert the angry foe's intent !

What man soever in this house is violent and wicked, what man soever in this village, or this tribe, or province, seize thou away the fleetness from

¹ So the Pahlavi, before others, read apās ; comp. frās.

² Haug's keen-sighted suggestion, pourvanfm = paura = the Pleiades + nī = leading the P., looks doubtful, and seems refuted by Yast XXIV, 29, where Darmesteter renders a word probably akin, as 'the many.' I would here render 'the former.'

³ The 'grasp,' the 'summary of them.'

his feet; throw thou a veil of darkness o'er his mind; make thou his intellect (at once) a wreck!

29. Let not the man who harms us, mind or body, have power to go forth on both his legs, or hold with both his hands, or see with both his eyes, not the land (beneath his feet), or the herd before his face.

30. At the aroused and fearful¹ Dragon, green, and belching forth his poison, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace²!

At the (murderous) bludgeon-bearer, committing deeds unheard of³, blood-thirsty, (drunk) with fury, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace!

31. Against the wicked human tyrant, hurling weapons at the head, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace!

Against the righteousness-disturber, the unholy life-destroyer, thoughts and words of our⁴ religion well-delivering, yet in actions never reaching, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace!

32. Against the body of the harlot, with her magic minds o'erthrowing with (intoxicating) pleasures⁵, to the lusts her person offering, whose⁶ mind as vapour wavers as it flies before the wind, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow H(a)oma, hurl thy mace!

¹ Pahl. sakhmakan; Ner. bhayamkare.

² Or, 'strike thy club.'

³ 'Deeds apart,' 'evil deeds.'

⁴ Free.

⁵ Or, 'holding.'

⁶ Yênhê must be an error; otherwise 'offering the person to him whose mind as vapour wavers.'

YASNA X.

1. Let the Demon-gods and Goddesses fly far away¹ from hence, and let the good Sraosha make here his home! [And may the good Blessedness here likewise dwell], and may she here spread delight and peace within this house, Ahura's, which is sanctified by H(a)oma, bringing righteousness (to all).

2. At the first force of thy pressure, O intelligent! I praise thee with my voice, while I grasp at first thy shoots. At thy next pressure, O intelligent! I praise thee with my voice, when as with full force of a man I crush thee down.

3. I praise the cloud that waters thee, and the rains which make thee grow on the summits of the mountains; and I praise thy lofty mountains where the H(a)oma branches spread².

4. This wide earth do I praise, expanded far (with paths), the productive, the full bearing, thy mother, holy plant! Yea, I praise the lands where thou dost grow, sweet-scented, swiftly spreading, the good growth of the Lord. O H(a)oma, thou growest on the mountains, apart on many paths³, and there still may'st thou flourish. The springs of Righteousness most verily thou art, (and the fountains of the ritual find their source in thee)!

¹ The Pahlavi as corrected by the MS. of Dastur Hoshanggi Gâmâspgi has *barâ akhar min latamman padênd barâ shêdâ-*; Ner. *Rîte pasêât asmât prapatanti, rîte devâh rîte devasahâyâh devyâh, uttamañ Sroso nivasati.*

² Or, 'where, O Haoma! thou hast grown,' reading—*isa* with Barth. as 2nd sing. perf. pret. middle.

³ Or, 'on the pathways of the birds.'

5. Grow (then) because I pray to thee on all thy stems and branches, in all thy shoots (and tendrils) increase thou through my word!

6. H(a)oma grows while he is praised, and the man who praises him is therewith more victorious. The lightest pressure of thee, H(a)oma, thy feeblest praise, the slightest tasting of thy juice, avails to the thousand-smiting of the D(a)êvas.

7. Wasting doth vanish from that house, and with it foulness, whither in verity they bear thee, and where thy praise in truth is sung, the drink of H(a)oma, famed, health-bringing (as thou art). [(Pâzand) to his village and abode they bear him.]

8. All other toxicants go hand in hand with Rapine of the bloody spear, but H(a)oma's stirring power goes hand in hand with friendship. [Light is the drunkenness of H(a)oma (Pâzand).]

Who as a tender son caresses H(a)oma, forth to the bodies of such persons H(a)oma comes to heal.

9. Of all the healing virtues, H(a)oma, whereby thou art a healer, grant me some. Of all the victorious powers, whereby thou art a victor, grant me some. A faithful praiser will I be to thee, O H(a)oma, and a faithful praiser (is) a better (thing) than Righteousness the Best; so hath the Lord, declaring (it), decreed.

10. Swift¹ and wise hath the well-skilled² Deity created thee; swift and wise on high Haraiti did He, the well-skilled, plant thee.

11. And taught (by implanted instinct) on every

¹ Having immediate effect, and giving wisdom.

² Comp. Y. XLIV, 5.

side, the bounteous¹ birds have carried thee to the Peaks-above-the-eagles², to the mount's extremest summit, to the gorges and abysses, to the heights of many pathways³, to the snow-peaks ever whitened.

12. There, H(a)oma, on the ranges dost thou grow of many kinds. Now thou growest of milky whiteness, and now thou growest golden; and forth thine healing liquors flow for the inspiring of the pious. So terrify away from me the (death's) aim of the curser. So terrify and crush his thought who stands as my maligner.

13. Praise be to thee, O H(a)oma, (for he makes the poor man's thoughts as great as any of the richest whomsoever.) Praise be to H(a)oma, (for he makes the poor man's thoughts as great as when mind reacheth culmination.) With manifold retainers dost thou, O H(a)oma, endow the man who drinks thee mixed with milk; yea, more prosperous thou makest him, and more endowed with mind.

14. Do not vanish from me suddenly like milk-drops in the rain; let thine exhilarations go forth ever vigorous and fresh; and let them come to me with strong effect. Before thee, holy H(a)oma, thou bearer of the ritual truth, and around thee would I cast this body, a body which (as all) may see (is fit for gift and) grown⁴.

15. I renounce with vehemence the murderous woman's⁵ emptiness, the *Gaini's*, hers, with intellect

¹ Possibly 'the birds taught by the bounteous one;' the 'God-taught birds.'

² Elsewhere and here also possibly a proper name.

³ Or the 'pathways of the birds;' so Haug, following Spiegel and Justi. Gugrati, as above.

⁴ Which is seen as mine well-grown.

⁵ *Gaini* seems always used in an evil sense in the later Avesta.

dethroned¹. She vainly thinks to foil us, and would beguile both Fire-priest and H(a)oma ; but she herself, deceived therein, shall perish. And when she sits at home², and wrongly eats of H(a)oma's offering, priest's mother will that never make her, nor give her holy³ sons !

16. ⁴To five do I belong, to five others do I not ; of the good thought am I, of the evil am I not ; of the good word am I, of the evil am I not ; of the good deed am I, and of the evil, not.

To Obedience am I given, and to deaf disobedience, not ; to the saint do I belong, and to the wicked, not ; and so from this on till the ending shall be the spirits' parting. (The two shall here divide.)

17. Thereupon spake Zarathustra : Praise to H(a)oma, Mazda-made. Good is H(a)oma, Mazda-made. All the plants of H(a)oma praise I, on the heights of lofty mountains, in the gorges of the valleys, in the clefts (of sundered hill-sides) cut for the bundles bound by women. From the silver cup I pour Thee to the golden chalice over⁵. Let me not thy (sacred) liquor spill to earth, of precious cost.

18. These are thy Gâthas⁶, holy H(a)oma, these

¹ I would correct to a form of *khra*tu.

² Compare the avoiding the service mentioned by the Pahlavi translator on Y. LIII, 5.

³ Or, more safely, 'many sons.'

⁴ Haoma speaks.

⁵ Here the priest evidently manipulates the cups containing the Haoma-juice.

⁶ The application of this term here seems to point to a high antiquity for the Haoma Yast ; if not in the present piece, which is not so old as the Gâthas, then in previous hymns to Haoma of which this Yast is an improvement, or extension.

thy songs, and these thy teachings¹, and these thy truthful ritual words, health²-imparting, victory-giving, from harmful hatred healing giving.

19. These and thou art mine, and forth let thine exhilarations flow; bright and sparkling let them hold on their (steadfast) way; for light are thine exhilaration(s), and flying lightly come they here. Victory-giving smiteth H(a)oma, victory-giving is it worshipped; with this Gâthic word we praise it.

20. Praise to the Kine; praise and victory (be) spoken to her! Food for the Kine, and pasture! 'For the Kine let thrift use toil; yield thou us food³.'

21. We worship the yellow lofty one; we worship H(a)oma who causes progress, who makes the settlements advance; we worship H(a)oma who drives death afar; yea, we worship all the H(a)oma plants. And we worship (their) blessedness, and the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint⁴.

YASNA XI.

PRELUDE TO THE H(A)OMA-OFFERING⁵.

1. Three clean creatures (full of blessings) curse betimes while yet invoking, the cow, the horse, and then H(a)oma. The cow cries to her driver⁶ thus:

¹ Ner. possibly figuratively *yâh kas̥it asvâdanâh̥*.

² Ner. *saundaryam*.

³ See Y. XLVIII, 5.

⁴ The *Yênê hâtâm* follows.

⁵ This characteristic fragment is repeated and extended in the later literature of the Parsis. The curse of the cow, horse, and of Haoma (scilicet the priest) when they are stinted, was extended to all domestic animals. It has been difficult to avoid the full metrical rhythm of the original with its jingling cadence. A full freedom is also not avoided.

⁶ Not 'to the priest;' Ner. *gr̥ihîtâram*.

Childless be thou, shorn of offspring, evil-famed, and slander-followed, who foddered¹ fairly dost not use me, but fattenest me for wife or children, and for thy niggard selfish meal.

2. The horse cries to his rider thus : Be not spanner² of the racers ; stretch no coursers to full-speed ; do not stride across the fleetest, thou, who dost not pray me swiftness in the meeting thick with numbers, in the circuit thronged with men.

3. H(a)oma speaks his drinker thus : Childless be thou, shorn of offspring, evil-famed, and slander-followed, who holdest me from full outpouring, as a robber, skulls in-crushing. No head-smiter³ am I ever, holy H(a)oma, far from death⁴.

4. Forth my father gave an offering, tongue and left eye chose Ahura, set apart for H(a)oma's meal.

5. Who this offering would deny me, eats himself, or prays it from me, this which Mazda gave to bless me, tongue with left eye (as my portion).

6. In his house is born no fire-priest, warrior ne'er in chariot standing, never more the thrifty tiller. In his home be born Dahâkas, Mûrakas of evil practice, doing deeds of double nature.

7. Quick, cut off then H(a)oma's portion, gift of flesh for doughty H(a)oma ! Heed lest H(a)oma

¹ 'Who dost not give me cooked (food)' seems improbable. If *hvâstâm* means fodder, why is it fem., especially here with a feminine correlative? I think that 'having good food' is the meaning of the word, as an adjective, and agreeing with *gãm* understood. Possibly, 'who dost not bestow upon me as the one well-foddered.'

² Dialectically used.

³ 'Light is the intoxication of Haoma ;' (other toxicants smite the head).

⁴ 'Having death afar.'

bind thee fettered, as he bound the fell Turanian Frangrasyan¹ (the murderous robber) fast in iron close-surrounded in the mid-third² of this earth! 8. Thereupon spake Zarathustra³: Praise to H(a)oma made by Mazda, good is H(a)oma Mazda-made.

9. ⁴Who to us is one hereupon to thee (becomes) two, to be made to three, for the five⁵-making of the four, for the seven-making of the sixth, who are your nine in the decade (?), who serve you and with zeal⁶.

10. ⁷To thee, O holy H(a)oma! bearer of the ritual sanctity, I offer this my person which is seen (by all to be) mature, (and fit for gift); to H(a)oma the effective do I offer it, and to the sacred exhilaration which he bestows; and do thou grant to me (for this), O holy H(a)oma! thou that drivest death afar, (Heaven) the best world of the saints, shining, all brilliant.

¹ A Turanian king.

² Observe the threefold division of the earth; see it also in Vend. II.

³ A poetical reproduction. Z. had been long among the ancient dead.

⁴ The Raspi at present hands the Haoma-cup to the priest at this point; the efficacy of the liquor is supposed to be multiplied.

⁵ *Peṛdaidyâi* is to be read as of course; the letter *o*, not unlike *e* in a MS. when turned, was probably half inverted.

⁶ This seems rendered by the Pahlavi as an interlude between the Ratu and the Zaoatar; comp. Y. XXVIII, 11. Several broken sentences from other parts of the Avesta are here doubtfully recalled, perhaps as having especial sanctity.

⁷ The Raspi brings the Haoma-vessel to the Baresman at this point; and touching its stand, the Mâh-rû, lays a cloth on the right hand of the Zaoatar, who, looking at the vessel, proceeds to recite as follows in verse 10.

11. (The Ashem Vohû, &c.)

12-15. May'st Thou rule at Thy will, O Lord¹!

16. I confess myself a Mazdayasnian of Zarathustra's order².

17. ³I celebrate my praises for good thoughts, good words, and good deeds for my thoughts, my speeches, and (my) actions. With chanting praises I present all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and with rejection I repudiate all evil thoughts, and words, and deeds. 18. Here I give to you, O ye Bountiful Immortals! sacrifice and homage with the mind, with words, deeds, and my entire person; yea, (I offer) to you the flesh of my very body (as your own). And I praise Righteousness. A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best, &c.

YASNA XII (SP. XIII).

THE MAZDAYASNIAN CONFESSION⁴.

1. I drive⁵ the Daêvas hence; I confess as a Mazda-worshipper of the order of Zarathustra, estranged from the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of

¹ See Y. VIII, 5-8.

² See Y. III, 24, 25.

³ This piece is in the Gâthic dialect, and therefore an especially fitting prelude to the Confession of faith in Y. XII.

⁴ This piece in the Gâthic dialect has claims to higher antiquity next after the Haptanghâiti. Its retrospective cast shows that it is later than the original period. Verse 7 savours of a later date with its reference to the plants and waters. That Zarathustra, Kavi Vîstâspa, Frashaostra, and Gâmâspa are named by no means proves that they were still living. Still, they are not mentioned with any fanciful or superstitious exaggeration; they are not yet demi-gods.

⁵ As a partial explanation of nâismî* from nas, compare the aorist nesat. Possibly also from nad, 'I curse the demons.'

the Lord, a praiser¹ of the Bountiful Immortals; and to Ahura Mazda, the good and endowed with good possessions, I attribute all things good, to the holy One, the resplendent, to the glorious, whose are all things whatsoever which are good; whose is the Kine, whose is Asha (the righteous order pervading all things pure), whose are the stars, in whose lights the glorious beings and objects are clothed².

2. And I choose Piety, the bounteous and the good, mine may she be³. And therefore I loudly deprecate all robbery⁴ and violence against the (sacred) Kine, and all drought⁵ to the wasting of the Mazdayasnian villages.

3. Away from (?) their thoughts do I wish to lead (the thought of) wandering at will, (away the thought of) free nomadic pitching of the tent, for I wish to remove(?) all wandering from⁶ (their) Kine which abide in steadfastness upon this land; and bowing down in worship to Righteousness I dedicate my offerings with praise so far as that. Never may I stand as a source of wasting, never as a source of withering to the Mazdayasnian villages, not for the love⁷ of body or of life.

4. Away do I abjure the shelter and headship of the

¹ And sacrificer.

² A genuine citation from the Gâthas (see Y. XXXI, 7).

³ A genuine allusion to the Gâthas (Y. XXXII, 2).

⁴ This preserves the proper reading of *tâyuska* (so the Pahlavi) in Y. XXIX, 1.

⁵ *Viyâpa* as beyond a doubt; so *viyâpem* in verse 3.

⁶ *Frâ* has the same force as in *fra perenaoti* (?), to fill forth, to empty. Otherwise, 'forth to their thoughts I offer in my prayer free ranging at their choice, and a lodging where they will, together with their cattle which dwell upon this land.'

⁷ Comp. *nâiri-kinanghô*, *khra^tu-kinanghô*, and *shaêtô-kinanghô*.

Daêvas, evil as they are ; aye, utterly bereft of good, and void of virtue, deceitful in their wickedness, of (all) beings those most like the Demon-of-the-Lie, the most loathsome of existing things, and the ones the most of all bereft of good.

5. Off, off, do I abjure the Daêvas and all possessed by them, the sorcerers and all that hold to their devices, and every existing being of the sort ; their thoughts do I abjure, their words and actions, and their seed (that propagate their sin); away do I abjure their shelter and their headship, and the iniquitous of every kind who act as Rakhshas act!

Thus and so in very deed might Ahura Mazda have indicated¹ to Zarathustra in every question which Zarathustra asked, and in all the consultations in the which they two conversed together. 6. Thus and so might Zarathustra have abjured the shelter and the headship of the Daêvas in all the questions, and in all the consultations with which they two conversed together, Zarathustra and the Lord.

And so I myself, in whatsoever circumstances I may be placed, as a worshipper of Mazda, and of Zarathustra's order, would so abjure the Daêvas and their shelter, as he who² was the holy Zarathustra abjured them (once of old).

7. To that religious sanctity³ to which the waters appertain, do I belong, to that sanctity to which the plants, to that sanctity to which the Kine of blessed gift⁴, to that religious sanctity to which Ahura Mazda, who made both Kine and holy men, belongs,

¹ Reading adakhshayaêtâ ; otherwise khshayaêtâ, commanded.

² The Pahlavi structure 'he who' foreshadowed, as often.

³ Not in the sense of recompense here.

⁴ Observe this original meaning ; 'butter' is here impossible.

to that sanctity do I. Of that creed which Zarathustra held, which Kavi Vistâspa, and those two, Frashaostra and Gâmâspa; yea, of that religious faith which every Saoshyant who shall (yet come to) save (us), the holy ones who do the deeds of real significance, of that creed, and of that lore, am I.

8. A Mazda-worshipper I am, of Zarathustra's order; (so) do I confess, as a praiser and confessor, and I therefore praise aloud the well-thought thought, the word well spoken, and the deed well done;

9. Yea, I praise at once the Faith of Mazda, the Faith which has no faltering utterance¹, the Faith that wields the felling halbert², the Faith of kindred marriage, the holy (Creed), which is the most imposing, best, and most beautiful of all religions which exist, and of all that shall in future come to knowledge, Ahura's Faith, the Zarathustrian creed. Yea, to Ahura Mazda do I ascribe all good, and such shall be the worship of the Mazdayasnian belief!

YASNA XIII (SP. XIV).

INVOCATIONS AND DEDICATIONS.

1. I address (my invocation to) Ahura Mazda. And I invoke (among guardian beings) the chief³ of

¹ Fraspâvaokhedhrâm; 'y' miswritten for 'v.' Fra seems to be prohibitive 'speech without falling, or hesitation;' better as adj.

² Comp. Y. XXXI, 18.

³ This Ratu is the description and representation of the Nmânô-paiti as occupying the attention of the worshippers chiefly at the time of his mention in the course of the ritual. (I vary the expression 'chief' with that of 'lord' here for the sake of change.) Once established as a Ratu in the ritual, he became a guardian genius Nmânya; so of the others. (Y. XIII is in the Gâthic dialect.)

the house-lord, and the chief of the *Vis*-lord¹, and the chief of the *Zantu*-lord². And I invoke the chief of the province-lord³. And the chief of women I invoke, the Mazdayasnian Faith, the blessed and good *Parendi*⁴, her who is the holy one of human-kind⁵. And I invoke this (holy) earth which bears us.

2. And I invoke the friendly and most helpful person's⁶ lord, the Fire of Ahura Mazda, and also the most energetic lords of holy men, those who are most strenuous⁷ in their care of cattle and the fields, and the chief of the thrifty tiller of the earth. And I invoke the steady settler⁸ of sanctity, (and) the chief of the charioteer.

3. And I invoke the chief of the fire-priest by means of the most imposing sciences of the Mazdayasnian Faith. And I invoke the chief of the *Ātharvan*, and his pupils I invoke; yea, the lords of each of them. I invoke these lords, and I summon the Bountiful Immortals here, and the Prophets who shall serve us, the wisest as they are, the most scru-

¹ *Visya*.

² *Zantuma*.

³ *Dahvyuma* = *Dahyuma*.

⁴ The goddess of riches.

⁵ Lit. biped; see elsewhere where quadruped means merely beast.

⁶ Or, 'households.'

⁷ *Ashethwôzgemā* (several manuscripts have *ashe*) finds its explanation from the Pahlavi of Dastur Hoshanggi *Gâmâspgî*'s MS. It may be read *kabed rang rasisntûm* instead of *kabed yôm rasisntûm*. The ancient error of *yôm* arose from the fact that the copyist had before him a form which might be read either *rôg* or *rang*, the characters being identical for either word. He could not reconcile himself to *rang* in the sense of effort, and so decided for *rôg*; but in order to guide his successors aright, he changed it for its synonym *yôm*, which, as Spiegel well remarks, affords but little sense. But the word is *rang*, as I believe, and this is at once corroborated by *Ner.*'s *bahuklesa*. Read *as + thwakhsa + gatemā* = *kabed + rang + rasisntûm*, the most progressing with painful energy.

⁸ Or, 'steadiest forces.'

pulous in their exactness (as) they utter words (of doctrine and of service), the most devoted (to their duties likewise), and the most glorious in their thoughts(?)¹. And I invoke the most imposing forces of the Mazdayasnian Faith, and the fire-priests I invoke, and the charioteers, the warriors, and the thrifty tillers of the soil.

4. And to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! Ye who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, I offer the flesh of my very frame, and all the blessings of my life.

Thus² the two spirits³ thought, thus they spoke, and thus they did;

5. And therefore as Thou, O Ahura Mazda! didst think, speak, dispose, and do all things good (for us), so to Thee would we give, so would we assign to Thee our homage; so would we worship Thee with our sacrifices. So would we bow before Thee with these gifts, and so direct our prayers to Thee with confessions of our debt.

6. By the kinship of the good kindred⁴, by that of Righteousness the good (Thy righteous servant's nature) would we approach Thee, and by that of the good thrift-law, and of Piety the good.

7. And we would worship the Fravashi of the Kine of blessed gift⁵, and that of the holy Gaya Maretan, and we would worship the holy Fravashi⁶

¹ I should think that the reference was here to *khṛatavō*, Y. XLVI, 3. See Y. XXXII, 14, as alternatively rendered.

² A portion of the text has here fallen out.

³ The recognition of a strong dualism here is imperative. Ahura alone is praised.

⁴ Or, 'of the good kinsman, the lord(?)'.

⁵ Elsewhere meaning 'meat,' just as *Ameretatâ* and *Haurvatâ* mean wood and water.

⁶ Or, 'sanctity and the Fravashi.'

of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint. Yea, that one of beings do we worship whose better (service) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda knows; (even those women do we worship) whose¹ (better service thus is known). Yea, both (holy) men and women (do we worship whom Ahura Mazda knows²). As the Ahû is excelling, so is our Ratu, one who rules from the Righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda; and the Kingdom is to Ahura which to the poor (may offer) nurture³.

A blessing is the Right called the best, there is weal, there is weal to this (man), when toward Righteousness Best (he does) right⁴.

8. We worship the Ahuna-vairya; and we worship Asha Vahista the best(?), the bountiful Immortal. And we sacrifice to the Hâ fraoreti, even to the confession and laudation of the Mazdayasnian Faith!

YASNA XIV (SP. XV).

DEDICATIONS.

1. I will come to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as a praiser and a priest, and an invoker and sacrificer, as a memorising reciter and a chanter, for Your sacrifice and homage, which are to be offered to You, the Bountiful Immortals, and for our dedication and sanctification; (yea, for ours) who are the holy prophets (destined to benefit the saints).

2. And to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals²! would I dedicate the flesh of my very body³, and all the blessings of a prospered life⁴.

3. In this Zaothra with this Baresman, I desire to

¹ Feminine.

² Elsewhere with verbal difference.

³ See Y. XXXIII, 14.

⁴ Verses 1, 2 are Gâthic.

approach the holy Yazads with my praise¹, and all the holy lords of the ritual order at their times, Hâvani at his time, and Sâvanghi and Visya at their times. 4. I confess myself a Mazdayasnian, and of Zarathustra's order².

5. The Zaoatar speaks : As an Ahû (revered and) chosen, the Zaoatar (?) speaks forth to me (?).

The Ratu speaks: As an Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, the Zaoatar speaks forth to me.

The Zaoatar : So let the Ratu from his Righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth !

YASNA XV (SP. XVI).

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES.

1. With precept, praise, and with delight produced by grace³, I call upon the Bountiful Immortals the good, and also therewith the beautiful by name⁴; and I sacrifice to them with the blessing of the good ritual, with the earnest blessings of the good Mazdayasnian Faith.

2. Whose best gift from his Righteousness is mine in the offering Ahura this knoweth ; who have lived, and live ever, by their names these I worship, while I draw near with praises⁵. The Good Kingdom is to be chosen, that lot which most of all bears on (our blessings⁶).

3. Let Sraosha (Obedience) be here present for

¹ See Y. II, 18.

² See Y. III, 24, 25.

³ Root rap=rabh, a reception of grace, or being received by grace.

⁴ Namān may be meant for a locative ; 'with the beautiful things in their name (?)'.

⁵ See Y. LI, 22.

⁶ See Y. LI, 1.

the sacrifice of Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent, the holy, who is so dear to us as at the first, so at the last ; yea, let him be present here ¹.

4. As the Ahû (revered and) to be chosen, the Âtarevakhsha thus speaks forth to me.

(Response) : So let the Ratu from his righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth !

YASNA XVI (Sp. XVII).

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES WITH INCREASED FULNESS OF EXPRESSION.

1. We worship Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, who disposes (all) aright, the greatest Yazad, who is also the most beneficent, and the one who causes the settlements to advance, the creator of good creatures ; yea, we worship Him with these offered Zaothras, and with truthfully and scrupulously delivered words ; and we worship every holy Yazad of the heaven (as well) !

2. And we worship Zarathustra Spitâma in our sacrifice, the holy lord of the ritual order with these Zaothras and with faithfully delivered words ; and we worship every holy earthly Yazad as we worship him ; and we worship also the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint. And we worship the utterances of Zarathustra and his religion, his faith and his lore.

3. And we worship the former religions of the world ² devoted to Righteousness which were insti-

¹ This fragment in the Gâthic dialect might more properly be placed before the Srôsh Yast.

² So the Pahlavi translator, probably reading angheus ; otherwise

tuted at the creation, the holy religions of the Creator Ahura Mazda, the resplendent and glorious. And we worship Vohu Manah (the Good Mind), and Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and Khshathra-vairya, the Kingdom to be desired, and the good and bountiful Âramaiti (true piety in the believers), and Haurvatât and Ameretatât (our Weal and Immortality).

4. Yea, we worship the Creator Ahura Mazda and the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, and the good waters which are Mazda-made and holy, and the resplendent sun of the swift horses, and the moon with the seed of cattle (in his beams¹); and we worship the star Tistrya, the lustrous and glorious; and we worship the soul of the Kine of blessed endowment, (5) and its Creator Ahura Mazda; and we worship Mithra of the wide pastures, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and Rashnu the most just, and the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and the Blow-of-victory Ahura-given (as it is). And we worship Râman Hvâstra, and the bounteous Wind of blessed gift, (6) and (its) Creator Ahura Mazda, and the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the good Blessedness and Arstât.

And we worship the heaven and the earth of blessed gift, and the bounteous Mâthra, and the stars without beginning (to their course), self-disposing as they are.

7. And we worship the glorious works of Righteousness in which the souls of the dead find satisfaction and delight [(Pâzand) which are the Fravashis

'of the conscience that loves the right.' In Yast XIII, 118 the word is a proper name through an error.

¹ Possibly in allusion to the menses. The moon is masc.

of the saints], and we worship (Heaven) the best world of the saints, shining, all glorious.

8. And we worship the two, the milk-offering and the libation, the two which cause the waters to flow forth¹, and the plants to flourish, the two foes who meet the Dragon¹ demon-made; and who are set to meet, to defeat, and to put to flight, that cheat², the Pairika, and to contradict the insulting malice of the Ashemaogha (the persecuting heretic) and that of the unholy tyrant full of death³.

9. And we worship all waters and all plants, and all good men and all good women. And we worship all these Yazads, heavenly and earthly⁴, who are beneficent and holy.

10. And we worship thee (our) dwelling-place who art the (earth, our) bounteous Âramaiti⁵, and Thee, O Ahura Mazda, O holy Lord of this abode⁶! which is the home of healthy herds and healthy men, and of those who are both endowed with health and lover(s) of the ritual right.

(Response of the individual worshipper(?).) Wherefore whichever of persons, or whatever of bodily influences, is most helpful and preserving in that abode (thus owned by Mazda) let this meet me in mine abode, and there may it abide for summer and for winter. (Or⁷ let that one meet me in all my house,

¹ We cannot mistake a connection here with *yô áhim gaghâna—avâsrigat sártave saptá síndhûn*.

² Or is it possible that a plague of mice is meant, *mûs* being here indeclinable?

³ Ordering the execution of many of his subjects.

⁴ *Gaëthyâta* with J 3, K 11.

⁵ Later association of Â. and the earth.

⁶ Originally recited in private houses.

⁷ Alternative.

in whom are what of influences are the most mighty power for the body and the person's life ; yea, let that one meet me there, and there abide for summer and for winter (for my help) !)

YASNA XVII.

TO THE FIRES, WATERS, PLANTS, &C.

1-10¹, 11. We worship thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son ! We worship the fire Berezi-savangha (of the lofty use²), and the fire Vohu-fryâna (the good and friendly³), and the fire Urvâzista (the most beneficial and most helpful⁴), and the fire Vâzista (the most supporting⁵), and the fire Spênista (the most bountiful⁶), and Nairya-sangha the Yazad of the royal lineage⁷, and that fire which is the house-lord of all houses and Mazda-made, even the son of Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, with all the fires.

12. And we worship the good and best waters Mazda-made, holy, all the waters Mazda-made and holy, and all the plants which Mazda made, and which are holy.

¹ See chapter VI, which is nearly identical with XVII, 1-10.

² This fire is that before Ahura Mazda and the kings.

³ This fire dwells in the bodies of men and beasts (animal heat).

⁴ This is in trees and plants.

⁵ This in the clouds (lightning).

⁶ This is the fire which is applied in the world (Bundahis, West, page 61).

⁷ That N. is here referred to as connected with the fire, seems certain ; this fire corresponds with that of Vâhrâm in places of worship.

13. And we worship the Māthra-spenta (the bounteous word-of-reason), the Zarathustrian law against the Daêvas, and its long descent.

14. And we worship Mount Ushi-darena which is Mazda-made and shining with its holiness, and all the mountains shining with holiness, and of abundant glory, and which Mazda made —.

15. And we worship the good and pious prayer for blessings, (16) and these waters and (these lands), (17) and all the greatest chieftains, lords of the ritual order¹;

18. And I praise, invoke, and glorify the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, those of the house, the Vts, the Zantuma, the Da^hvyuma², and the Zarathustrôtema, and all the holy Yazads³!

YASNA XVIII⁴.

1. Grant me, Thou who art maker of the Kine, plants and waters, Immortality, Mazda! Grant, too, Weal, Spirit bounteous —.

YASNA XIX.

ZAND OR COMMENTARY ON THE AHUNA-VAIRYA FORMULAS⁵.

(As the Ahû is excellent, so (is) the Ratu (one who rules) from the righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda; and

¹ 1-17 occur also in MSS. as Y. LIX, 1-17.

² Dahyuma.

³ The Yênhê hâtâm follows.

⁴ See Y. LI, 7, and Y. XLVII.

⁵ The obvious errors contained in this ancient comment cannot

the Kingdom (is) for Ahura which to the poor shall offer a nurturer.)

1. Zarathustra asked of Ahura Mazda: O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit! maker¹ of the corporeal worlds, the holy One! which was that word which Thou did'st declare to me, (2) which was before the sky, and before the water, before the earth, and before the cattle, before the plants, and before the fire, and before the holy man, and the Demon-gods (the Daêvas), before the Khrafstra-men², and before all the incarnate world; even before all the good creatures made by Mazda, and which contain (and are) the seed of righteousness?

3. Thereupon Ahura Mazda said: It was this piece³, the Ahuna-vairya, O Spitama Zarathustra! which I pronounced as thine (4) before the sky, and before the waters, before the land, and before the cattle and the plants, and before the fire, Ahura Mazda's son, before the holy man⁴, and before the Daêvas, and Khrafstra-men, and before the entire corporeal world, even before the good creatures made by Mazda, which contain (and are) the seed of righteousness.

5. It was these part(s) of the Ahuna-vairya, O Spi-

destroy its great interest as a specimen of early exegesis. Where I hold it to be erroneous may be seen from my rendering of the Ahuna without further observations. The Ahuna-vairya is in the Gâthic dialect, and the Ahunavaiti metre. This Zand is in the Zend (sic). Ahû gives better sense as a nom.

¹ See *daunghôiz* para below.

² May not khrafstra be a degeneration from *kehrp-astar*? While the term may be applied to wild beasts, one is strongly inclined to hold that foul insects are chiefly referred to.

³ This part of the Ahuna (?), meaning its several parts.

⁴ Tradition naturally specifies Gaya Maretan.

tama Zarathustra! which especially belongs to me, and when each is intoned aloud without the (needless) repetition¹ of verses and of words, and without their omission, it is worth a hundred of their other stanzas, even although they are prominent in the ritual, and likewise equally as well recited without additions or omissions; nay, further, when it is intoned imperfectly but added to, and with omissions, it is even then in effect equivalent (not to a hundred indeed, but) to ten other (stanzas) that are prominent.

×6. And whoever in this world of mine which is corporeal shall mentally recall, O Spitâma* Zarathustra! a portion of the Ahuna-vairya, and having thus recalled it, shall undertone it, or beginning to recite it with the undertone, shall then utter it aloud, or chanting it with intoning voice, shall worship thus, then with even threefold (safety and with speed²) I will bring his soul over the Bridge of Kînvat, I who am Ahura Mazda (I will help him to pass over it) to Heaven (the best life), and to Righteousness the Best, and to the lights of heaven³.

7. And whoever, O Spitama Zarathustra! while undertoning the part(s) of the Ahuna-vairya (or this piece the Ahuna-vairya), takes ought therefrom, whether the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth, I who am Ahura Mazda will draw his soul off

¹ I do not think that mispronunciation is here intended; the Pahlavi has abarâ shûtakîh; aîghas barâ lâ khelmûnêd; Ner. na sete. I am strongly inclined to read anapashûta for anapishûta.

² Three times seems to me to lack meaning, but it may have given rise to a foolish belief that the soul went three times before death to heaven.

³ Vahistaëibyô retaining this sense here.

from the better world ; yea, so far off will I withdraw it as the earth is large and wide ; [and this ¹ earth is as long as it is broad ²].

8. And I pronounced this saying which contains its Ahû and its Ratu ³ before the creation of this heaven, before the making of the waters, and the plants, and the four-footed kine, before the birth of the holy biped man, before this sun with its body made for the acquisition of the creation of the Bountiful Immortals ⁴.

9. ⁵And the more bountiful ⁶ of the two Spirits (Ahura) declared to me ⁷ (Zarathustra) the entire creation of the pure, that which exists at present, that which is in the course of emerging into existence ⁸, and that which shall be, with reference to the performance and realisation 'of the actions of a life devoted to Mazda ⁹.'

10. And this word is the most emphatic of the words which have ever been pronounced, or which are ¹⁰ now spoken, or which shall be spoken in future; for (the eminence of) this utterance is a thing of such a nature, that if all the corporeal and living world

¹ Īm here equals iyám.

² Pâzand.

³ So, referring to the wording of the Ahuna.

⁴ Enabling us to receive the blessings which they bestow through the influence of the sun. 'The sun-shaped matter' would give us a materialism. The Pahlavi has 'levîñō min zak khurkhshêdō brîñō (?) kerpō tanō ī khûrkshêd pavan barâ ayâpakîh ī ameshō-spendânō yehabûnd.'

⁵ I hold that Ahura speaks no further here.

⁶ See Y. XLV, 1.

⁷ Of course fictitious, as Z. had long been among the dead.

⁸ Does bavaintîka mean 'past'?

⁹ Through the state of action ; skyaothananâm anghêus Mazdâi.

¹⁰ Can mruyê(-vê) be a third singular like ghnê, isê?

should learn it, and learning should hold fast by it, they would be redeemed from their mortality!

11. And this our word I have proclaimed as a symbol to be learned ¹, and to be recited, as it were, to every one of the beings under the influence of and for the sake of Righteousness the Best.

12. And 'as' (the worshipper has) here spoken it forth, when he has thus 'appointed' the 'Lord and regulator ²,' so (by thus reciting these authoritative words), he acknowledges Ahura Mazda (as prior to, and supreme) over, those creatures who have 'the mind' ³ as their first. 'As' he acknowledges Him as the greatest of them all, 'so' he assigns the creatures to Him (as to their originator).

13. As he undertones the third sentence, he thereby announces that 'all the amenities of life appertain to the 'good' Mazda ⁴, (and come) from Him. As he recites 'dazda mananghô,' 'the creator of mind,' he acknowledges Him as superior and prior to mind; and as he makes Him the one who indicates (the truth) to mind, (saying) 'mananghô of mind,' which means that by this much he makes Him (its director), and then he makes Him 'the lord of actions ⁵.'

14. And when he acknowledges Him for the creatures thus, 'O Mazda ⁶!' he acknowledges Him (as

¹ Or, 'it has been declared to us, the learner, and the one in charge of the ritual.'

² In the words *yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratus*.

³ See *dazda mananghô*, coming 'before' *skyaothananâm angheus*, *khshathrem*, and *vâstârem*.

⁴ Can the Ahuna have lost words, and is *Mazdau hugtîs vangheus* a citation? At all events, the Zandist errs in separating *vangheus* from *mananghô*. He attributes mystical meaning to every word.

⁵ Comp. *ahû-skyaothananâm*.

⁶ Reading Mazda (?).

their ruler) when he assigns the creatures to Him thus. He then assigns the Kingdom to Ahura¹, saying: 'Thine, O Mazda! is the Kingdom.' And he assigns a nourisher and protector to the poor, saying: Yim drigubyô dadať vâstârem; that is, as a friend to Spitama². This is the fifth sentence, (and it concludes) the entire recital and word, (even) the whole of this word of Ahura Mazda³.

15. He who is the best (of all) Ahura Mazda, pronounced the Ahuna-vairya, and as He pronounced it as the best, so He caused it to have its effect⁴, (He, ever) the same, (as He is).

The evil one at once⁵ arose (to oppose Him), but He (Ahura) repelled that wicked one with His interdict, and with this repelling renunciation: Neither our minds are in harmony, nor our precepts, nor our comprehensions, nor our beliefs, nor our words, nor our actions, nor our consciences, nor our souls⁶!

CATECHETICAL ZAND⁷.

16. And this saying, uttered by Mazda, has three stages, or measures⁸, and belongs to four classes (of men as its supporters), and to five chiefs (in the political world, without whom its efficiency is

¹ Khshathremâ Ahurâi â.

² As having the interest of the poor at heart.

³ Supposing Ahura (?) to be meant by Ahû and Ratu; see Mazdâi Ahurâi. The Zandist may have rendered: As Ahura is the (first) to be chosen, so He is our Ratu from His righteousness, the creator of Vohûman (including all good creatures), &c.

⁴ 'Praised' (?).

⁵ Reading haithwať; Pahlavi tîz; possibly 'being present.'

⁶ See Y. XLV, 2.

⁷ This Zand differs, as to the application of Ahû and Ratu, from the former.

⁸ Afsman elsewhere applies to metre.

marred), and it has a conclusion ending with a gift. (Question.) How are its measures (constituted)? (Answer.) The good thought, the good word, and the good deed. 17. (Question.) With what classes of men? (Answer.) The priest, the charioteer (as the chief of warriors), the systematic tiller¹ of the ground, and the artisan². These classes therefore accompany the religious man throughout his entire duty³ with the correct thought, the truthful word, and the righteous action. These are the classes and states in life which give attention to the rulers⁴, and fulfil the (laws) of religion; (yea, they are the guides and companions of that religious man) through whose actions the settlements are furthered in righteousness.

18. (Question.) How are the chiefs (constituted)? (Answer.) They are the house-chief, the village-chief, and the tribe-chief, the chief of the province, and the Zarathustra⁵ as the fifth. That is, so far as those provinces are concerned which are different from, and outside of the Zarathustrian regency, or domain. [Ragha⁶ which has four chiefs (only) is the Zarathustrian (district)]. (Question.) How are the chiefs of this one constituted? (Answer.) They (are) the house-chief, the village-chief, the tribe-chief, and the Zarathustra as the fourth. 19. (Question.) What is the thought well thought? (Answer.) (It is that which the holy man thinks), the one who holds the holy thought to be before all other things⁷. (Question.)

¹ These are 'the poor,' but not mendicants.

² A class not in the Gâthas; observe the rise of a caste system.

³ Or, 'experience.'

⁴ Or, 'the ritual.'

⁵ The title of a governor.

⁶ It did not need the fifth. It was a centre of rule.

⁷ Ashavan manas paoiryô.

What is the word well spoken? (Answer.) It is the Māthra Spenta¹, the bounteous word of reason. (Question.) What is the deed well done? (Answer.) It is that done with praises², and by the creatures who regard Righteousness as before all other things. 20. (Question.) Mazda made a proclamation, whom did He announce? (Answer.) Some one who was holy, and yet both heavenly and mundane³. (Question.) What was His character, He who made this sacred enunciation? (Answer.) He who is the best (of all), the ruling one. (Question.) Of what character (did He proclaim him the coming one)? (Answer.) As holy and the best, a ruler who exercises no wanton or despotic power⁴.

21. We sacrifice to the (several) part(s) of the Ahuna-vairya. We sacrifice to the memorised recital of the Ahuna-vairya, and its regular chanting and its use in the full Yasna.

YASNA XX.

ZAND, OR COMMENTARY, ON THE ASHEM VOHŪ.

1. A blessing is Righteousness (called) the best; there is weal, there is weal to this man when the Right (helps) the Righteousness best, (when the pious man serves it in truth⁵). Ahura Mazda spake forth: Ashem vohŭ vahistem asti. To this Asha, the holy ritual sanctity, one attributes the

¹ Probably the Gāthas with their lost portions, also the Vendîdād.

² Ritual strictness based upon practical piety.

³ The Saoshyant.

⁴ The latter part of this Zand shows that the Ratu was recognised as a human ruler in it.

⁵ Elsewhere verbally different; 'when Asha is for A.V.'

qualities of 'good' and 'best,' as one attributes property to an owner; thus this sentence *vohû vahistem asti* is substantiated (at once ¹).

2. *Ustâ asti ustâ ahmâi*; by this attribution of blessedness (the praiser) assigns every person (or thing) of a sacred nature to every holy person, and as one usually (?) and regularly (?) ² assigns every person or thing (?) ³ that is holy to every holy man.

3. *Yyať ashâi vahistai* ⁴; by these words the worshipper ascribes the entire *Māthra* (to *Asha Vahista*), and ascribes all to the *Māthra*, as one ascribes the kingdom to Righteousness, and as one ascribes righteousness to the invoking saint; yea, as one ascribes righteousness to us who are the prophets (who shall help and bless the people). The three maxims of the sentences (are thus fulfilled). And every word (in its detail), and the entire utterance in its proclamation, is the word of *Ahura Mazda*.

CATECHETICAL ADDITION ⁵.

4. *Mazda* has made a proclamation. (Question.) Whom did He announce? (Answer.) That holy one who is both heavenly and earthly. (Question.) Of what character is He who has thus announced Him? (Answer.) He is the best, and the one who is exercising sovereign power. (Question.) Of what character is the man whom He announced? (Answer.)

¹ It is carried into effect; possibly 'rendered fit for praising' (?).

² The Pahlavi indicates *nâ stâitya* (?).

³ *Ashavanem* here and in Y. XIX, 19 might be a neuter from a transition, or addition.

⁴ 'Ashem.'

⁵ This Catechetical addition is identical with that in Y. XIX. The wording alone is slightly altered in the translation to relieve the sameness.

The holy and the best, the one who rules with no capricious tyranny.

We sacrifice to the (several) part(s) of the Asha Vahista (prayer). We sacrifice to the heard-recital of the Asha Vahista, to its memorising, its chanting, and its sacrificial use¹!

YASNA XXI.

CATECHETICAL ZAND, OR COMMENTARY UPON THE YÊNHÊ HÂTÂM².

(The Yênhê. (To that one) of beings do we offer, whose superior (fidelity) in the sacrifice Ahura Mazda recognises by reason of the sanctity (within him; yea, even to those female saints also do we sacrifice) whose (superior fidelity is thus likewise known; thus) we sacrifice to (all, to both) the males and females (of the saints) !)

¹ The Yênhê hâtâm follows.

² The expressions in this prayer were suggested by Y. LI, 22; but the Zand does not consistently follow the thoughts in the Gâtha. Təm understood should be supplied as an object for yazamaidē in connection with yênhê, as well as tauskâ for yaung-hâm. In Y. LI, 22, it is, however, by no means certain that yazâi applies to a təm yêhyâ. Holding the twenty-first verse in mind, I am obliged to refer yêhyâ to nâ spentô. Here, however, men and women are worshipped, as it is improbable that the 'Immortals' whose names are in the feminine are meant. The prayer is in the Gâthic dialect, and ancient metre would hardly contain so artificial a formation. It can only be defended from the *teng yazâi hvâis nâmenis* of Y. LI, 22.

Or did the composer of the prayer correctly render Y. LI, 22, and boldly write his succinct words as being clear to his hearers from explanations which are now lost? Such explanations (oral or written) as a matter of course existed from the first. No composer fails to discuss his productions.

1. A word for the Yasna by Zarathustra, the saint. Yênhê, &c. Here the worshipper indicates and offers the Yasna (which is the sacrificial worship) of Mazda as by the command (or as the institution) of Ahura¹. Hâtâm. Here the worshipper offers the sacrificial worship as if with the beings who are among those who are destined to live². 2. Yâunghâm. Here he indicates and offers the sacrificial worship of those holy females who have Âramaiti at their head³, as homage to the Immortals. These are the three sentences which comprehend all the Yasnian speech. (Question.) To whom is this Yasna addressed? (Answer.) To the Bountiful Immortals (in the course of the Yasna). 3. Thereupon spake Mazda: Salvation to this one, whosoever he may be! May the absolute ruler Ahura grant it. (Question.) 4. Whom did He answer with this answer? (Answer.) He answered: The state of salvation; and with this answer, 'the state of salvation,' he answered every saint who exists, every one who is coming into existence, and every one who shall exist in the future. (Question. Who answered thus? Answer.) The best One. (Question. What did He answer?) (Answer.) The best thing. (That is,) the best One, Mazda, answered the best and the holy (answer) for the better and the holy man. 5. We sacrifice to this piece, the Yênhê hâtâm, the prominent and holy Yast.

¹ Referring yênhê to Ahura (?).

² Fit to live, clean.

³ The Ameshôspends whose names are in the feminine; so the Zandist erroneously.

YASNA XXII.

THE SACRIFICE CONTINUES.

1. With the Baresman brought hither together with the Zaothra, for the worship of the Creator Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, and for that of the Bountiful Immortals, I desire to approach this Haoma with my praise, offered (as it is) with punctilious sanctity (or, for a blessing), and this fresh milk, and this plant Hadhânaêpata. 2. And, as an act of worship to the beneficent waters, I desire to approach these Zaothras with (my) praise offered (as they are) with punctilious sanctity, having the Haoma with them, and the flesh, with the Hadhânaêpata. And I desire to approach the Haoma-water with my praise for the beneficent waters; and I desire to approach the stone mortar and the iron mortar with my praise. 3. And I desire to approach this plant for the Baresman with my praise, and the well-timed prayer for blessings, that which has approached (to accept our homage), and the memorised recital and the fulfilment of the good Mazdayasnian Faith, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and⁴ the well-timed and successful prayer for blessings, that of the holy lord of the ritual order. And I desire to approach these wood-billets and their perfume with my praise,—thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! Yea, I desire to approach all good things with my praise, those which Mazda made, and which have the seed of sanctity (within them), (4) for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda and of the Bountiful

Immortals, and of Sraosha the blessed, and of Ahura Mazda's Fire, the lofty ritual lord¹!

20. And I desire to approach this Haoma with (my) praise, that which is thus lifted up with sanctity, and this milk (fresh as it is, and as if) living and lifted up with sanctity, and this plant the Hadhânaê-pata lifted up with sanctity. 21. And I desire to approach these Zaothras with (my) praise for the beneficial waters, these Zaothras which have the H(a)oma with them and the milk with them, and the Hadhânaê-pata, and which are lifted up with sanctity. And I desire to approach the Haoma-water with (my) praise for the beneficial waters, and the two mortars, the stone one and the iron one, (22) and I desire to approach this branch for the Baresman with my praise, and the memorised recital and fulfilment of the Mazdayasnian law, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-timed and persistent prayer for blessings (uttered) by the holy lord² of the ritual order, and this wood and perfume, even thine, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, and all good objects Mazda-made (23) for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, and of the Bountiful Immortals, and of Mithra of the wide pastures, and of Râman Hvâstra³, (24) and of the resplendent sun, immortal, radiant, of the fleet horses, and of Vayu, (of predominant influence and) working on high, set over the other beings in the creation [(Pâzand); that is for thee thus (O Vayu) when thine influence is that which apper-

¹ 5-19=Y. III, 5-19; 20-23=1-4 from imem.

² The priest? (Repetitions are, as everywhere, curtailed and varied.)

³ For closer rendering of details, see verses 2, 3, 4, which differ chiefly in the final dedication.

tains to Spenta Mainyu¹], and for the propitiation of the most just knowledge Mazda-given, and of the holy and good Religion, the Mazdayasnian Faith; (25) for the propitiation of the Māthra Spenta, (the bounteous) and holy, and the effective, instituted against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian law, and of the long descent of the good Mazdayasnian Faith² [the holding in mind and devotion to the Māthra Spenta, and knowledge of the Mazdayasnian Religion] for the propitiation of the understanding which is innate and Mazda-made, and of that which is heard by the ear; (26) and for thy propitiation, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! [(Pâzand); (yea) thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son] with all the fires, and for the propitiation of Mount Ushi-darena, the Mazda-made, radiant with sanctity; (27) and of all the holy Yazads, spiritual and earthly, and of the holy Fravashis, the redoubted and overwhelming, those of the ancient lore, and those of the next of kin and of the Yazad of the spoken name!

YASNA XXIII.

THE FRAVASHIS OF THE SAINTS; PRAYERS FOR THEIR APPROACH³.

1. I desire to approach with my praise⁴ those Fravashis which have existed from of old, the Fravashis of the houses, and of the villages, of the communities, and of the provinces, which hold the

¹ And not the evil Vayu, which appertains to Angra Mainyu.

² Insert, 'and of the good Zarathustrian devotion.'

³ This chapter is said to be reserved for funeral occasions.

⁴ Or, 'I pray for the approach.' See Y. XXVI.

heaven in its place apart, and the water, land, and cattle, which hold the children in the wombs safely enclosed apart so that they do not miscarry. 2. And I desire to approach toward the Fravashi¹ of Ahura Mazda, and with my praise, and for those of the Bountiful Immortals, with all the holy Fravashis which are those of the heavenly Yazads. And I desire to approach the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan (the life-man) in my worship with my praise, and for that of Zarathustra Spitâma, and for those of Kavi Vistâspa, and of Isat-vâstra², the Zarathustrian, with all the holy Fravashis of the other ancient counsellors as well. 3. And I desire in my worship to approach toward every holy Fravashi whosoever it may be, and wheresoever dead upon this earth (its possessor may have lain), the pious woman, or the girl of tender years, the maiden diligent (among the cattle) in the field (who) may have dwelt (here; yea, all) which are now worshipped from this house³, which are attentive to, and which attain to (our) good Yasnas and (our) homage. 4. Yea, I desire to approach the Fravashis of the saints with my praise, redoubted (as they are) and overwhelming, the Fravashis of those who held to the ancient lore, and the Fravashis of the next-of-kin; and I desire to approach toward the Fravashi of mine own⁴ soul in my worship with my praise; and I desire therewith to approach toward all the lords of the ritual, and with

¹ Fravashi seems a dative; comp. ūtī.

² Zarathustra's eldest son by his wife Padokhshah; he was the chief of priests according to tradition.

³ This Yasna was recited from house to house.

⁴ The 'own' soul; notice the seeming distinction between Fravashi and soul.

praise ; and I desire to approach all the good Yazads with my praise, the heavenly and the earthly, who are meet, for sacrifice and homage, because of Righteousness the Best !

YASNA XXIV.

PRESENTATIONS.

1. (And having approached these Haomas with our worship), we present them to Ahura Mazda ; (yea, we present) these Haomas, Myazdas, Zaothras, and the Baresman spread with punctilious sanctity, and the flesh, and the milk, fresh as if living, and lifted up with punctilious sanctity, and this branch the Hadhânaêpata likewise lifted up with sanctity.

2. (And having approached these Zaothras in our worship), we present them to the good waters having the Haoma with them, and the milk, and the Hadhânaêpata, and lifted up with scrupulous sanctity ; and (with them) we present the Haoma-water to the good waters, and both the stone and the iron mortar.

3. And we present this plant of the Baresman, and the timely prayer for blessings, which has approached in the due course of the ritual, and the recollection and practice¹ of the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the timely prayer for blessings which has approached as the prayer of the holy lord of the ritual order ; and these wood-billets, and the perfume, (even) thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son ! and all good objects Mazda-made, which have the seed of righteousness, we offer and present. 4. And these we present hereby to Ahura Mazda, and to Sraosha (Obedience) the

¹ Or the memorised recital and performance of its rites.

blessed (and Righteous), and to the Bountiful Immortals; and to the Fravashis of the saints, even to the souls of the saints, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the lofty lord of entire holy creation, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise.

5. And these we present hereby to the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint, for sacrifice, propitiation, and for praise, and to that of the people¹ who love Righteousness, with all the holy Fravashis of the saints who are dead and who are living, and to those of men who are as yet unborn, and to those of the prophets who will serve us, and will labour to complete the progress and renovation of the world².

6. And we present these Haomas, Myazdas, Zaothras, and the Baresman spread with sanctity, and the flesh, and the milk (fresh as if) living, and lifted up with sanctity, and the Hadhânaêpata branch.

7. And we present these Zaothras to the beneficial waters having the Haoma with them, and the flesh, and the Hadhânaêpata lifted up with sanctity, and the Haoma-water, to the good waters, with the stone and iron mortars, (8) and this plant of the Baresman, (and) the timely Prayer and the recollection and practice of the good Mazdayasnian Faith³, and these wood-billets, and the perfume, thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and all objects which are Mazda-made, and which have, and are, the seed of Righteousness, these we offer and present.

9. (Yea,) we present these hereby to the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose of all

¹ Elsewhere perhaps, erroneously, as a proper name: or read *anghus*.

² Pahlavi *frashakarð karðârân*.

³ 'And the heard recital of the Gâthas.'

aright, the ever-living, ever-helpful, who abide with the Good Mind (of the Lord and of His folk¹) !

YASNA XXV.

1. And we worship the Bountiful Immortals with our sacrifice, who rule aright, and who dispose of all aright; and we worship this Haoma, this flesh and branch, (2) and these Zaothras for the good waters, having the Haoma with them, and the flesh with them, and Hadhânaêpata, and lifted up with sanctity, and we worship the Haoma-water for the beneficial waters; and we worship the two, the stone mortar and the iron mortar; (3) and we worship this plant for the Baresman and the well-timed prayer for blessings which has approached (in its proper place within the ritual course), and also both the remembrance and the practice² of the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, and the well-timed prayer for blessings of the holy lord of the ritual order which has approached, and these wood-billets with the perfume, (even) thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and we worship all good objects which are Mazda-made, and which contain (and are) the seed of Righteousness.

4. And we worship Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice, the resplendent, the glorious, and the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, and Mithra of the wide pastures and Râman *Hvâstra*; and we worship the shining sun, the resplendent, the immortal, of the fleet horses.

¹ See Y. IV, 4-25, which is repeated here. Expressions are curtailed.

² Or the memorised recital and fulfilment.

5. And we worship the holy wind which works on high, placed higher than the other creatures in the creation; and we worship this which is thine, O Vayu! and which appertains to the Spenta Mainyu within thee; and we worship the most true religious Knowledge, Mazda-made and holy, and the good Mazdayasnian law.

6. And we worship the Māthra Spenta verily glorious (as it is), even the law pronounced against the Daêvas, the Zarathustrian law, and its long descent¹; yea, we worship the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and the Māthra which is heart-devoted and bounteous (imparting heart's devotion to the saint); yea, we worship the Mazdayasnian Religion maintained in the understanding² of the saint; and we honour that science which is the Māthra Spenta, and the innate understanding Mazda-made, and the derived understanding, heard with ear, and Mazda-made.

7. Yea, we worship thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son! the holy lord of the ritual order; and we worship all the Fires, and Mount Ushi-darena (which holds the light³) Mazda-made and holy, the Yazad mount, brilliant with sanctity. 8. And we worship every holy spiritual⁴ Yazad; and every holy earthly Yazad (who exists)!

¹ Its long tradition.

² Or maintaining the understanding.

³ A sunrise or sunset mountain; see the word applied intellectually just previously, also previous notes on it.

⁴ That is, heavenly.

YASNA XXVI.

THE FRAVASHIS; SACRIFICE AND PRAISE TO THEM.

1. I praise, invoke, and weave my hymn to the good, heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints; (and having invoked these, then) we worship the Nmânyas, and the Vtsyas, and the Zantumas, and the Dahvyumas¹, and the Zarathustrôtemas.

2. And of all these prior Fravashis, we worship here the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda, which is the greatest and the best, the most beautiful and the firmest, the most wise and the best in form, and the one that attains the most its ends because of Righteousness. 3. And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the holy ones, those of the Bountiful Immortals, the brilliant, of effective glance, the lofty, the devoted, the swift ones of the creatures of Ahura who are imperishable and holy.

4. And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the spirit and conscience, the intelligence and soul and Fravashi of those holy men and women who early heard the lore and commands (of God²), and loved and strove after Righteousness, the ritual truth; and we worship the soul of the Kine of blessed gift. 5. And (having invoked it) hither, we worship the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan the holy, and the sanctity and Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma the saint; and we worship the Fravashi of Kavi Vîstâspa the holy, and that of Isať-vâstra the Zarathustrian, the saint.

¹ Dahyumas.

² 'Of the early religion.'

6. And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the life, conscience, intelligence, soul and Fravashi of the next of kin, of the saints male and female who have striven after the ritual truth, which are those of the dead and living saints, and which are those also of men as yet unborn, of the future prophets who will help on the renovation, and complete the human progress, with them all.

7. And (having invoked them) hither, we worship the souls of the dead [(Pâzand) which are the Fravashis of the saints ¹]; and of all the next of kin who have passed away in this house, of the Aêthrapaitis (the teachers) and of the disciples; yea, of all holy men and women; (8) and we worship the Fravashis of all the holy teachers and disciples; and of all the saints both male and female.

9. (And having invoked them) hither we worship the Fravashis of all the holy children who fulfil the deeds of piety; and we worship the Fravashis of the saints within the province; and those of the saints without the province. 10. We worship the Fravashis of (those) holy men and holy women; we worship all the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints from Gaya Maretan (the first created) to the Saoshyant, the victorious ².

11. Yea, we worship all the Fravashis of the saints, and we worship the souls of the dead [(Pâzand) which are the Fravashis of the saints]!

¹ Whether a real distinction existed in the minds of these early writers, between a Fravashi and a departed soul, is hard to say. That a Fravashi was worshipped as existing before the person to whom it appertained was born, may be owing to a poetical, and not a dogmatic, anticipation.

² From the Iranian Adam to the Christ of the resurrection; see Yast XIX, 89, 91.

YASNA XXVII.

PRELUDE TO THE CHIEF RECITAL OF THE
AHUNA-VAIRYA.

1. This is to render¹ Him who is of all the greatest, our lord² and master³ (even) Ahura Mazda. And this to smite⁴ the wicked Angra Mainyu, and to smite Aêshma of the bloody spear, and the Mazainya Daêvas, and to smite all the wicked Varenya Daêvas.

2. And this is to further Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, to further the Bountiful Immortals, and the influences of the star Tistrya, the resplendent, the glorious, (and) to the furtherance of the holy man, and of all the (bountiful and) holy creatures of the Bounteous Spirit.

3-5⁵. 6. The Haomas are crushed, O Mazda, Khshathra, and Asha, O ye Lords! Good is Sraosha who accompanies the sacrifice with the great glory⁶, and may he be present affording strenuous help.

7. We are offering saving acts of wisdom and of worship with the sacred gift of the Ahuna-vairya intoned with sanctity, and of the two mortars here

¹ Dazdyâi would be an infin. for an imperative; but it here refers to the Ahuna. We might say, 'Let this render,' &c.

² See Y. XXXIV, 5.

³ Referring to the Ahû and Ratu of the Ahuna, but with erroneous application.

⁴ Comp. Vend. XIX, 9 (Wg.).

⁵ The Ahuna appears here in the MS. with Y. XXXIV, 5, the â airymâ, and the Ashem Vohû.

⁶ Mâzâ rayâ; otherwise mâzarayâ, with greatness (see Y. XLIII, 12).

brought forward¹ with holy act, and with that of the correctly uttered words likewise ; and therefore may they be to us the more saving in their wise significance.

8-12². 13. As the Ahû is excellent, so is the Ratu (one who rules) from (his) sanctity, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda ; and the Kingdom (is) for Ahura, which to the poor may offer a nurturer. 14. (What is Your Kingdom, Your riches ; how may I be Your own in my actions, to nourish Your poor, O Mazda ? Beyond ; yea, beyond all we declare You, far from Daêvas and Khrafstra-accursed mortals³!)

15. We worship the Ahuna-vairya. We worship Asha Vahista, the most beautiful⁴, the Bountiful Immortal⁵.

YASNA XXXV.

YASNA HAPTANGHÂITI.

With the Yasna of the 'Seven Chapters' which ranks next in antiquity after the Gâthas, we already pass into an atmosphere distinct from theirs. The dialect still lingers, but the spirit is changed. We have advanced personification of the Bountiful Immortals ; that is, their personification seems more prominent, while the ideas of which they are the personification already, and to a proportionate degree, have grown dim. The name Amesha Spenta occurs: the Fravashis appear ; the Fire is worshipped, the Earth, and the Grass.

To the waters, to the Soul of the Kine, and to all holy or clean

¹ Here the Parsi priests now manipulate the mortars.

² See Y. XXXIII, 11-14 ; and Y. I, 23, and Y. XII.

³ See Y. XXXIV, 15. The Ashem follows.

⁴ Or, 'the best.'

⁵ The Yênhê hâtâm follows. For Y. XXVIII-XXXIV, see the Gâtha Ahunavaiti above, pp. 2-194.

beings, the very word yazamaidê is applied for the first time. On the other hand, many later objects of worship are totally absent, the six seasons of the creation, the five divisions of the day, the five Gâthas, Zarathustra, the Baresman, the Haoma, &c. A considerable period of time must have elapsed since the Gâthas had been composed, and a lengthy period must also be supposed to have passed before the Avesta of the later type began to be sung and recited. The chapter numbered XLII in the Vendîdâd Sâdah of Brockhaus (1850), and in the edition of Westergaard (1852), and numbered XLI, 18-35 in Spiegel's edition, seems a later addition; but it cannot be very much later, as it preserves the dialect and general features. An intentional imitation is not probable. Spiegel has included it with chapter XLI to preserve the number 'seven;' and if the entire section is to be called 'the Yasnas of the Seven Chapters,' it should most certainly not be numbered XLII! I so number merely to follow Westergaard, as do the first two parts of these translations from the Avesta. This portion should neither be incorporated with chapter XLI, nor numbered as a separate one; it should be noted as a supplement. The name 'Seven Chapters' was of course given to the pieces long after their composition.

PRAISE TO AHURA AND THE IMMORTALS; PRAYER FOR THE PRACTICE AND DIFFUSION OF THE FAITH.

1. We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the holy Lord of the ritual order, and to the Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, who dispose of all aright; and we sacrifice to the entire creation of the clean, the spiritual and the mundane, with the longing blessing of the beneficent ritual, with the longing blessing of the benignant Religion, the Mazdayasnian Faith.

2. We are praisers of good thoughts, of good words, and of good actions, of those now and those hereafter¹ [(Pâzand) of those being done, and of those

¹ The Pahlavi translator, as so often, first saw the proper explanation here.

completed]. We implant ¹(?) them (with our homage, and we do this) the more, and yet the more since we are (praisers) of the good (from whom they spring).

3. That, therefore, would we choose, O Ahura Mazda! and thou, O Righteousness the beautiful! that we should think, and speak, and do those thoughts, and words, and deeds, among actual good ² thoughts, and words, and actions, which are the best for both the worlds; (4) and together with these gifts (?) and actions which are thus the best, we would pray for the Kine (which represents the pure creation), that she may have comfort and have fodder from the famed, and from the humble, from the potent and the weak.

5. To the best of good rulers (is) verily the Kingdom, because we render and ascribe it to Him, and make it thoroughly His own (?), to Mazda Ahura do we ascribe it, and to Righteousness the Best.

6. As thus both man or woman knows (the duty), both thoroughly and truly, so let him, or her, declare it and fulfil it, and inculcate it upon those who may perform it as it is. 7. We would be deeply mindful of Your sacrifice and homage, Yours, O Ahura Mazda! and the best, (and we would be mindful) of the nurture of the Kine. And that let us inculcate and perform for You according as we may, and (for) such (praisers as we are).

8. Under the shelter ³ of the ritual Order let us do so in the active fulfilment ³ of its (precepts) toward every one of the (clean) and better creatures which

¹ Or, we are 'purifiers,' or 'adorners.' Tradition 'spreading from man to man,' so thoroughly implanting themselves; comp. perhaps *nîd*.

² *Hâtâm* in this sense.

³ Or, 'in the house and stall.'

are fit to live¹, with a gift for both the worlds.
 9. Yea, those words and sayings, O Ahura Mazda! we would proclaim as Righteousness, and as of the better mind (?); and we would make Thee the one who both supports (us in our proclamation) of them, and who throws still further light upon them (as they are),

10. And by reason of Thy Righteous Order, Thy Good Mind, and Thy Sovereign Power, and through the instrumentality of our praises of Thee, O Ahura Mazda! and for the purpose of (still further) praises, by Thy spoken words, and for (still further) spoken words, through Thy Yasna, and for (still further) Yasnas (would we thus proclaim them, and make Thee the bestower of our light).

YASNA XXXVI.

TO AHURA AND THE FIRE.

1. We would approach You two, O (Ye) primeval ones in the house² of this Thy holy Fire, O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit! Who brings pollutions to this (Thy flame) him wilt Thou cover with pollutions (in his turn). 2. But as the most friendly do Thou give us zeal, O Fire of the Lord! and approach us³, and with the loving blessing of the most friendly, with the praise of the

¹ Or, 'live-stock.'

² Or, 'in the service of the Fire;' so the Pahlavi: consider also the occurrence of forms of var(e)z in the other sense in the close proximity. Fire temples did not exist; some shelter, however, must have been afforded. Also the dual pouruyê(-ve) may refer to Ahura and the Fire. Comp. Y. XXX, 3. Or, is it 'at first?'

³ Possibly, 'but most favoured is he whom (yem).'

most adored. Yea, may'st thou approach to aid us in this our greatest (undertaking) among the efforts of our zeal.

3. The Fire of Ahura Mazda art thou verily¹; yea, the most bounteous one of His Spirit, wherefore Thine is the most potent of all names (for grace), O Fire of the Lord! 4. And therefore we would approach Thee, (O Ahura!) with the help of Thy Good Mind (which Thou dost implant within us), with Thy (good) Righteousness, and with the actions and the words inculcated by Thy good wisdom!

5. We therefore bow before Thee, and we direct our prayers to Thee with confessions of our guilt, O Ahura Mazda! with all the good thoughts (which Thou dost inspire), with all the words well said, and the deeds well done, with these would we approach Thee. 6. And to Thy most beauteous body² do we make our deep acknowledgments, O Ahura Mazda! to those stars (which are Thy body); and to that one, the highest of the high, [such as the sun was called]!

YASNA XXXVII.

TO AHURA, THE HOLY CREATION, THE FRAVASHIS
OF THE JUST, AND THE BOUNTIFUL IMMORTALS.

1. Thus therefore do we worship Ahura Mazda, who made the Kine (the living creation), and the (embodied) Righteousness (which is incarnate in the clean), and the waters, and the wholesome plants, the stars, and the earth, and all (existing) objects

¹ Vôi looks as if it represented vâf here.

² See Y. I, 1.

that are good. 2. Yea, we worship Him for His Sovereign Power and His greatness, beneficent (as they are), and with priority among the Yazads¹ who abide beside the Kine (and care for her protection and support).

3. And we worship Him under His name as Lord, to Mazda dear, the most beneficent (of names). We worship him with our bones, and with our flesh, (with our bodies and our life). And we worship the² Fravashis of the saints, of holy men, and holy women; (4) and Righteousness the Best do we worship, the most beauteous, the Bountiful Immortal and that which is endowed with light in all things good.

5. And we worship the Good Mind (of the Lord), and His Sovereign Power, and the Good Faith, the good law of our thrift, and Piety the ready mind (within Thy folk)!

YASNA XXXVIII.

TO THE EARTH AND THE SACRED WATERS.

1. And now we worship this earth which bears us, together with Thy wives³, O Ahura Mazda! yea, those Thy wives do we worship which are so desired from their sanctity. 2. We sacrifice to their zealous wishes, and their capabilities, their inquiries (as to duty), and their wise acts of pious reverence,

¹ Or, 'with the priority in the Yasnas, (we who are they) who abide.'

² Tem is interpolated; or shall we render: 'We worship Him' as in the F. with adverbial use as in the Greek, and often here?

³ Compare the Indian gnás. The waters are wives, as is the earth; below they are mothers.

and with these their blessedness, their full vigour and good portions, their good fame and ample wealth. 3. O ye waters! now we worship you, you that are showered down, and you that stand in pools and vats, and you that bear forth (our loaded vessels?) ye female Ahuras of Ahura, you that serve us (all) in helpful ways, well forded and full-flowing, and effective for the bathings, we will seek you and for both the worlds! 4. Therefore did Ahura Mazda give you names, O ye beneficent¹ ones! when He who made the good bestowed you. And by these names we worship you, and by them we would ingratiate ourselves with you, and with them would we bow before you, and direct our prayers to you with free confessions of our debt. O waters, ye who are productive², and ye maternal ones, ye with heat³ that suckles the (frail and) needy (before birth), ye waters (that have once been) rulers of (us) all, we will now address you as the best, and the most beautiful; those (are) yours, those good (objects) of our offerings, ye long of arm to reach our sickness, or misfortune⁴, ye mothers of our life!

YASNA XXXIX.

TO THE SOUL OF THE KINE, &c.

1. And now we sacrifice to the Kine's soul, and to her created body, and we sacrifice to the souls

¹ Vanguhís with K₄, &c.

² Compare azi as applied to the Kine.

³ Compare agnáyas, reading agnayô. Or is it agnivau with a suffix va?

⁴ Or, 'our sicknesses and welfare.'

of cattle who are fit to live¹ (for us), and whose (we ?) are, such as are the same to them.

2. And we worship the souls of those beasts which are tame and broken in, and of wild herds, and the souls of the saints wherever they were born, both of men and of women, whose good consciences are conquering in the strife against the Daévas, or will conquer, or have conquered.

3. And now we worship the Bountiful Immortals (all) the good, and both those male², and those female³ (by their names). The males among them do we worship, ever living, and ever helpful, who dwell beside the pious, and the females thus the same. 4. As Thou, O Ahura Mazda! hast thought and spoken, as thou hast determined, and hast done these things (effecting) what is good, therefore do we offer to Thee, therefore do we ascribe to Thee our praises, and worship Thee, and bow ourselves before Thee; and therefore would we direct our prayers to Thee, Ahura! with confessions of our sin.

5. And we thus draw near to Thee together with the good kinship of our kindred, with that of Righteousness the blessed, and the good law of thrift and energy and the good Piety, the ready mind (within Thy folk)!

YASNA XL.

PRAYERS FOR HELPERS.

1. And now in these Thy dispensations, O Ahura Mazda! do Thou wisely⁴ act for us, and with abun-

¹ Live-stock.

² Yôî.

³ Yaustâ.

⁴ A fem. noun mazdâ = medhá.

dance with Thy bounty and Thy tenderness¹ as touching us; and grant that reward which Thou hast appointed to our souls, O Ahura Mazda! 2. Of this do Thou Thyself bestow upon us for this world and the spiritual; and now as part thereof (do Thou grant) that we may attain to fellowship with Thee, and Thy Righteousness for all duration.

3. And do Thou grant us, O Ahura! men who are righteous, and both lovers and producers of the Right as well. And give us trained beasts for the pastures, broken in for riding², and for bearing, (that they may be) in 'helpful³ companionship with us, and as a source of long enduring vigour, and a means of rejoicing grace to us for this⁴.

4. So let there be a kinsman lord for us, with the labourers of the village, and so likewise let there be the clients (or the peers⁵). And by the help of those may we arise.

So may we be to You, O Mazda Ahura! holy and true⁶, and with free giving of our gifts.

YASNA XLI.

A PRAYER TO AHURA AS THE KING, THE LIFE, AND THE REWARDER.

1. Praises, and songs, and adorations do we offer to Ahura Mazda, and to Righteousness the Best; yea, we offer and we ascribe them, and proclaim them.

2. And to Thy good Kingdom, O Ahura Mazda!

¹ Otherwise, 'understanding which protects' (?).

² So the Pahlavi and Ner. ³ Bezvaitê. ⁴ May we be rejoicing(?).

⁵ Hakhmā (= -a) replacing the airyaman of the Gāthas, and throwing light upon its meaning. The form is irregular.

⁶ Or, 'holy rishis' (ereshayō?).

may we attain for ever, and a good King be Thou over us ; and let each man of us, and so each woman, thus abide, O Thou most beneficent of beings, and for both the worlds ! 3. Thus do we render Thee, the helpful Yazad, endowed with good devices, the friend of them (who worship Thee) with (well-adjusted) ritual ; so may'st Thou be to us our life, and our body's vigour, O Thou most beneficent of beings, and that for both the worlds !

4. Aye, let us win and conquer (?) long life, O Ahura Mazda ! in Thy grace, and through Thy will may we be powerful. May'st Thou lay hold on us to help, and long, and with salvation, O Thou most beneficent of beings !

5. Thy praisers and Māthra-speakers may we be called ¹, O Ahura Mazda ! so do we wish, and to this may we attain ². What reward most meet for our deserving Thou hast appointed for the souls, O Ahura Mazda ! (6) of that do Thou bestow on us for this life, and for that of mind ³. Of that reward (do Thou Thyself grant this advantage), that we may come under Thy protecting guardianship, and that of Righteousness for ever. We sacrifice to that brave Yasna, the Yasna Haptanghâiti ⁴, the holy, the ritual chief !

YASNA XLII.

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE HAPTANGHÂITI ⁵.

1. We worship You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals ! with the entire collection of this Yasna, Haptanghâiti

¹ See Y. L, 11.

² Or, 'abide.'

³ See Y. XXVIII, 3.

⁴ Here the Haptanghâiti once ended.

⁵ Of not greatly later origin.

(as we sum up all). And we sacrifice to the fountains of the waters, and to the fordings of the rivers, to the forkings of the highways, and to the meetings of the roads.

2. And we sacrifice to the hills that run with torrents, and the lakes that brim with waters, and to the corn that fills the corn-fields; and we sacrifice to both the protector and the Creator, to both Zarathustra and the Lord.

3. And we sacrifice to both earth and heaven, and to the stormy wind that Mazda made, and to the peak of high Haraiti, and to the land, and all things good.

4. And we worship the Good Mind (in the living) and the spirits of the saints. And we sacrifice to the fish of fifty-fins¹, and to that sacred beast the Unicorn² (?) which stands in Vouru-kasha, and we sacrifice to that sea of Vouru-kasha where he stands, (5) and to the Haoma, golden-flowered, growing on the heights; yea, to the Haoma that restores us, and aids this world's advance. We sacrifice to Haoma that driveth death afar, (6) and to the flood-streams of the waters, and to the great flights of the birds, and to the approaches of the Fire-priests, as they approach us from afar³, and seek to gain the provinces, and spread the ritual lore. And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals all⁴!

¹ See, however, Bundahis (West), p. 66.

² See Bundahis, chap. XIX, also Darmesteter, Ormuzd and Ahriman (pp. 148-150).

³ Yôî yêyâ dûrâ points to a migration of Zoroastrianism, coming West(?).

⁴ For Yasna XLIII-LI, see above, pp. 98-187.

YASNA LII (Sp. LI).

A PRAYER FOR SANCTITY AND ITS BENEFITS.

1. I pray with benedictions for a benefit, and for the good, even for the entire creation of the holy (and the clean); I beseech for them for the (generation which is) now alive, for that which is just coming into life ¹, and for that which shall be hereafter. And (I pray for that) sanctity which leads to prosperity, and which has long afforded shelter ², which goes on hand in hand with it ³, which joins it in its walk, and of itself becoming its close companion as it delivers forth its precepts, (2) bearing every form of healing virtue which comes to us in waters ⁴, appertains to cattle, or is found in plants, and overwhelming all the harmful malice of the Daêvas, (and their servants) who might harm this dwelling ⁵ and its lord, (3) bringing good gifts, and better blessings, given very early, and later (gifts), leading to successes, and for a long time giving shelter ⁶. And so the greatest, and the best, and most beautiful benefits of sanctity fall likewise to our lot (4) for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and the praise of the Bountiful Immortals, for the bringing prosperity to this abode, and for the prosperity of the entire creation of the holy,

¹ Or, 'for that which is past?' *bavāithyâika*.

² *Dareghô-vârethmanem* is treated as a feminine; see also *dareghô-vârethmanô* in verse 3.

³ Have we *hvô-aiwishâkîm*, as representing some more regular form?

⁴ Medicinal springs.

⁵ This Yasna was celebrated from house to house.

⁶ *Vârethmanô*.

and the clean, (and as for this, so) for the opposition of the entire evil creation. (And I pray for this) as I praise through Righteousness, I who am beneficent, those who are (likewise of a better mind) ¹. 5-8. (See Y. VIII, 5-8.) (For Y. LIII, see Gâthas, pp. 190-194.)

YASNA LIV ² (SP. LIII).

THE AIRYEMÂ-ISHYÔ.

1. Let the Airyaman, the desired friend and peersman, draw near for grace to the men and to the women who are taught of Zarathustra, for the joyful grace of the Good Mind, whereby the conscience may attain its wished-for recompense. I pray for the sacred reward of the ritual order which is (likewise so much) to be desired; and may Ahura Mazda grant ³ it, (or cause it to increase).

2. We sacrifice to the Airyemâ-ishyô, the powerful, the victoriously smiting, the opponent of assaulting malice, the greatest of the sentences of the holy ritual order. And we sacrifice to the bounteous Gâthas that rule supreme in the ritual, the holy (and august). And we sacrifice to the Praises of the Yasna which were the productions of the world of old ⁴.

¹ Citation from the Gâthas (Y. XLV, 6).

² This piece in the Gâthic dialect, and in a metre supposed by some to be identical with that of the Vahistôisti, is very old, and ranks with the Ahuna-vairya and Ashem Vohû in importance.

³ Or, can masatâ (sic) equal 'with his liberality, or majesty,' leaving *yantu* to be understood with Ahurô?

⁴ The later Avesta notes the antiquity of the older.

YASNA LV (Sp. LIV).

THE WORSHIP OF THE GÂTHAS AS CONCLUDED, AND
THAT OF THE STAOTA YÊSNYA¹ AS BEGINNING.

1. We present hereby and we make known, as our offering to the bountiful Gâthas which rule (as the leading chants) within (the appointed times and seasons of) the Ritual, all our landed riches, and our persons, together with our very bones and tissues, our forms and forces, our consciousness, our soul, and Fravashi.

2. That which Gâthas (may) be to us, which are our guardians and defenders, and our spiritual food, yea, which (may) be to our souls both food and clothing, such are these Gâthas to us, guardians, and defenders, and (spiritual) food, even such they are, both food and clothing to the soul.

And (may) they be to us (for this our offering) abundant givers of rewards, and just and righteous ones, for the world beyond the present, after the parting of our consciousness and body. 3. And may these (Praises of the Offering) come forth, and appear for us with power and victorious assault, with health and healing, with progress, and with growth, with preparation and protection, with beneficence and sanctity, and abounding with gifts² toward him who can understand; yea, let them appear (with free liberality to the enlightened), let them appear as

¹ Staota Yêsnya seems to designate that part of the Yasna which begins with the Srôsh Yast.

² Frârâiti; or possibly 'to the freely giving,' (the term. '-ti' as a dative).

Mazda, the most beneficent, has produced them, He the one who is victorious when He smites, and who helps the settlements advance, for the protection, and the guarding of the religious order of the settlements which are now being furthered, and of those which shall bring salvation to us, and for the protection of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

4. And may'st thou, (O Asha ! who abidest within the Gâthas¹), give to every holy man who comes with this prayer for a blessing, and endeavouring to help himself², according to his good thoughts, and words, and deeds.

5. We are therefore worshipping both the (divine) Righteousness and the Good Mind, and the bountiful Gâthas, that rule as the leading chants within (the times and the seasons of) the holy ritual order.

6. And we worship the Praises of the Yasna which were the production of the ancient world, those which are (now) recollected and put in use³, those which are now learned and taught, those which are being held (in mind, and so) repeated, those remembered and recited, and those worshipped, and thus the ones which further the world through grace in its advance.

And we worship the part(s)⁴ of the Praises of the Yasna, and their recitation as it is heard, even their memorised recital, and their chanting, and their offering (as complete).

¹ Conjectural; see Ashem below. ² Pahlavi avô nafsman.

³ Recited from memory, and used in the ceremonial.

⁴ The part, 'each part.'

YASNA LVI (SP. LV).

INTRODUCTION TO THE SRÔSH YAST.

1. Let Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent, and holy, of him) who is desired by us as at the first, so at the last; and so again may attentive Obedience be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda, the most beneficent and the holy who (is so) desired by us.

2. (Yea), let Sraosha (the attentive Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters, and for the Fravashis of the saints which are so desired by us, [and for (their¹) souls], as at the first, so at the last.

And thus again may Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters, and for the Fravashis of the saints, which are so desired by us, [(and) for (their) souls].

3. Let Sraosha (the listening Obedience) be present here for the worship of the good waters; yea, let the good Obedience be here for the worship of the good and bountiful Immortals who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, the good, and for the worship of the good Sanctity, or Blessedness, who is closely knit with the Righteous Order, to perfect us, and to incite us. May Sraosha (Obedience) be here present for the worship of the good waters, he the good and the holy², as at the first, so at the last.

¹ One might be inclined to render 'who are so desired by us for our souls.' But I think that the words are Pâzand to the preceding.

² Or, 'endowed with recompense.'

4. And so again may Sraosha, (Obedience) the good, be present here for the worship of the good waters, and of the good¹ and bountiful Immortals, and of Blessedness the good who is closely knit with the Righteous Order to perfect and to incite us². Yea, we worship Sraosha the blessed and the stately, who smites with victory, and who furthers the settlements in their advance, the holy lord of the ritual order³.

YASNA LVII (SP. LVI).

THE SRÔSH YAST⁴.

1. A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best, &c.

Propitiation be to Sraosha, Obedience the blessed, the mighty, the incarnate word of reason, whose body is the Māthra, him of the daring spear, devoted to the Lord, for (his) sacrificial worship, homage, propitiation, and praise.

¹ Of the female (feminine) names.

² Or, 'give to us.' The Ahuna and Ashem Vohû follow here.

³ The Yênhê hâtâm, &c. follows.

⁴ As Sraosha is the only divinity of the later groups mentioned in the first four Gâthas, this Yast would seem to have claims to antiquity next after the pieces in the Gâthic dialect. The name Sraosha does not appear to have lost its meaning as an abstract quality, notwithstanding the materialistic imagery. With Y. XXVIII, 6 in view, where Sraosha 'finds the way' to Ahura, or 'finds His throne,' we may understand that the worshippers, who first heard this Yast, praised listening obedience, or repentance, as they did nearly all the remaining abstract qualities, together with their principal prayers, and hymns themselves. The rhythm of the original has been somewhat imitated in the rendering given, as it is difficult to avoid doing so, and to avoid other objectionable features at the same time.

I.

2. We worship Sraosha, (Obedience) the blessed, the stately, him who smites with the blow of victory, and who furthers the settlements, the holy, (ruling) as the ritual lord. Him do we worship, who in ¹ the creation of Mazda the first adored Ahura, with the Baresman spread, who worshipped the Bountiful Immortals ² (first), who worshipped both the protector and the Creator, who are ³ (both) creating all things in the creation.

3. For his splendour and his glory, for his might, and the blow which smites with victory, I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads, with a Yasna loud intoned, him Obedience the blessed, with the consecrated waters, and the good Blessedness, the lofty, and Nairya-sangha, the stately; and may he draw near to us to aid us, he who smites with victory, Obedience the blessed!

4. We worship Sraosha, Obedience the blessed, and that lofty Lord who is Ahura Mazda Himself, Him who has attained the most to this our ritual, Him who has approached the nearest to us in our celebrations. And we worship all the words of Zarathustra, and all the deeds well done (for him), both those that have been done (in times gone by),

¹ So 'tradition.'

² Sraosha was not reckoned as one of the Ameshôspends at the time of the composition of this verse.

³ Comp. Y. XXX, 4; but Ahura and some one of the Immortals, or possibly Zarathustra (see Y. XLII, 2), must be meant here. Angra Mainyu could not have been worshipped as either protector or creator. Observe the present tense.

and those which are yet to be done (for him in times to come).

II.

5. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, him who smites with the blow of victory, who prospers the settlements, the holy ritual lord, (6) who first spread forth the Baresman, and the three bundles, and the five bundles, and the seven bundles, and the nine, till it was heaped for us knee-high, and to the middle of the thighs¹, for the Bountiful Immortals, for their worship, and their homage, and their propitiation, and their praise.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might, and the blow which smites with victory, I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads, with a Yasna loud intoned, him Obedience the blessed, with the consecrated waters.

III.

7. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, who furthers the settlements, the holy ritual chief.

8. Who first chanted the Gâthas, the five² Gâthas of Zarathustra, the Spitâma, the holy (with the fashion) of their metres³, and after the well-constructed order of their words, together with the Zand which they contain, and the questions⁴ which they

¹ Le Barsom est de cinq branches dans les Darouns ordinaires. Il est de sept branches pour le Daroun No naber, pour le Freoueschi, et pour le Gâhânâbâr. Il est de neuf branches pour le Daroun des Rois, et pour celui du Mobed des Mobeds (Anquetil).

² This proves that the Gâthas were greatly older than this Yast. That the Gâthas were originally five seems improbable; yet they had become reduced to that number at this time.

³ Nom. sing.?

⁴ Comp. *ta' thwâ peresâ*, &c.; 'questions back and forth.'

utter, and the answers which they give, for the Bountiful Immortals, for their sacrifice and homage, their propitiation, and their praise.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might

IV.

9. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, who smites with the blow of victory, and who furthers the settlements, the holy ritual chief, (10) who for the poor among (our) men and women built a mighty house¹, who after sunset, and with his levelled battle-axe, smites Aêshema bloody wounds, and having struck the head, casts him lightly (?)² (to the earth), as the stronger (smites) the weaker.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might

V.

11. We worship Sraosha, Obedience the blessed and the stately, him who smites with the blow of victory, who furthers the settlements, the holy ritual chief, as the energetic, and the swift, the strong, the daring (and redoubted) hero, (12) who comes back from all his battles (and comes from them) a conqueror, who amid the Bountiful Immortals sits as companion at their meeting³.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might

¹ One of the earliest notices of the kind.

² Hu + angh, or can sas = to be inactive, indicate a change?

³ This is possibly the origin of a later view which established Sraosha as one of the Immortals, to fill up the number seven without including Ahura. The original 'seven spirits' included Ahura.

VI.

13. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, who is the strongest and most persistent of the youths, the most energetic, and the swiftest, who of all the youths strikes most with terror¹ from afar (?). [Be ye desirous, O ye Mazdayasnians! of the Yasna of Obedience the blessed².]

14. Far from this house, this village, and this tribe, and from this country, the evil and destructive terrors (shall) depart. In the dwelling of that man in whose abode Obedience the blessed, who smites victoriously, is satisfied and welcomed, there is that holy man who thus contents him (most) forward in the thinking better thoughts, in the speaking truthful (ritual) words, and in the doing holy deeds³.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . .

VII.

15. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, who is the conqueror of the Kayadha, and the Kâidhya, who was the smiter of the Lie-demon of the Daêvas, the one veritably powerful, the destroyer of the world, who is the guardian and watchman over all the migrations (?) of the tribes.

16. Who sleeplessly and vigilant guards the creatures of Ahura, who sleeplessly and with vigilance

¹ =kat-tarestemem, comp. for form katpayãm.

² Possibly an ancient interpolation. Repetitions are curtailed.

³ This verse 14 may be an ancient extension of the Yast; it may of course be taken for granted that within a certain period at a very remote time, the Yast was altered and improved.

Verse 16 may have originally formed two sections; the formula 'we worship,' &c. having been omitted.

saves them, who with halberd raised on high guards all the corporeal world after setting of the sun, (17) who has never slept in quiet since the two Spirits made the worlds, [the bounteous and the evil one¹], who guards the homes of Asha, who battles all (?) the days long and the nights with all the Daêvas [(Pâzand) the Mâzanian], (18) nor terror-stricken does he turn in affright before (their power); but before him all the Daêvas turn in affright against their will, and rush to darkness in their fear.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might

VIII.

19. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whom Haoma worshipped on the highest height of high Haraiti, he Haoma, the reviver², and the healer, the beautiful, the kingly³, of the golden eye, (20) of the gracious words⁴, of the warning and the guarding words, who intones our hymns on every side⁵, who possesses understanding and of every brilliant form, which abounds in many an explanation⁶ and revelation of the word, who has the first place in the Mâthra.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might

IX.

21. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed,

¹ This seems a gloss; its import is correct.

² The renovator, as completing the progress which makes things fresh, *frashôkereti*.

³ Possibly compare *soma râgan*; but see the following adjective, and read as alternative 'brilliant.'

⁴ Possibly 'who excites to much speech.'

⁵ Comp. *pairi gaêthê*, Y. XXXIV, 2.

⁶ Having much Zand.

whose house stands with its thousand pillars, as victorious, on the highest height of high Haraiti, self-lighted from within, star-studded from without, (22) to whom the Ahuna-vairyā has come, the axe of victory¹, and the Haptanghâiti, and the Fshûshô-mâthra which smites with victory, and all the Yasna sections.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . .

X.

23. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, by whose might and victorious power, and wise conduct, and (full) knowledge, the Bountiful Immortals² descend upon this earth of seven quarters.

24. Who as teacher of the law will stride forth upon this earth with its dwellers in the body, and ruling as he will.

And in this Religion, Ahura Mazda has been confessed³ with faith, and the Good Mind likewise with Him, and Righteousness the Best, and Khshathra-vairyā, and Piety the Bounteous, and the Universal Weal and Immortality; and the question to the Lord is asked, and Mazda's lore (is written).

25. O Sraosha (Obedience), thou blessed one, and stately! protect us for the lives; yea, for both, (for that) of this world which is corporeal, and for the world of mind, against unhappy⁴ death, and the remorseless Wrath of rapine, against the hosts with ill-intent, who lift their bloody spears⁵ against us;

¹ Comp. Vend. XIX, 10.

² They listen to Obedience, and so descend.

³ The meaning 'doth confess,' if correct, would show a very great degeneration from the lore of the Gâthic period.

⁴ Lit. 'evil.'

⁵ Bannered spears; spears with streamers.

yea, against their assaults whom¹ the Wrath-demon will set on, and Vîdhâtu, demon-made. 26. Therefore may'st thou, O Sraosha, the blessed and the stately! grant swiftness to our teams, soundness to our bodies, and abundant observation² of our foes, and their smiting (as we mark them), and their sudden death.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might

XI.

27. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, whom four racers draw in harness, white and shining, beautiful, and powerful³, quick to learn, and fleet⁴, obeying before speech, heeding orders from the mind, with their hoofs of horn gold-covered, (28) fleeter than (our) horses, swifter than the winds, more rapid than the rain(-drops as they fall); yea, fleeter than the clouds, or well-winged birds, or the well-shot arrow as it flies⁵, (29) which overtake these swift ones all, as they fly after⁶ them pursuing, but which are never overtaken when they flee, which plunge away from both the weapons (hurled on this side and on that) and draw Sraosha with them, the good Sraosha and the blessed; which from both the weapons (those on this side and on that) bear the good Obedience the blessed, plunging forward in their zeal, when he takes his course from India on the East, and when he lights down in the West.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might

¹ The hosts. ² So the Pahlavi and Ner. See also Y. IX, 21.

³ *Spenta* can hardly mean 'holy' here.

⁴ *Âsava* for *asaya*(?); 'y' miswritten for 'v.' Comp. *gâtava* (form).

⁵ Reading *anghamanayau* for *anhê manayau*; otherwise, 'swifter than one's thought'(?).

⁶ Lit. 'not those after overtake.' Possibly 'these who all overtake those who fly with turned backs, who are not overtaken from behind.'

XII.

30. We worship Obedience the blessed and the stately, who though lofty and so high, yea, even to the girdle, yet stoops to Mazda's creatures, (31) who thrice within the day, and three times of a night, will drive on to that Karshvar *Hvaniratha*, called the luminous, as he holds in both the hands¹ and poizes his knife-like battle-axe, which flies as of itself, and to cleave the Daêvas' skulls, (32) to hew down Angra Mainyu, the wicked, and to hew down Rapine of the bloody spear, to hew down the Daêvas of Mazendran², and every Demon-god.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might . . .

XIII.

33. We worship Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed and the stately, him who smites with victory, both here and not here, and on this entire earth. And we worship all the (gifts) of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, the mighty, and the strong, whose body is the Mâthra.

Yea, we worship (all the martial gifts) of Sraosha (Obedience) the mighty, both armed with shielding armour, and a warrior strong of hand, skull-cleaver of the Daêvas, conquering the endowments³ of the conqueror, the holy conqueror of the conqueror, and (his) victorious powers, and the Ascendency which it bestows, and we worship

¹ Snaithis must designate a two-handed weapon.

² Observe how far West the word Daêva is applied; also, if Hindvô is not in a gloss in verse 29, the fact proves that a vast geographical extent was familiar to the writers of the Avesta.

³ Vanaitis, fem. as *vispau* refers to attributes celebrated in the Yart.

this Ascendency of Sraosha's (the same which conquers theirs); and that of Arsti do we praise as well. 34. And every house by Sraosha guarded do we worship, wherein the blessed friendly Sraosha is befriended and made welcome, where the holy man is far advanced (?) in holy thoughts, and righteous words and deeds.

For his splendour and his glory, for his might, which smites with victory, I will worship him with the Yasna of the Yazads, with a Yasna loud-intoned, him Obedience the blessed, with the consecrated waters, and the good Blessedness, the lofty, and Nairyasangha, the stately, and may he come to us to aid us, he who smites with victory, Obedience the blessed!

YASNA LVIII (Sp. LVII).

THE FSHŪSHÔ-MĀTHRA ¹.

1. (Introduction.) (To the increase of our homage and praise of God) we offer this service² which, as our defence³, may shield us, which is worship⁴ with its beneficent results; and Blessedness is with it of a verity⁵, and Piety as well. [(Pâzand) and of this worship the results here mentioned are the well-thought thought, the word well spoken, and the deed well done]; and let this our worship shelter us from the Daêva and from the evil-minded man. 2. And to this worship do we confide⁶ our settle-

¹ This piece in the Gâthic dialect has claims to an antiquity as high as Y. XII. It recalls the Gâthas in many ways. The increaser of cattle is identical with the thrifty tiller, and is the typical saint.

² The Pahlavi has *sûd* a partial transcription, but the word is obscure.

³ See *nipâtû*.

⁴ *Nem* with *KIR*.

⁵ *Hâ + ge*; comp. Indian *sa + gha*; or possibly from *ha*.

⁶ 'Make mention of.'

ments and persons for protection and care, for guarding, and for oversight; (3) and in this worship will we abide, O Ahura Mazda! and with joy.

In this worship do we exercise our choices; and to it will we approach, and to it will we belong; yea, to revering worship will we confide our settlements and persons for protection, and for care, for guarding, and for oversight, to such worship as is the praise of such as You¹.

MĀTHRA.

4. The owner of herds is the righteous (one), and he is victorious when he strikes, and thus he is the best; [(Pâzand) we therefore offer (this) service (for herd-owners²)] for the herd-owner is the father of the Kine by the help of him who follows the ritual order; and he is the father of the holy man as well, and of the sanctified creation³. He is in verity the bestower of blessings, and to him⁴, O Ye Bountiful Immortals⁵! we render, (and his do we make) Your greatness, Your goodness, and Your (spiritual) beauty, and let this man, the cattle-owner, approach to guard over us; and may he be our watchman together with the Righteous Order, and with store for our nourishment and full generous liberality, together with sharing of the goods⁶, with gentleness⁷, and with Ahura Mazda's sacred Fire!

¹ Khshmvâtô is often Gâthic for 'You.'

² Pâzand, as fshûshê is a plural, and not Gâthic. Or, 'we make men cattle-owners (we invite them to be such).'

³ The creation is mentioned in connection with the Kine. The typical saint stands at the head of the clean creation.

⁴ Whose?

⁵ See below.

⁶ Root vi + dâ (dhishâ); so also the Pahl. 'barâ dahisnîh.'

⁷ Akîñh va âtashiê î Aûharmazd-dâd. The word is difficult.

5. O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as Ye have made us, so do Ye save us, holy men, and saintly women (as we are, and steadfast in the faith)¹. Save us, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! Ye who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, for none other do I know, save You; then with Your Righteousness² do Ye save us.

6. And we offer hereby our thoughts, and words, and actions, our herds, and men, to the Bountiful Spirit. And may the creative stars of Ahura Mazda, the Creator, shine down on us, and round about us³ with full herds and healthy settlements, with healthy herds and healthy men, and with all in vigour, and endowed with the blessing of the Lord. 7. Praise to Thee, O Fire of Ahura Mazda! may'st thou come to (us in) the greatest one of the engrossing interests⁴ for the help of the great (effort), for the joy-producing grace of the great (interest of our cause); grant us both Weal and Deathlessness!

8. We sacrifice to the entire collection of the Praises of the Yasna, with the careful structure of their language which has reached the most its object. And we offer (our homage) in our celebrations to Thy body, O Ahura Mazda! the most beautiful of forms, these stars, and to that one, the highest of the high [(Pâzand) such as the sun was called]. Yea, we worship the Praises of the Yasna which were the production of the world of old.

¹ Or, 'male and female holy ones, (the Amesha).'

² Y. XXXIV, 7.

³ Lit. 'may we be closely beheld by the creative lights,' &c.

⁴ Allusion to *maze-yaunghô*.

YASNA LIX (SP. LVIII).

MUTUAL BLESSINGS.

1-17. (See Y. XVII, 1-17.) 18-27. (See Y. XXVI, 1-10.) 28. We worship Verethraghna, the Ahura-made, the victorious blow; and we worship the Saoshyant, who smites with victory; and we sacrifice to this Baresman with its Zaothra and its girdle (which is its band) and which is spread with sanctity. And we sacrifice to (our) own soul(s), and to (our) own Fravashi(s). 29. (See Y. XVII, 19.) 30. (The Ratu speaks): O thou good (servant of the Lord)! may that be thine which is better than the good; may'st thou acquire that which is (thine) own¹ in the Zaothra; may'st thou attain to that reward which the Zaotar has been obtaining², who is far advanced in his good thoughts, and words, and deeds.

31. (The Zaotar speaks): May that happen to you (likewise) which is better than the good, and may that not happen which is worse than the evil, and may that likewise not be my lot. 32. As (our) Ahû (is) excellent, so (is our) Ratu (one who rules) from his Righteousness, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda, and the Kingdom (is) to Ahura which to the poor will offer a nurturer. A blessing is Asha called the Best, &c. We sacrifice to the Ahuna-vairya; we sacrifice to Asha Vahista³ the most beautiful, the Bountiful

¹ Avô nafsman.

² Hanayamnô zungha, a periphrastic perfect.

³ Asha Vahista occurs as immediately suggested by the Ashem

Immortal. And we sacrifice to the Fshûshô-māthra, the by-spoken¹. And we sacrifice to the entire collection of the Praises of the Yasna; (yea), to the Yasna Praises which were instituted in the world of yore.

YASNA LX (SP. LIX).

PRAYERS FOR THE DWELLING OF THE SACRIFICER².

1. Thus that better than the good may he approach, who shows to us straight paths of profit appertaining to this bodily life and to the mental likewise, in the eternal (?) realms where dwells Ahura; yea, may he approach it, who is Thy worthy servant, and good citizen, O Great giver Lord³!

2. May these blessings approach this house, which are the wise perceptions of the saints, the sacred blessings bestowed through the ritual, their guileless characteristics, together with their recognition of what is due; and may the Righteous Order appear for this village, and the Divine Sovereign Power, together with the benefit and glorious welfare (which ensues),

3. And with these the long enduring prominence of this Religion of Ahura's, the Zārazhustrian Faith. And may the Kine⁴ be now with greatest speed within (the farm-yard of) this house, most speedily

Vohû formula, Asha Vahista seems therefore a proper name, both here and in the formula, if one place explains the other (?).

¹ The ever-spoken (?). The Yēnhê and Ahuna follow.

² Said on the visitation of farm-houses by the travelling priest.

³ See Y. XLIII, 3.

⁴ Gaus seems feminine here, and used collectively, and *hata* has the Indian sense of *sata*.

may the rewarded sanctity and the strength of the holy man be here, most speedily as well Ahura's lore. 4. And may the good and heroic and bountiful Fravashis of the saints come here, and may they go hand in hand with us with the healing virtues of (their) blessed gifts as wide-spread as the earth, as far-spread as the rivers, as high-reaching¹ as the sun, for the furtherance² of the better men, for the hindrance of the hostile, and for the abundant growth of riches and of glory.

5. May Sraosha (Obedience) conquer disobedience³ within this house, and may peace triumph over discord here, and generous giving over avarice, reverence³ over contempt, speech with truthful words over lying utterance. May the Righteous Order gain the victory over the Demon of the Lie⁴.

6. As in this (house) the Bountiful Immortals seek for good Yasnas and good praises from the blessed Sraosha (who governs here), and as they seek for (one) good sacrifice and act of homage (more especially their own) which is a good offering⁵ (to them) for (our) salvation, and a good offering in praise, together with a long continued offering of the entire self⁶, (7) let not then (their) brilliant glory⁷ ever desert this house, nor the bright abundance, nor an illustrious⁸ offspring legitimately⁹ born, nor that long continued companionship which is the

¹ Earth-wide, stream-long, sun-high. ² Isti seems a dative.

³ The name Sraosha had not lost its original meaning; so of Âr(a)maiti.

⁴ Asha-Drugem?

⁵ Possibly, 'good support.'

⁶ Pahl. benafsman.

⁷ Hvâthrava/ hvarenô determines the sense. ⁸ See 'hvâthrava.'

⁹ The Pahl. does not necessarily render 'heavenly;' the word elsewhere means 'original.'

furtherance of that good blessedness which teaches concerning glory¹. 8-10 (= Y. VIII, 5-7).

11. In order that our minds may be² delighted, and our souls the best, let our bodies be glorified as well, and let them, O Mazda! go likewise openly (unto Heaven) as the best world³ of the saints as devoted to Ahura, (12) and accompanied by Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and the most beautiful! And may we see Thee, and may we, approaching, come around about Thee, and attain to entire companionship with Thee! And we sacrifice to the Righteous Order, the best, the most beautiful, the bounteous Immortal!

YASNA LXI (SP. LX).

1. Let us peal⁴ forth the Ahuna-vairya in our liturgy between the heaven and earth, and let us send forth the Asha Vahista in our prayer the same, and the Yênhê hâtâm. And let us send forth in our liturgies between the heaven and earth the pious and good prayer of the pious man for blessings, (2) for the encounter with, and for the displacement of Angra Mainyu with his creatures which are likewise evil as he is, for he is filled with death (for those whom he has made). Aye, let us send that petition forth for the encounter with, and for the dislodgment of the *Kahvaredhas* and of the individual *Kahvaredha*⁵ the male, and the female

¹ Or, 'welfare.'

² *Aunghân*.

³ The nom. is difficult. The Ashem Vohû and Ahuna follow.

⁴ De Harlez, 'faisons retentir.'

⁵ The Pahlavi perhaps 'diminishers;' Darmesteter, 'causing to pine.'

(to the last individual of each), (3) and for the encounter with, and the dislodgment of the Kayadhas, and of the individual Kayadhians, male and female¹, and of the thieves and robbers, of the Zandas², and the sorcerers, of the covenant breakers, and of those who tamper with the covenants. 4. Yea, we send it forth for the encounter with, and for the overthrow of the murderers of the saints, and of those who hate and torment us for our Faith, and of those who persecute the ritual, and the tyrant full of death. Yea, let us peal them forth for the encounter with, and the overthrow of the wicked, O Zarathustra Spitama! whoever they may be, whose thoughts, and words, and works are not congenial to the holy ritual laws.

5. And how shall we drive the Demon of the Lie from hence from us³? Aye, how shall we, the prophets who are yet to serve and save (thy people), drive the Drug from hence, so that we, having power over her as being utterly without power, may drive her hence with blow from the seven Karshvars, for the encounter with, and for the dislodgment of the entire evil world⁴?

YASNA LXII (Sp. LXI).

TO THE FIRE.

1. I offer my sacrifice and homage to thee, the Fire, as a good offering, and an offering with our hail

¹ 'Cannibals' has been suggested as the meaning here.

² The later Zendiks are of course not meant, unless we have an interpolation.

³ Citation from the Gáthas, Y. XLV, 6.

⁴ Citations follow.

of salvation, even as an offering of praise with benedictions, to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son ! Meet for sacrifice art thou, and worthy of (our) homage. And as meet for sacrifice, and thus worthy of our homage, may'st thou be in the houses of men (who worship Mazda). Salvation be to this man who worships thee in verity and truth, with wood in hand, and Baresman ready, with flesh in hand, and holding too the mortar. 2. And may'st thou be (ever) fed with wood as the prescription orders. Yea, may'st thou have thy perfume justly, and thy sacred butter without fail, and thine andirons regularly placed. Be of full-age as to thy nourishment, of the canon's age as to the measure of thy food, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son ! 3. Be now aflame¹ within this house ; be ever without fail in flame ; be all ashine within this house ; be on thy growth² within this house ; for long time be thou thus to the furtherance of the heroic (renovation), to the completion of (all) progress, yea, even till the good heroic (millennial) time when that renovation shall have become complete. 4. Give me, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son ! a speedy glory, speedy nourishment, and speedy booty, and abundant glory, abundant nourishment, abundant booty, an expanded mind, and nimbleness of tongue for soul and understanding, even an understanding continually growing in its largeness, and that never wanders³, and long enduring virile power, (5) an offspring sure of foot, that never sleeps on watch [not for a third part of the day, or night], and that rises quick from bed⁴, and

¹ Or, 'for giving light.'

² Or, 'to give light' ? comp. ukhshânô and ukhshâ.

³ Read apairyâthem.

⁴ Or, 'has the quickest place.'

likewise a wakeful offspring, helpful to culture, or reclaim, legitimate, keeping order in men's meetings, (yea,) drawing men to assemblies through their influence and word, grown to power, skilful, redeeming others from oppression, served by many followers, which may advance my line (in prosperity and fame), and (my) Vîs, and my Zantû, and (my) province, (yea, an offspring) which may deliver orders to the Province as (firm and righteous rulers). 6. And may'st thou grant me, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's Son! that whereby instructors may be (given) me, now and for evermore, (giving light to me of Heaven) the best life of the saints, brilliant, all glorious. And may I have experience¹ of the good reward, and the good renown, and of the long forecasting preparation of the soul. 7. The Fire of Ahura Mazda addresses this admonition to all for whom he cooks the night and morning (meal). From all these, O Spitama! he wishes² to secure good care, and healthful care (as guarding for salvation), the care of a true praiser. 8. At both the hands of all who come by me, I, the Fire, keenly look: What brings the mate to his mate (thus I say to him), the one who walks at large, to him who sits at home? [We worship the bounteous Fire, the swift-driving charioteer³.]

9. And if this man who passes brings him wood brought (with good measure that is) with sacred care, or if he brings the Baresman spread with sanctity, or

¹ Bartholomae follows tradition boldly here, rendering 'aushalten, festhalten an; giriftar yehvînâni(î).'

² Or, 'is worshipped for.'

³ This curious gloss seems thrown in as a solace to the Fire for the expression preceding. It savours of the *Rîk*.

the Hadhânaêpata plant, then afterwards Ahura Mazda's Fire will bless him, contented, not offended, and in (its) satisfaction (saying thus). 10. May a herd of kine be with thee, and a multitude of men, may an active mind go with thee, and an active soul as well. As a blest soul may'st thou live through thy life, the nights which thou shall live. This is the blessing of the Fire for him who brings it wood (well) dried, sought out for flaming, purified with the earnest blessing of the sacred ritual truth¹. 11. We strive after the flowing on of the good waters, and their ebb² as well, and the sounding of their waves, desiring their propitiation; I desire to approach them with my praise³. 12 = Y. III, 24, 25.

YASNA LXIII⁴ (SP. LXII).

(See Y. XV, 2; Y. LXVI, 2; Y. XXXVIII, 3.)

YASNA LXIV (SP. LXIII).

(See Y. XLVI, 3; Y. L, 6-11.)

YASNA LXV (SP. LXIV).

TO ARDVI SÛRA ANÂHITA, AND THE WATERS.

1. I will praise the water Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the wide-flowing (as it is) and healing in its influence,

¹ The Ashem Vohû occurs here.

² Or, 'falling.'

³ See as alternative Darmesteter's masterly rendering of the Âtas Nyâyis, 7-18.

⁴ This chapter is composed of short passages from other portions of the Yasna collected together possibly for the purpose of filling out the number of sections to some figure no longer known.

efficacious against the Daêvas, devoted to Ahura's lore, and to be worshipped with sacrifice within the corporeal world, furthering all living things¹(?) and holy, helping on the increase and improvement of our herds and settlements, holy, and increasing our wealth, holy, and helping on the progress of the Province, holy (as she is)? 2. (Ardvi Sûra Anâhita) who purifies the seed of all male beings, who sanctifies the wombs of all women to the birth, who makes all women fortunate in labour, who brings all women a regular and timely flow of milk, (3) (Ardvi Sûra Anâhita) with a volume sounding from afar², which is alone equal in its bulk to all the waters which flow forth upon earth, which flows down with mighty volume from high Hukairya to the sea Vouru-kasha. 4. And all the gulfs³ in Vouru-kasha are stirred (when it falls down), all the middle doth well up when Ardvi Sûra Anâhita rushes in, when she plunges foaming into them, she, whose are a thousand tributaries, and a thousand outlets, and each as it flows in, or rushes out, is a forty days' ride in length to a rider mounted well.

5. And the (chief) outlet to this one water (Ardvi Sûra Anâhita) goes apart, dividing to all the seven Karshvars. And this outlet to my river, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, bears off its waters always in summer and in winter. This my river purifies the seed of men, and wombs of women, and women's milk⁴.

6. Let the saints' Fravashis now draw near, those of the saints who live, or have lived, of those born, or yet to be born; yea, let them come near which

¹ The Pahlavi has *gân*, or *gûy*, in which latter case the meaning 'springs' would be better.

² Or, 'famed from afar.'

³ Lit. 'sides.'

⁴ See Darmesteter's *Âbân Yast*, I-V.

have borne these waters up stream from the nearest ones (that lie below as the outlet pours away ¹).

7. Let not our waters be for the man of ill intent, of evil speech, or deeds, or conscience ; let them not be for the offender of a friend, not for an insulter of a Magian ², nor for one who harms the workmen, nor for one who hates his kindred. And let not our good waters (which are not only good, but) best, and Mazda-made, help on the man who strives to mar our settlements which are not to be corrupted, nor him who would mar our bodies, (our) uncorrupted (selves), (8) nor the thief, or bludgeon-bearing ruffian who would slaughter the disciples, nor a sorcerer, nor a burier of dead bodies, nor the jealous, nor the niggard, nor the godless heretic who slays disciples, nor the evil tyrant among men. Against these may our waters come as torments. As destructive may these come (?), may they come to him who has done those first (foul evils), as to him who does the last ³.

9. O waters ! rest ⁴ still within your places while the invoking priest shall offer.

Shall not the invoker make offering to these good waters, and with the inculcated words ? (And how shall this be done ?) Shall he not be tongue-fettered, if he offers else than with the ritual ? Shall (not) the words be so delivered as the Aêthrapaiti teaches ? Where shall the blessings be (inserted) ? Where the supplications with confessions ? Where the gifts of those that offer ? 10 ⁵. (It shall be only thus) as Ahura Mazda showed before to Zarathustra, and as Zara-

¹ Or, 'drawn up in vapours for the supply of the waters by the rain.'

² So the indication of the Pahlavi.

³ î-dî.

⁴ Or, 'rejoice ye.'

⁵ Response.

thustra taught the corporeal worlds (thé men on earth)! Thou shalt pray the first petition to the waters, O Zarathustra, and after that thou shalt offer the Zaothras to the waters, sanctified, and sought out with pious care; and thou shalt pronounce these words (as follows, thus): (11) O ye waters, I beseech of you this favour; and grant ye me this great one in whose bestowal ye flow down to me for the bettering (of my state), with a never-failing truth. O ye waters, I beseech of you for wealth of many kinds (which gives) power (to its holder ¹), and for an offspring self-dependent whom multitudes will bless, and for whose wasting, or defeat, or death, or vengeful punishment, or overtaking, no one prays.

12. And this do I beseech of you, O waters, this, O ye lands, and this, ye plants! This wealth and offspring I beseech of You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, who dispose (of all) aright, O Ye good beings, male and female ², givers of good things; and this I beseech of you, O ye beneficent, mighty, and overwhelming Fravashis of the saints, and this (of thee), O Mithra of the wide pastures, and this of thee, O blest and stately Sraosha; and of thee, O Rashnu the most just, and of thee, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's son; and of thee, O lofty lord, the royal Apām-napât, of the fleet horses; aye, of You all, ye Yazads, bestowers of the better gifts and holy.

13. And this do ye therefore grant me, O ye holy waters, and ye lands ³!

14. And grant me likewise what is still greater than this all, and still better than this all, and more

¹ Powerful.

² Some of the names are in the feminine.

³ Here repeat as above from 'O ye plants' to 'givers of the better thing and holy.'

beautiful, and more exceeding precious (and that is, Immortality and Welfare ¹), O Ye Yazads, holy and ruling mightily, and powerful at once, and grant it speedily according to this Gâthic (?) word: (Yea), by veritable grace let that be done ² (?) for us which is most promotive of our weal. 15. And according to this further word again: Grant me, Thou who art maker of the Kine, the plants, and the waters, Immortality and likewise Weal, O Ahura Mazda, Thou most bounteous Spirit. And grant me these two eternal gifts through Thy Good Mind in the doctrine ³.

16-18. (See Y. XV, 2; Y. LVI, 3-4 ⁴.)

YASNA LXVI (Sp. LXV).

TO THE AHURIAN ONE ⁵.

1. I am now offering this Zaothra here with sanctity ⁶, together with the Haoma and the flesh, and the Hadhânaêpata lifted up with sacred regularity as to thee, O Ahurian One, for the propitiation of Ahura Mazda, of the Bountiful Immortals, of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and of the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the ritual's lofty lord. 2. Y. VII, 5-19. 3. Y. XXII, XXVIII, 24-27.

YASNA LXVII (Sp. LXVI).

1-4. (See Y. XXIII, 1-4, replacing 'I desire to approach with sanctity' by 'I offer with sanctity'; see also Y. VII, 24.) 5-7. (See Y. XXXVIII, 3-5.)

¹ See below.

² See Y. L, 11.

³ See Y. LI, 7.

⁴ The Ahuna and Ashem Vohû follow.

⁵ I should say Ardvî Sûra Anâhita; see Y. LXVIII, 10, where the good waters are addressed as Ahurian Ones of Ahura.

⁶ Or, 'for a blessing.'

YASNA LXVIII (SP. LXVII).

TO THE AHURIAN ONE, AND THE WATERS.

1. We offer this to thee, O Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura! as a help¹(?) for life. If we have offended thee, let this Zaothra then attain to thee (for satisfaction), for it is thine with its Haoma, and its milk, and its Hadhânaêpata. 2. And may'st thou approach to me for milk and for libation, O Zaothra! as health, for healing, and for progress, for growth and in preparation for ceremonial merit, for good renown, for equanimity², and for that victory which makes the settlements advance.

3. Yea, we worship thee with sacrifice, O thou Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura with the Zaothras of the good thought; and we worship, O Ahura, one with the Zaothras of the good word and deed (4) for the enlightenment of the thoughts, and words, and actions, for preparation for the soul, for the settlement's advance, and to prepare the saints endowed with ritual merit.

5. And grant me, O thou Ahurian One! Heaven, and to have an offspring manly and legitimate, who may promote my house, my village, my tribe and province, and the authority thereof.

6. We sacrifice to thee, O thou Ahurian one! And we sacrifice to the sea Vouru-kasha, and to all waters upon earth, whether standing, or running, or waters of the well, or spring-waters which peren-

¹ The Pahlavi translator saw the root av in this sense here with K4, 11; P6, but the form is strange.

² So the Pahlavi indicates with no impossible suggestion.

nially flow, or the drippings of the rains, or the irrigations of canals. 7. With this hymn from the (spirit of) the Yasna do we worship thee, and with the homage which it offers as it is the most legitimate¹ Yasna, and homage of them (all) because of Righteousness the Best. We sacrifice to the good waters, and to the best, which Mazda created. 8. And we sacrifice to the two, to the milk and to the libation, which make the waters flow, and the plants sprout forth, opposing therein the Dragon Daêva-made, for the arrest of that cheat the Pairika, and to contradict the insulting malice of the Ashemaogha (the disturber and destroyer of our Faith), and of the unholy tyrant full of death, and of the human Daêva (worshipper) of hateful malice (and intent).

9. And may'st thou hear our sacrificial chants, O thou Ahurian (daughter) of Ahura! Yea, be propitiated by our Yasna, O Ahurian one! and so may'st thou be present² at our Yasna; may'st thou come to us to help, as we chant our full-offered Yast, with the full offering of Zaothras.

10. If any man shall sacrifice to you, O ye good waters, the Ahurian ones of Ahura! with the best and most fitting Zaothras offered piously, (11) to that man ye give both splendour and glory, with health and vigour of the body and prominence of form; yea, to him ye give possessions which entail abundant glory, and a legitimate scion, and a long enduring life, and (Heaven at the last), the best life of the saints, shining, all glorious. 12. And to me also do ye now give it, to me who am offering this Yasna as a priest³.

¹ Or 'virtuous,' with Darmesteter.

² May'st thou sit.

³ Zôto ũ yastar hômanam.

(Response¹.) And to us Mazdayasnians who are likewise offering sacrifice, do ye grant (both the desire and knowledge of the path that is correct²), to us colleagues, and disciples, Aêthrapaitis and Aêthryas, men and women as well as children, and maidens of the field, (13) who think good only, for the overwhelming of oppression and of malice in the raids of the invader, and in face of foes who hate. Grant to us both the desire³ of, and the knowledge of that straightest path, the straightest because of Righteousness, and of (Heaven) the best life of the Saints, shining, all glorious. As the Ahû is excellent, so is the Ratu (one who rules) from the Righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness and of life's actions done for Mazda. And the kingdom (is) for Ahura, which to the poor may offer nurture. 14. (The Zaothar speaks): I beseech with my benediction for a safe abode, for a joyful and a long abode for the dwellers in this village from whence these Zaothras (which I offer come). And I pray in my benediction for a safe abode, and a quiet and a joyful one, and a long abiding to every Mazdayasnian village, and for a succour even with my wants, for a succour with salutations of salvation, and for one with praises, O Fire⁴! and for thee, O Ahurian one of Ahura! do I ask the fullest Yast.

15. And I pray for (?) Râman *Hvâstra* for this Province, and for healthfulness and healing. And I pray for it with my blessing for you pious men, for all. And I pray for him who is saintly with (true) goodness, whosoever he may be, between heaven

¹ Or, 'the priest continues speaking for the people.' ² See below.

³ Or, 'this desire, the knowledge.'

⁴ Or, 'of the Fire.'

and the earth, for a thousand healing remedies, and for ten thousand of the same.

16-19. (See Y. VIII, 5-8.) 20. Thus may it happen as I pray. 21. And by this may I gain¹ (that) blessing, the good Blessedness (our sanctity rewarded). And we address, and we invoke religious zeal and capability, and the waters with our Yasna² thus: O ye good waters! since (they are) yours, do ye, as you are asked, grant splendour and grant glory, ye who are well able so to give; and do ye, O ye waters! grant (once more) that helpful blessing which was gained from you of old!

22. Praise (be) to Ahura Mazda, and to the Bountiful Immortals. Praise (be) to Mithra of the wide pastures. Praise to the fleet-horsed sun. Praise to (the star which so we name, and with this sun) Ahura Mazda's eyes. Praise to the Kine³ (the herds of blessed gift). Praise to Gaya (Maretan) and to the Fravashi of Zarathustra (first of) saints; yea, praise to the entire creation of the holy (and the clean), to those now living, and to those just passing into life, and to those of days to come. 23. And do Thou then Ahura, as in answer to these our prayers and songs of praise, cause us to prosper to salvation through Thy Good Mind, the Sovereign Power, and Thy Righteous Order (in Thy ritual and law⁴)!

¹ Or, 'the good wisdom' from the second dâ (good adjustment).

² Passages follow from Y. XXXVIII, 2-5.

³ The Gâthic Kine.

⁴ See Y. XXXIII, 10. Citations follow from Y. XXXVI, 6; Y. XLIII, 6, also the Ashem and Y. III, 24, 25; then Y. XLVII, 1-7. Then the words 'we worship the chapter Spentâ-mainyu from the beginning,' then the Yênhê hâtâm.

YASNA LXIX (SP. LXVIII).

This chapter is composed of fragments: see Y. XV, 2; and Y. LI, 1 and 22.

YASNA LXX (SP. LXIX).

TO THE BOUNTIFUL IMMORTALS, AND THE
INSTITUTIONS OF RELIGION.

1. I would worship these (the Bountiful Immortals) with my sacrifice, those who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, and this one (especially) I would approach with my praise, (Ahura Mazda). He is thus hymned (in our praise-songs). Yea, we worship in our sacrifice that deity and lord, who is Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the gracious helper, the maker¹ of all good things; and we worship in our sacrifice Zarathustra Spitâma, that chieftain (of the rite).

2. And we would declare those institutions established for us, exact (and undeviating as they are). And I would declare forth those of Ahura Mazda, those of the Good Mind, and of Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and those of Khshatra-vairya (the Realm to be desired), and those of the Bountiful Âramaiti (the Piety within us), and those of Weal and Immortality, and those which appertain to the body² of the Kine, and to the Kine's soul, and those which appertain to Ahura Mazda's Fire, (3) and those of Sraosha (Obe-

¹ Reading tashvau nghem(?) (comp. dadhvau nghem), according to the indication of the Pahlavi.

² Tashan with change of accent. So the Pahlavi indicates.

dience) the blessed, and of Rashnu the most just, and those of Mithra of the wide pastures, and of (the good and) holy Wind, and of the good Mazdayasnian Religion, and of the good and pious Prayer for blessings, and those of the good and pious Prayer which frees one from belying, and the good and pious Prayer for blessing against unbelieving words¹. 4. (And these we would declare) in order that we may attain unto that speech which is uttered with (true) religious zeal, or that we may be as prophets of the provinces, that we may succour him² who lifts his voice (for Mazda³), that we may be as prophets who smite with victory, the befriended of Ahura Mazda, and persons the most useful to Him⁴, holy men (indeed) who think good thoughts, and speak good words, and do good deeds. 5. That he may approach us with the Good Mind⁵, and that (our souls) may advance in good, let it thus come; yea, 'how may my soul advance in good? let it thus advance⁶.'

6. We praise the flood and ebb of the good waters, and their roar, and that high Ahura, the royal Apām-napât, the glittering one, of the fleet horses; and this for the sacrifice, and homage, and propitiation, and praise of the entire holy creation; and may Sraosha (Obedience) be here (to aid us). 7. (Yea), we sacrifice to Sraosha, Obedience the blessed⁷.

¹ Read the gloss to the Pahlavi in Visp. IX, 3, anêranîhâ.

² Or, barentû, 'let them lift.'

³ Y. XXXI, 12.

⁴ See Y. XXXI, 22.

⁵ Y. XLIV, 1.

⁶ Y. XLIV, 8.

⁷ The Yênhê hâtâm.

YASNA LXXI (Sp. LXX).

THE YASNA CONCLUDING.

1. Frashaostra, the holy, asked the saintly Zarathustra: Answer me, O thou most eminent Zarathustra, what is (in very truth) the memorised recital of the rites?

What is the completed delivery of the Gâthas¹?

2. Upon this Zarathustra said: (It is as follows.) We worship Ahura Mazda with our sacrifice (as) the holy lord of the ritual order; and we sacrifice to Zarathustra likewise as to a holy lord of the ritual order; and we sacrifice also to the Fravashi of Zarathustra, the saint. And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals, (the guardians²) of the saints. 3. And we sacrifice to (all) the good heroic and bounteous Fravashis of the saints, of the bodily (world on earth), and of the mental (those in Heaven). And we worship that one of ritual lords who attains the most his ends; and we sacrifice to that one of the Yazads, lords of the ritual order, who is the most strenuous, who gains the most, who reaches most to what he seeks, even that well-timed Prayer which is the prayer of that holy ritual lord, and which has approached the nearest (to us for our help).

4. We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of

¹ This, while very ancient as regards us, is of course not genuine in its present shape. It was doubtless composed long after Frashaostra and Zarathustra had ceased to live. It may be, however, an expansion of an earlier document.

² 'The Amesha Spenta of the holy ones.'

the ritual order, and we worship His entire body¹, and we worship the Bountiful Immortals all; and we worship all the ritual lords. And we sacrifice to the entire Mazdayasnian Faith. And we worship all the sacred metres.

5. And we worship the entire bounteous Māthra, even the entire system of the Faith set up against the Daēvas; and we worship its complete and long descent. And we sacrifice to all the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly; and we worship all the good, heroic, and bountiful Fravashis of the saints.

6. And we worship all the holy creatures which Mazda created, and which possess the holy institutions², which were established holy in their nature³, which possess the holy lore, and the holy sacrifice, which are holy, and for the holy, and to be worshipped by the holy. And we worship all the five⁴ Gāthas, the holy ones, and the entire Yasna [its flow and its ebb⁵, and the sounding (of its chants)]. 7. And we sacrifice to all the Praises of the Yasna, and to all the words which Mazda spake, which are the most fatal to evil thoughts, and words, and deeds; (8) and which designate⁶ the evil thought, and word, and deed, and which then cut down and fell every evil thought, and word, and deed. [(Pâzand.) One would think of it as

¹ The heavenly bodies are thus termed elsewhere, and the sun is called his eye. { written for it.

² Possibly, 'were created pure.'

³ 'Shaped holy.'

⁴ Or, 'are worshipped as holy,' vahmyāta, or yēsnyāta.

⁵ This figure is too advanced to be probable. The text has been disturbed. The words describe the waters elsewhere.

⁶ So with the Pahlavi, referring the word to the third kar, the root of khratu, passive (?) form, with active sense. It also, however, not impossibly might mean 'cut around,' preparatory to felling.

when the fire cuts, sucks out, and consumes the dry wood which has been sanctified and carefully selected (for its flame).] And we sacrifice to the strength, the victory, the glory, and the speed of all these words (as they go forth for their work). 9. And we sacrifice to all the springs of water, and to the water-streams as well, and to growing plants, and forest-trees¹, and to the entire land and heaven, and to all the stars, and to the moon and sun, even to all the lights without beginning (to their course)². And we sacrifice to all cattle, and to the aquatic beasts, and to the beasts that live on land, and to all that strike the wing, and to the beasts that roam the plains, and to those of cloven hoof. 10. And to all Thy good and holy female (creatures) in the creation do we sacrifice, (O Thou who art) Ahura Mazda³ the skilful maker ! on account of which Thou hast made many things and good things (in Thy world). And we sacrifice to those male creatures in the creation which are Thine and which are meet for sacrifice because of Asha Vahista (of Righteousness the Best). And we sacrifice to all the mountains brilliant with holiness, and to all the lakes which Mazda created, and to all fires. And we sacrifice to all the truthful and correctly spoken words, (11) even those which have both rewards and Piety within them. Yea, we worship (you) for protection and shielding, for guarding and watching; and may ye be to me for preparation.

I call upon the Gâthas here, the bountiful holy ones,

¹ Elsewhere rendered 'stems.'

² Not determined like the course of a planet.

³ We should expect the vocative after 'Thy.'

ruling in the ritual order ; yea, we sacrifice to you, (O ye Gâthas !) for protection and shielding, for guarding and watching. Mine may ye be as a preparation. For me, for (mine) own soul I call on (you) ¹, and we would worship (you) for protection and for shielding, for guarding and for watching. 12. And we sacrifice to Weal, the complete welfare, holy and ruling in its course in the ritual order ; and we sacrifice to Deathlessness (the immortal being of the good), holy, and ruling in the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the question of the Lord, and to His lore, the holy chiefs, and to the heroic Haptanghâiti, the holy lord of the ritual order. 13. (Frasha.) Let the holy Zarathustra himself seek out a friend and a protector. And I say² to thee (O Zarathustra !) to make to thee a friend holy beyond the holy, and truer than the true, for that is the better thing ; for he is evil who is the best to the evil, and he is holy to whom the holy is a friend³, (14) for these are the best of words, those which Ahura Mazda spoke to Zarathustra.

And⁴ do thou, O Zarathustra ! pronounce these words at the last ending of (thy) life. 15. For if, O Zarathustra ! thou shalt pronounce these words at the last ending of (thy) life I, Ahura Mazda, will keep your soul away from Hell. Yea, so far away shall I hold it as is the breadth and extension of the earth [(Pâzand) and the earth is as wide as it is long].

16. As thou dost desire, O holy (one) ! so shalt thou be, holy shalt thou cause (thy) soul to pass over

¹ Or, 'I would invoke (mine) own soul ;' see verse 18.

² Possibly the rejoinder of Frashaostra, or these are 'the best words' referred to in verse 14 ; but the section is a dialogue.

³ Y. XLVI, 6.

⁴ Ahura speaks.

the *Kinvaŋ* Bridge; holy shalt thou come into Heaven. Thou shalt intone the *Gâtha Ustavaiti*, reciting the salvation hail ¹.

17. We sacrifice to the active man, and to the man of good intent, for the hindrance of darkness, of wasting of the strength and life, and of distraction. And we sacrifice to health and healing, to progress and to growth, for the hindrance of impurity, and of the diseases of the skin ².

18. And we sacrifice to the (*Yasna's*) ending words, to those which end the *Gâthas*. And we sacrifice to the bounteous Hymns themselves which rule in the ritual course, the holy ones.

And we sacrifice to the Praise-songs of the *Yasna* which were the products of the world of yore; yea, we sacrifice to all the *Staota-Yêsnya* hymns. And we sacrifice to (our) own soul and to (our) *Fravashi*. 19-21. (See *Y. VI*, 14-16.) 22. I praise, invoke, and I weave my song to the good, heroic, bountiful *Fravashis* of the saints, to those of the house, and of the village, the district and the province, and to those of the *Zarathustrôtemas*. 23. And we sacrifice to the Fire, *Ahura Mazda's* son, the holy ritual chief.

And we sacrifice to this *Baresman* having the *Zaothra* with it, and its girdle with it, and spread with sanctity, the holy ritual chief. And we sacrifice to *Apãm-napât*, and to *Nairya-sangha*, and to that *Yazad*, the wise man's swift Curse.

And we sacrifice to the souls of the dead, [which are the *Fravashis* of the saints]. 24. And we sacrifice to that lofty Lord who is *Ahura Mazda* Himself.

¹ *Y. XLIII*, 1 follows.

² Diseases arising from filth.

25. And we pray (again) for the Kine (once more) with these gifts and (ceremonial) actions which are the best¹. 26-28. (See Y. VIII, 5-7.) 29-31. (See Y. LX, 11-13.)

YASNA LXXII. (See Y. LXI.)

¹ See Y. XXXV, 4; Y. XLVIII, 6.

VISPARAD.

VISPARAD I¹.

1. I announce ², and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the lords ³ of the spiritual creatures, and to the lords of the earthly creatures, to the lords ³ of those which live under the waters, and to the lords of those which live upon land, to the lords of those which strike the wing, and to the lords of those which roam (wild) upon the plains, to the lords of those of (home-beasts) of the cloven hoof, holy lords of the ritual order.

2. I announce, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Yearly festivals, the lords of the ritual order, to Maidhyô-zaremaya, the milk-giver, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Maidhyô-shema, the pasture-giver, and to Paitishahya, the corn-giver, and to Ayâthrima, the furtherer or breeder, the spender of the seed of males, and to Maidhyâiryas the cold ⁴, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Hamaspath-maêdhaya, the especial time for ritual deeds ⁵, holy lords of the ritual order.

¹ This Visparad consists of additions to various portions of the Yasna; and its several chapters generally follow the corresponding portions of the Yasna in the Vendidad Sâdah. The word Visparad means 'all the chiefs,' referring to the 'lords of the ritual.' Chapter I should be read immediately after Yasna I, 9.

² Or, 'I invite.'

³ Lords because ruling as chief objects of attention during their mention in the course of the sacrifice, also, as in this case, genii guarding over all of their class.

⁴ So De Harlez, admirably following the Pahl. sardîk (sic).

⁵ Pavan yazisn kardarih.

3. I announce, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the settlements of the future one, when the future ¹ shall produce them as it were anew, and I celebrate and will complete (my Yasna) to the Praises of the Yasna ² collected, completed, and much-offered, and to the Myazdas of the saints of the ritual, male and female.

4. And I announce, and will complete (my Yasna) to the Seasons, the lords of the ritual order, and to the heard recital of the Ahuna-vairya, and to Righteousness the Best, to him who has (?) our praise, and to the Yênhê hâtâm, the frequent chant of sacrifice ³, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order.

5. And I announce and complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, the holy, ruling in the ritual order, and to those women who bring forth many sons of many talents, Mazda-given, and holy lords of the ritual order, and to that (chant) which has its Ahû and its Ratu ⁴ (before it in the Yasna).

And I celebrate, and will complete (my sacrifice) to the Yasna Haptanghâiti ⁵, holy, and ruling in the ritual order, [and to the water Ardvi Anâhita ⁶].

6. And I announce, and I (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Ustavaiti, the holy, ruling in the ritual order, and to the mountains which shine

¹ *Aunghairyô*, a collective, or *zîzanen*, a participle.

² Here is praise to a part of the Yasna itself, although not yet recited in the V. S.

³ Its chief word is *yazamaidê*, it is 'the well-sacrificed,' the word often occurring.

⁴ Or, 'to him who is devoted to the Ahuna, with its Ahû and Ratu (?).'

⁵ Observe the priority of the Haptanghâiti; it should be read first.

⁶ Interpolated.

with holiness, the abundantly brilliant¹ and Mazda-made, the holy lords of the ritual order.

And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Spentâ-mainyu, the holy, ruling in the ritual order; and I celebrate and will complete (my Yasna) to Verethraghna (the blow of victory²) Ahura-given, the holy lord of the ritual order.

7. And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra, holy, ruling in the ritual order, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, and to Râman Hvâstra, the holy lords of the ritual order. And I celebrate and will complete my Yasna to the Gâtha Vahistôisti, the holy, ruling in the ritual order. And I celebrate and will complete my Yasna to the good and pious Prayer for blessings, the benediction of the pious³, and to that Yazad, the redoubted and swift Curse of the wise, the holy lord of the ritual order.

8. And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the Airyemâ-ishyô, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the Fshûshô-mâthra, and to that lofty lord Hadhaokhdha⁴, the holy lord of the ritual order.

9. And I announce, and (will) complete (my Yasna) to the questions asked of Ahura, and to the lore of Ahura, to the Ahurian Dahvyuma (Dahyuma), and to the Ahurian Zarathustrôtema, holy lords of the ritual order, and to the farm-house with its pastures

¹ This sense is most obvious.

² The 'fiend-smiting' is the common meaning of *vritrahâ*; but verethra is clearly 'victory' in Zend; *vritrá* also equals defensive valour.

³ Can *dahmahêta* mean 'the departed saint' here?

⁴ A lost part of the Avesta, two fragments of which only survive.

which give pasture to the Kine of blessed gift, and to the holy cattle-breeding man¹.

VISPARAD II².

1. In this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the lords of (the ritual) which are spiritual with my praise; and I desire to approach the earthly lords (as well). And I desire to approach the lords of the water with my praise, and the lords of the land; and I desire to approach with my praise those chiefs which strike the wing, and those which wander wild at large, and those of the cloven hoof, who are chiefs of the ritual (in their turn).

2. In this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the holy Yearly festivals with my praise, the lords of the ritual order, Maidhyô-zaremaya, the milk-giver, and Maidhyô-shema, the pasture-giver, and Paitishahya, the corn-giver, and Ayâthrima the breeder, the spender of the seed of males, Maidhy-âirya, the cold, Hamaspathmaêdhaya, the especial time for ritual duties, the holy lords of the ritual order.

3. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the future one of the settlements with my praise, the holy lord of the ritual order, when the future one shall produce (them as it were anew).

And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach all these chieftains of the ritual with my praise whom Ahura Mazda mentioned to Zarathustra

¹ Comp. Y. XXIX, 2. Y. I, 10-23 follows.

² Visparad II should be read after Yasna II, 8, of which it is an extension.

for sacrifice and homage because of Asha Vahista (of Righteousness the Best).

4. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach Thee¹, the lord, with my praise, Thou who art Ahura Mazda, the spiritual lord and regulator² of the spiritual creatures [the lord and regulator of the spiritual creation].

And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach thee, Zarathustra Spitâma, with my praise, the terrestrial (lord and regulator) of the terrestrial creation, [the lord and regulator of the terrestrial creation].

5. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the man who recites the ritual rites with my praise, who is maintaining thus the thought well thought, and the word well spoken, and the deed well done, and Piety the bountiful, even him³ who maintains the Mâthra of the Saoshyant, by whose actions the settlements are advanced in the righteous order.

6. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the (yearly) Seasons with my praise, the holy lords of the ritual order, and the Ahuna-vairya as it is recited, and Asha Vahista when he is lauded⁴, and the Yênhê hâtâm, the frequent chant of sacrifice.

7. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Gâtha Ahunavaiti with my praise.

¹ It is certainly not impossible that the idea of 'invoking the approach of Ahura' was meant, but 'approaching him' is more natural.

² Ahûmka ratûmka, applied to the same person, the usage arising from an erroneous rendering of the Ahuna-vairya; see Y. XIX, 12.

³ Yô, with K7b, K11, daretem, passive form; or, 'who (has) the Mâthra held.' The text must, however, be in disorder.

⁴ In the Ashem Vohû.

And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to worship those women with my praise who are well-portioned¹, and of good parentage, and who are stately in their growth; yea, I desire to approach that chant in my praise which has the Ahû and the Ratu, [for He is verily the one who has the Ahû and the Ratu, that is, Ahura Mazda²].

And I desire to approach the heroic Yasna Haptanghâiti in my praise, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order; and Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order.

8. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Gâtha Ustavaiti with my praise, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order; and I desire to approach those mountains³ with my praise which shine with holiness, abundantly glorious, Mazda-made, the holy lords of the ritual order, and the Gâtha Spentâ-mainyu, and Verethraghna, the blow of victory, Mazda-given, the holy lord of the ritual order, and the Victorious Ascendency (which it bestows).

9. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra with my praise, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order, and Mithra of the wide pastures, and Râman Hvâstra, and the Gâtha Vahistôisti, and the pious and good prayer for blessings, and the pious and holy man, and that Yazad, the redoubted and swift curse of the wise.

10. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the Airyemâ-ishyô with my

¹ So the Pahlavi.

² Erroneous Pâzand.

³ This sentence affords support to my rendering of âyêsê, as expressing a desire to approach, rather than one for the approach of (the Genius of) the Mountain; at the same time the latter idea may very possibly be the correct one. (Expressions are curtailed.)



praise, and the Fshûshô-māthra, and that lofty lord, the Hadhaokhdha, holy lord(s) of the ritual order.

11. And in this Zaothra with this Baresman I desire to approach the question asked of Ahura, and the lore of the Lord (which he reveals in answer), and the farm-house of the man possessed of pastures, and the pasture produced for the Kine of blessed gift, and the holy cattle-breeding man¹.

VISPARAD III.

BEGINNING OF THE HAOMA OFFERING; ROLL-CALL OF THE PRIEST².

1. (The Zaotar speaks.) (I call for) the Hâvanan³, and would have him here.

(The Ratu answers.) I will come (and fulfil his duties).

(The Zaotar speaks.) I would have the Âtarevakhsha⁴ here.

(The Ratu answers.) I will come (and fulfil the services which fall to his charge).

(The Zaotar.) I would have the Frabaretar⁵.

(The Ratu.) I will come (and fulfil the services which fall to his charge).

(The Zaotar.) I would have the Âberet⁶ present.

(The Ratu.) I will come (for him).

¹ Y. II, 10 follows Visparad II, 11.

² This chapter 1-5 follows Y. XI, 1-8 in the Vendîdâd Sâdah; so, appropriately.

³ The Ratu answers for all according to the rubric printed by Westergaard, but of later origin than the text. It arose from the fact that the several offices were later united in that of the Ratu. Originally the corresponding official answered to his title. The Hâvanan was the Mobad who pounded the Haoma in the mortar.

⁴ The Mobad who fed the Fire.

⁵ The Mobad who aided the presentations. ⁶ The water carrier.

(The Zaoatar.) I would have the Âsnatar ¹.

(The Ratu.) I will come (and do the duties which he serves).

(The Zaoatar.) I would have the Raêthwiskar ² to be here.

(The Ratu.) I will come (for him).

(The Zaoatar.) I would have the Sraoshâvareza ³ present, the wisest one, the most correct and veracious in his speech.

(The Ratu.) I will come. 2. (The Zaoatar.) I would have the Fire-priest to be here, and the warrior, and the thrifty tiller ⁴ of the earth, and the house-lord, and the lords of the Vts and the Zantu.

3. And I summon the youth of holy thoughts, words and works, and of good conscience ; (yea), the youth of good speech, given (in marriage) to his kin ⁵. And I summon the province-ranger, and the itinerant of many arts, and the house-mistress.

4. And I summon the woman advanced in her holy thoughts, and words, and deeds, and well subordinated, whose ruler is her lord ⁶, the holy one, who is (as) the bounteous Âramaiti ; (yea), I summon even Thy wives, O Ahura ! And I summon likewise the holy man advanced in his good thoughts, and words, and deeds, who is learned in pious lore, and innocent of the Kayadha, and by whose deeds the settlements are furthered in the righteous order.

¹ The washer.

² The mixer (?), or the Mobad who attended to disinfections.

³ The Mobad who attended to penance.

⁴ The typical layman.

⁵ This important custom was fully treated in the lost Nask, No. 16 (or No. 18; by another reckoning).

⁶ So the most, but ratukhshathra means elsewhere 'ruling in the ritual as supreme.'

5. Yea, we summon you, whoever you may be, if only chiefs of the Mazdayasnians; and we summon the Bounteous Immortals, and the pious Saoshyants (the prophets for our help), the most correct and truthful in their speech, the most zealous, the most glorious in their thoughts, the greatest ones, and the powerful; and we summon the Fire-priests, and the warriors, and the diligent husbandman of the Mazdayasnian Faith.

6¹. (The Zaotar.) As an Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, the Âtarevakhsha (announcing) speaks forth ² to me.

(The Ratu[?].) So let the Ratu from his righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth.

(The Ratu.) As an Ahû to be (revered and) chosen, the Zaotar (announcing) speaks forth ² to me.

(The Zaotar.) So let the Ratu from (his) righteousness, holy and learned, speak forth.

(The Ratu.) Thou art the announcer for us, O Fire-priest! [(Pâzand.) It is the ³ Zaotar (who is meant).]

(The Zaotar.) I will come as this Zaotar, and recite the Staota Yêsnaya with memorised intoning, chanting, and praise.

VISPARAD IV (SP. V)⁴.

I. (Yea,) we sacrifice to the thoughts of the mind, and to the good wisdom, and to the good and blessed

¹ This section follows Y. XI, 9-15 in the V. S., preceding a section described as Y. XI, 59, 60, in the B. V. S.

² Probably in an imperative sense, or, with some, an infinitive.

³ Read Zaotasti which contains sandhi. It seems a gloss to explain the Âthraom (sic). It is zaotâ asti.

⁴ This section, preceding Y. XI, closed in the B. V. S., seems to me

sanctity, and to the good religious knowledge, and to good health (of soul and body). [At their (several) seasons, and with the presence of seasonable circumstances, they are hymned¹.] 2. Confession is to be made for the Kine; we, Zarathustrian Mazda-yasnians, celebrate at the sacrificial time for the Myazda-offering, at the time for the Ratufriti, the prayer for blessings, for the sacrificial worship, homage, propitiation, and praise of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

VISPARAD V (SP. VI)².

1. I come to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals! as a praiser priest, and invoker, as a memoriser, reciting (Your ritual), and as a chanter for Your sacrifice and homage, Your propitiation, and Your praise; (yea, for Yours) the Bountiful Immortals, and for our preparation, (O ye holy Saoshyants!) and for your well-timed prayer for blessings, and your sanctification, and for our victorious smiting of our foes, beneficial (as it is) for our souls, for ours, the Saoshyants, (with you), and holy. 2. And I make my offering to You, O Ye Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, and who dispose (of all) aright! (Yea), I offer You the flesh of my very body, and all the blessings of my life as well.

3. And I confess my belief in Thee, O Ahura

to belong properly after Yasna VIII, and the Myazda offering with the Ratufriti.

¹ Pâzand.

² This piece should be read after Yasna XIV, with which it is nearly identical. The language of the translation is slightly varied to relieve the effect of sameness.

Mazda! and as a Mazdayasnian of the order of Zarathustra, and in accordance with his Faith.

VISPARAD VI (SP. VII) ¹.

In accordance with the precept, with praise, and with the joyful reception of grace, with Zaothras intelligently offered, with sacrificial words correctly spoken, I call the good Amesha Spenta by their names of beauty; yea, I worship the Bountiful Immortals by their beautiful names, with the blessing of the ritual Order, with the longing blessing of Righteousness the good.

VISPARAD VII (SP. VIII) ².

1. We worship the (sacrificial) words correctly uttered, and Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and the good Ashi, (the blest order of our rites), and Nairya-sangha. And we worship the victorious Peace as the unprostrated and unmoved. And we sacrifice to the Fravashis of the saints, and to the *Kinvaŋ* Bridge, and to the Garô Nmâna of Ahura, even Heaven, the best world of the saints, the shining and all glorious!

2. And we sacrifice to that better path ³ that leads to that Best World (as well). And we worship Arstât (Justice) the good, which helps the settlements to advance and flourish, benefiting them thereby, that Arstât which is the Mazdayasnian Faith; and (with her) we worship Rashnu the most just, and

¹ Nearly identical with Yasna XV.

² This chapter should be read after Yasna XVII, which it appropriately follows in the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

³ Possibly 'the best (better) course of that best world.'

Mithra of the wide pastures. And we worship Pareñdi the wealthy, wealthy with a wealth of thoughts, with a throng of words, and with a breadth of actions, [for she makes our persons agile (for good thoughts and words and actions)]. 3. And we worship that virile defensive¹ Heroism which possesses men who think beforehand, and heroic men, which is fleeter² than the fleet, stronger than the strong, which comes to him who is endowed by God, which, when especially made theirs by men, produces one who is a freer of the body. And we worship Sleep³, the Mazda-made, the gladdener of the herd and men. 4. And we worship those things in the creation of the holy which are the ancient institutions, those formed before the sky, the water, the land, the plants, and the Kine of blessed gift. And we worship the sea Vouru-kasha, and the stormy wind which is made by Mazda, and the shining heaven, of old created, the first-made earthly object of (all) the earthly world.

5. And we worship thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! the holy lord of the ritual order, and this Baresman, having the Zaothra with it, and the girdle with it, spread out with sanctity, the holy ritual chief, and we worship Apām-napāt (the son of waters).

¹ One might consider, 'virile power which has men and heroes in the mind beforehand;' but vareti=gôrdîh.

² Âsyayau (sic) and takhmôtâsyayau (sic) agree with feminines; possibly because of the male qualities referred to. They might be said to be in apposition rather than in agreement with the feminine.

³ Sleep is elsewhere an evil; a Demon, Bûshyâsta, rules it; but this is untimely sleep; see, on the other hand, Y. XLIV, 5.

VISPARAD VIII (SP. IX).

1. With this word be Thou approached ¹, with the proper word be Thou present here, Thou who art Ahura Mazda, the holy, together with the good Yazads who are the Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, together with fifty, and a hundred, and a thousand, and ten thousand, and millions, and yet more.

2. And to Him who rules the best let the Kingdom be ²!

VISPARAD IX (SP. X) ³.

1. (I desire to offer my homage and my praise ⁴) to the offered Haomas and Zaothras, and to those also which shall yet be offered, which smite victoriously, and are foes of hatred, and following in company (as they do) with the healing virtues of sanctity, following also in company with those of *Kisti* (religious knowledge), and with the remedies of Mazda, and with those of Zarathustra and the Zarathustrôtéma, (2) and to the offered Haomas and Zaothras which accompany those remedies which belong to the holy disciple well versed in good devices ⁵, and accompanying those of the itinerant also versed in good devices ⁵, and accompanying those likewise of the good Mazdayasnian Faith, and those of the pious and beneficent Prayer for blessings, and of the pious and good veracity, and

¹ 'Mediated' (?), or 'known,' madhayangha (-uha).

² See Y. XXXV, 5.

³ This section should be read before Y. XXII.

⁴ Supplied necessarily from Visp. X, 2; see its genitive.

⁵ Or, 'sciences' (in some cases medical).

of the pious word against unbelief, (3) for information and explanation, for preparation (?) and devotion, for the libation and complete offering, for the complete recital of the liturgy memorised as well; and to those Haomas which are pungent, bounteous, holy, and offered with sanctity (and for a blessing), to those which are yet to be offered with sanctity, and which are now being celebrated, and which are likewise in the future to be celebrated, to those which are being pressed with sanctity, and to those which are yet to be pressed, (to these I desire to approach, and to express my homage and my praise). 4. And I desire to express my homage and my praise to the strength of the strong, and to the victorious blow of the mighty, to the powerful Rectitude and Blessedness, to *Kisti* and the Priority for the powerful Ascendency, and to these powerful Yazads which are the Bountiful Immortals, who rule aright, and dispose of all aright, ever-living, ever-helpful, who, male and female, dwell together with the Good Mind, (to these I desire in my homage and my praises to approach); (5) (yea, I desire to approach for homage and praises toward) our Universal Weal and Immortality, to the body of the Kine, and to the Kine's Soul. (And I desire to approach) the Fire of the spoken name¹, and toward that farm-house which is sanctified and which has fields and comfort², and mercy (for the poor); (6) as a praiser with praise for the sacrifice, homage, which is this praise of Ahura Mazda, of the Bountiful Immortals, and of the holy and lofty Lord, for the sacrifice, and homage of the Lord that most attains his ends, and which is this praise of that blessedness

¹ Having a Yast.

² Here is an instance where *hvaôthra* may mean 'comfort.'

which has approached us, and of that well-timed prayer for blessings offered in the ritual, (7) which is likewise the praise of the *Māthra Spenta* (the bounteous word of reason), and of the *Mazdayasnian Religion*, and the Praises of the *Yasnas*¹, which is also that of all the lords of the ritual, and of all the well-timed prayers for blessings, for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and glorification of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

VISPARAD X (SP. XI)².

1. I desire to approach the *Arezahis* with my praise, and the *Savahis*, and *Fradadhafshu*, and *Vīdadhafshu*, and *Vouru-baresti*, and *Vouru-garesti*, and this *Karsh-var* which is *Hvaniratha*. 2. And I desire to approach the stone mortar with my praise, and the iron mortar, and the cup that holds the *Zaothra*, and the hair (which stays the spilling³), and *Thy Baresman* spread with sanctity. And I desire to approach the *Ahuna-vairya* with my praise, and the ritual prayers beside *Ahuna*, and the standing offices of the *Mazdayasnian Faith*.

VISPARAD XI (SP. XII).

1. To *Ahura Mazda* would we present⁴ our offered *Haomas* and that which is lifted up, as the most

¹ Perhaps 'the *Yasts* in the *Yasna*,' otherwise the latter portion of the *Yasna*.

² This section follows *Y. XXII*.

³ The *varesa* consists (as used at present) of three, five, or seven hairs from the tail of a white bull, which are tied to a gold, silver, copper, or brass ring. This can be used as long as the bull lives, but as often as it is used it must be reconsecrated. (Haug.)

⁴ The wording is purposely varied in the renderings to avoid sameness.

beneficial to Verethraghna (the blow of victory) which furthers the settlements; and that which is offered to the good and holy king, and that which is offered to the holy ruler which rules according to, or in the ritual, and we make known our Haomas to the Bountiful Immortals, and to the good waters; and we present our Haomas each to (our) own soul¹; and we announce our Haomas in our celebration to the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

2. Yea, we present these Haomas and Haoma-implements, and these spread mats, and these Myazdas, these stones, the first in the creation, the stone mortar brought here with the yellow² Haoma in it, and the iron mortar brought here with the yellow Haoma in it, this Haoma-water, and this Baresman spread with sanctity, (3) these bodies, and (their) forces, these striving Zaothras (that seek to find Thy grace), this holy Haoma, and the flesh, and the holy man, and the saint's innate thoughts, even the Saoshyants' innate thoughts.

And we present this fresh milk as an offering, now lifted up with sanctity, and this Hadhânaêpata plant, lifted up with sanctity; (4) and we offer, and present these Zaothras with our celebration, having the Haoma with them, and the milk, and the Hadhânaêpata, to the good waters and offered up with piety. And we present the Haoma-water in our celebrations to the good waters, and both the stone and the iron mortar, (5) and this branch for the Baresman, and the prayer for blessings uttered at the fitting moment which has approached (for our help in its order with the prayers), and the recollec-

¹ To the soul of the person who may be reciting.

² Zâiri with K₄.

tion and practice of the good Mazdayasnian law, and the heard recital of the Gâthas, the well-timed prayer for blessings as it comes uttered by the saint (and for our help), and ruling (while it is spoken) as a ritual lord, and these wood-billets, and the perfume even Thine, the Fire's, O Ahura Mazda's son! and all good objects (which are ours), and Mazda-made, and which have the seed of sanctity (or are that seed).

6. Yea, these we make known and we announce in this our celebration to Ahura Mazda (as our gift), and to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and to Ashi (who is the recompense), and to Rashnu the most just, and to Mithra of the wide pastures, and to the Bountiful Immortals, and the Fravashis of the saints, and to their souls, and to the Fire of Ahura Mazda, the lord, and to the lofty lord (the Apām-napât?), and to the Myazda, the lord, and to the well-timed prayer for blessings as it rules in the order of our prayers, for the sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and adoration of the entire creation of the holy (and the clean).

7. Yea, these we make known in this our celebration hereby for the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint, for its sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and to the (Fravashi) of Anghuyu (?)¹ who hath loved righteousness, together with all the holy Fravashis of the saints, of those now dead, and of those of the living, and of those of men unborn, of the prophets that shall serve us, bringing on the renovation of the completed world. 8-11, see verses 2-5.

12. Yea, we would make these known hereby in our celebrations to the Bountiful Immortals, who rule

¹ Here, erroneously, a proper name as in Yast XIII. Possibly of that Zarathustrian world (period) which loved righteousness; the word occurs after the name of Z. I think, that 'y' should be 'v.'

aright, and who dispose (of all) aright, the ever-living, ever-helpful, who are good (?), and bestowers of the good, who dwell with the Good Mind [(Pâzand) for they who are the Bountiful Immortals abide with the Good Mind, they who rule aright, and dispose (of all) aright, for thence they are regulated, and thence they arose, (namely,) from the Good Mind ¹]. 13. And we make known these our celebrations as the more promotive for this ² house, for the furtherance of this house, and as benefits for this house, because of the increase of this household, as overcoming the restrictions which impede this household, and as overcoming the harmful malice which may mar this house, to bless its herds, and its retainers, born, and yet to be born, for the saints of the house as it was aforetime, of it as it ³ stands here now, and to which we likewise now belong as the Saoshyants of the provinces, (14) [which (is that we are Saoshyants) for the saints who do good deeds, and of the female saints who do good deeds, and of the saints who do the deeds conspicuously good, and of the females likewise thus, of the saints who do good deeds upon good deeds, and of the females thus the same]. 15. And we make these known in our celebrations to the good Fravashis of the saints which are formidable and overwhelming in their aid. 16. And we make these known in our celebrations hereby to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, and to the good

¹ Vohu Manah certainly appears the most prominent here. They arose from the 'good thought' of Ahura.

² This office was celebrated in private houses by itinerant priests.

³ Yênhê aêm might be a citation from some lost prayer. The singular aêm may, however, be taken collectively, as families are spoken of.

Blessedness, and to Nairya-sangha, and to the victorious Peace, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire, and to the lofty lord, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, to the entire creation of the holy and the clean. 17, 18 = Visp. X, 1, 2.

19. (Sp. XIII.) Yea, we make that known which is lifted up in offering, and which is the Avesta¹ as the holy Ahura Mazda directed that it should be said, and as Zarathustra, the holy, directed, and as I, the priest, who am acquainted with their sacrifice and homage, am now letting it be known. I who understand the lawful and legitimate Avesta², and the ritual prescripts (20) for Your sacrifice, homage, and propitiation, O Ye who are the Bountiful Immortals, and for our preparation (?), and for the success of our well-uttered prayer for blessings, for victory, sanctification, and the well-being of our souls, (of ours), for (we are) the holy Saoshyants.

21. Yea, we make these known in our celebrations here, and we offer them to Him who is Ahura Mazda, of all the greatest, the master and the Lord.

VISPARAD XII (Sp. XIV)³.

1. For the offered Haomas which have been offered in libation to that lofty Lord Ahura Mazda and to the holy Zarathustra Spitama (produce) abundance in cattle and in men; and this⁴ abundance is (as) the good Sraosha, who accompanies (us) with the great

¹ Âvista probably = Avesta; compare Veda. The moral and ceremonial laws.

² Avestic.

³ Follows Y. XXVII.

⁴ Hâ seems to have a certain conjunctive force like sa in composition, 'And thereto the good Sraosha;' or is it an interjection?

splendour of sanctity, and may he¹ be here with energetic effort (to aid us in our worship).

2. We offer the wise offerings of the Ahuna-vairya intoned with sanctity and yet to be intoned, possessing their many teachings of religious wisdom (as they do), and those of the two mortars which pour the Haomas out, and which are pushed forward with precision², and are now in the course of being thus advanced once more³. 3. (And so we teach as well the many teachings of the religious wisdom) contained in the words correctly spoken, in the Zarathustrian utterances⁴, and in the ceremonies correctly practised, and the Baresmans spread exactly, and the Haomas pressed correctly, and the praise, Yasnas, and the doctrines of the Mazdayasnian Religion with their recitations, and their movements. 4. For thus they may become to us more full of devices and of wisdom, and so we offer these wise ritual deeds in the creation, so we impart them with their many points of meaning while we (ourselves) still ponder them as those which Ahura Mazda, the holy One, delivered, which have (as if) their nourishment from Vohu Manah⁵ and their growth from the Righteous Order, which are the greatest of all beings, the best, and the most beautiful; for thus shall these be to us the more full of wisest meaning, and more full of incitation⁶, and may we be among those (who are) of Spənta Mainyu's world in that we are imparting (to the chosen) these

¹ Recall *hetâ* of Y. XLVI, 1.

² With punctilious sanctity.

³ The Parsi priests at present make appropriate manipulations here.

⁴ In the now ancient *Gâthas*, &c.

⁵ Compare *gaêthau vispau yau vohû thraostâ mananghâ*.

⁶ Or, 'may we be more zealous than any who are in the creation of the bounteous spirit.'

precepts of the wisest meaning and these incitations which are contained therein. 5. And full of wisest meaning be ye two to us, O (thou) stone mortar, and (thou) the iron one, as ye are now turned, and as ye are now being advanced¹, ye two mortars of the house, [and of the village, of the tribe, and of the province, and ye who are in this house (itself), this village, tribe, and province]; yea, in those which are ours, Mazdayasnians, who are steadfast in our worship, who appear with our wood-billets and our perfumes, and with our supplicated blessings [(Pâ-zand) for so may they be to us, the more full of wisest teaching].

VISPARAD XIII (SP. XV)².

1. According to the ritual we worship Ahura Mazda; according to the ritual we worship the Bountiful Immortals; and we sacrifice to the sacrificial word correctly spoken, and to every Mâthra (as to a sacred word of reason). And we sacrifice to Zarathustra, him who is especially the possessor of the Mâthra³; and we sacrifice to the 'blessings for the saints'⁴; and we worship the 'hail'⁵ addressed to the Bountiful Immortals.

2. Also we worship the three principal (chapters) uttered (in the Yasna) without addition or omission⁶;

¹ Referring to manipulations.

² This fragment follows Y. XXX in the Vendîdâd Sâdah, and was written in allusion to Y. XXVIII, Y. XXIX, and Y. XXX.

³ Referring to mâtthra srevaêmâ in Yasna XXVIII, 8.

⁴ Referring to the words savaââ ashavabyô in Yasna XXX, 11.

⁵ Referring to the word ustâ in Yasna XXX, 11.

⁶ The three first chapters XXVIII-XXX; the text has bad grammar, or broken connection.

and we worship the three principal ones without addition or omission; we worship the three commencing ones entire without addition or omission¹. And we worship the entirety² of the three principal ones without addition or omission; and their Hâs, their metrical lines, their words, and their word-structure [and their recital, memorising, chanting, and their steadfast offering].

VISPARAD XIV (SP. XVI)³.

1. (We worship Ahura Mazda, the holy Lord of the ritual order⁴; and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti) with its measures, and word-structure, and its Zand, with its questions and counter-questions, with its words and its metric feet. And we sacrifice to these as well-recited, and now in the course of being recited, as well-worshipped, and now in the course of being used in worship⁵. 2. (Yea, we sacrifice to it) in

¹ It is difficult to see how *anapishûtâ* can mean 'without retrenchment,' but the context seems to require it, and the Pahlavi translation bears evidence to it. Perhaps read *anapashûtâ*.

² 'The whole three first.' Some suppose the three prayers to be intended (the Ahuna-vairya, the Ashem Vohû, and the Yênhê hâtâm). I think that the three chapters XXVIII-XXX are meant. As the piece follows those three chapters in the Vendîdâd Sâdah, so its expressions indicate a reference to them. This might tend to show that the Ahunavaiti was at one time, if not originally, divided at this place.

³ This fragment was written in evident allusion to the entire Ahunavaiti, which it follows in the Vendîdâd Sâdah. It expresses the veneration acquired by the first Gâtha long after its composition.

⁴ From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

⁵ *Frâyazentâm* may be a metaplasm; otherwise 'of the sacrificers.'

its own 'wisdom'¹, in its own 'clearness'², in its own 'loving intention'², in its sovereignty, and its own ritual order, and its 'acquired boon'², which is also that given by Ahura Mazda for the promotion of piety, for that thought which originates from the 'heart-devoted self'².

3. (Sp. Chapter XVII.) Also we worship the Ahuna-vairya, the holy lord of the ritual order, the holy lord with its Ahû and its Ratu [(Pâzand); for He is the one with the title Ahû and Ratu, who is Ahura Mazda³]. 4. And we sacrifice to the constituent parts of the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, to its chapters, and its metrical lines, its words, and word-structure, [and to its heard-recital, and memorised recital, its continuous and its steadfast offering].

VISPARAD XV (SP. XVIII)⁴.

1. Hold your feet in readiness, and your two hands, and your understandings⁵, O ye Zarathustrian Mazdayasniâns! for the well-doing of lawful deeds in accordance with the sacred Order, and for the avoidance of the unlawful and evil deeds which are contrary to the ritual. Let the good deeds for the furtherance of husbandry be done⁶ here. Render ye the needy rich⁷. 2. Let Sraosha (Obedience) be present here for the worship of Ahura Mazda,

¹ Dâmi with K4. Possibly in their own house (dâmi=dani).

² These words probably allude severally, say, to dâmi in Y. XXXI, 7, kithrâ in Y. XXXI, 22, zaoshê in Y. XXXIII, 2, 10, âyaptâ in Y. XXVIII, 8, to zarzdau in Y. XXXI, 1.

³ Erroneous.

⁴ This piece is a later composed prelude to the Haptanghâiti, which it precedes in the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

⁵ Sursum corda! ⁶ Comp. gavôî verezyâtâm, Y. XLVIII, 5.

⁷ 'Place the needy with those without need.'

the most helpful, and the holy, who is so desired by us in the pronunciation, and for the service, and the pondering¹ of the Yasna Haptanghâiti, for the heart's devotion to it, for its memorisation, and its victorious and holy recital (or for the victorious saint), without addition or omission, (3) which has been intoned, and which shall yet be uttered as great, powerful, smiting with victory, separate from harmful malice, for the pronunciation of victorious words for Ahura Mazda's Fire. (4, 5 are identical with Visp. IX, 6, 7.)

VISPARAD XVI (SP. XIX)².

1. And we worship the Fire here, Ahura Mazda's son, and the Yazads having the seed of fire in them, and the Rashnus having the seed of fire³ in them; and we worship the Fravashis of the saints. And we worship Sraosha who smites with victory, and the holy man, and the entire creation of the holy (and the clean). 2. And we worship the Blessedness and the Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitâma, the saint. And we worship the saints and their blessed Fravashis (as of one). And we worship all their Fravashis (as considered each apart), and those of the saints within the Province, and those of the saints without the Province; yea, we worship the Fravashis of holy men and holy women (wherever they may be, those devoted to the Order of the Faith). And we sacrifice to those whose (service)

¹ Possibly mǎzdâtaê/a.

² This piece follows the Haptanghâiti in the Vendîdâd Sâdah; it was intended as a sequel to it.

³ Having the power to propagate its worship, maintaining it unextinguished. De Harlez makes the admirable suggestion, 'bright as flame'; but the Pahlavi renders tokhmak.

for us in the Yasna Ahura Mazda, the holy, has known as the better¹, and of these Zarathustra is the living chief² and master. And we sacrifice to the fields and the waters, the lands and the plants, and to the constituent parts of the Yasna Haptanghâiti, its chapters, its metred lines, its words, and word-structure.

VISPARAD XVII (SP. XX)³.

And we strive after the good thoughts, words, and deeds inculcated in the Yasna Haptanghâiti. A blessing is the Right (called) the Best, (there is) weal; (there is) weal for this (man) when toward Righteousness Best (there is) right.

VISPARAD XVIII (SP. XXI)⁴.

1. We worship Ahura Mazda with the usta⁵. And we worship the Amesha Spenta with the usta, and the holy man, the saint. And we worship the prior world of the holy (and of the clean) with an usta, and the state of weal and salvation for the holy man (the saint).
2. And we worship that life-long state of blessedness (for the holy) which is the evil man's calamity⁶; yea, we worship his eternal⁷ salvation, and with the salvation prayer. And we sacrifice to every saint who

¹ Comp. Y. LI, 22.

² Anghuska ratuska here referred to the same person; comp. ahû.

³ An addition to chapter XVI.

⁴ This piece having reference to various expressions in the Gâtha Ustavaiti, follows it in the Vendidad Sâdah.

⁵ Referring to ustâ in Y. XLIII, 1.

⁶ See Y. XLV, 7.

⁷ Akaranem=the eternal thing; otherwise an adjective of two terminations; or, finally, read -âm.

exists, who is now coming into existence, and who shall exist in future.

VISPARAD XIX (Sp. XXII)¹.

1. We worship Ahura Mazda the bountiful; and we worship the Bountiful Immortals (saying the *Spenta*). And we sacrifice to the bountiful saint, and to the bountiful anticipative understanding². Also we sacrifice to the good and bountiful *Âramaiti* (the ready mind). And we worship her together with³ the bountiful creatures in the creation of the pure. And we sacrifice to the holy creatures who have intelligence as their first⁴, (to those foremost in their mind). And we worship the omniscient understanding, and Him who is Ahura Mazda (Himself). 2. And we sacrifice to the shining sun, which is the highest of the high; yea, we worship the sun together with the Bountiful Immortals, and the *Māthras* with their good ceremonies⁵. Also we sacrifice to the glorious achievements, and to this glory (which we have gained). And we sacrifice to the herds which have the Fire and its blessings⁶. Also we worship the holy benefit which is so widely

¹ The word *spenta* throughout alludes to the *Gâtha Spentâ-mainyu*, but it is of course not without grammatical application.

² In the *Bundahis* especially referred to Ahura.

³ Or, 'together with the bountiful creatures we worship the holy creatures.'

⁴ This expression may have been accidentally determined by the position of the word *manô* in the Ahuna-vairya formula; see Y. XIX. 12.

⁵ Or, 'the well-fulfilled.'

⁶ 'Fire-made' is unintelligible; 'fire gifts-having' may refer to the flocks and herds, as expressing the source of that prosperity which is represented by the holy Fire.

diffused¹, and that wisdom which is the bounteous Âramaiti, whose are the laws² of the Righteous Order, and of those holy creatures who have Righteousness as their first.

VISPARAD XX (Sp. XXIII)³.

1. (Homage to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra⁴! We sacrifice to the Vohu-khshathra), (the good kingdom) even the Khshathra-vairya, the kingdom to be desired; and we sacrifice to the iron-founding⁵, and to the (sacrificial) words⁶ correctly spoken which smite (the foe) with victory, and which hold the Daêvas subject.

And we worship that reward and that health, that healing and that progress, that growth and that victorious smiting⁷ (2) which are between the Vohu-khshathra and the Vahistôisti⁸, (and which are acquired by us) by the memorised recital of the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, for the withstanding of evil thoughts, and words, and deeds; yea, for the undoing of all treacherous thoughts (directed) against me, and of all false words, and unfair deeds. 3. [And we sacrifice to the later Yasna, the heroic Haptanghâiti⁹, (and which as it recurs becomes) the holy ritual chief.]

¹ Pahl. fravaft sūd.

² Dâthra with K₄.

³ This piece from the later Avesta follows Y. LI, in the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

⁴ From the Vendîdâd Sâdah.

⁵ Associated with this Gâtha from Y. LI, 9.

⁶ Compare Y. LI, 3. ⁷ Y. LI, 9; also perhaps Y. LIII, 8, 9.

⁸ Between; that is, described in the space between the Vohu-khshathra and the Vahistôisti, i.e. in Y. LII. See hamistê in Y. LII, 4, and paitistâtê in Visp. XX, 2.

⁹ This would seem misplaced; perhaps Y. XLII is meant, which follows the Haptanghâiti.

VISPARAD XXI (SP. XXIV).

1. We strive earnestly, and we take up our Yasna and our homage to the good waters, and to the fertile fruit-trees (which bear as of themselves), and to the Fravashis of the saints; yea, we take up our Yasna, and our homage earnestly to those beings which are (so) good, the waters, and the trees, and the Fravashis of the saints, (2) and to the Kine, and to Gaya (Maretan), and to the Māthra Spenta (the bounteous word-of-reason), the holy, which works (within and for us with effect), to these we take up our Yasnas and our homage with earnest zeal, and to Thee, O Ahura Mazda! and to thee, O Zarathustra, we do the same; and to thee, O lofty lord (the Apām-napât), and to the Bountiful Immortals. 3. And we sacrifice to the listening (that hears our prayers) and to that mercy, and to the hearing of (our spoken) homage, and to that mercy which is (shown in response to our offered) praise. And we sacrifice to the frâ râiti vîdushê, which is contained in the piece hvâdaênâis ashaonts; and we sacrifice to 'the good praise which is without hypocrisy, and which has no malice (as its end)'; and we sacrifice to the later Yasna and to its offering; and we sacrifice to the chapters of the later Yasna, and to its metrical lines, its words, and word-structure.

VISPARAD XXII (SP. XXV).

With this chant (fully) chanted, and which is for the Bountiful Immortals and the holy Saoshyants (who are the prophets who shall serve us), and by means of these (ceremonial) actions, which are (of all)



the best, we desire to utter our supplications for the Kine. It is that chant which the saint has recognised as good and fruitful of blessed gifts, and which the sinner does not know¹. May we never reach that (ill-luck that the sinner) may outstrip us (in our chanting), not in the matter of a plan (thought out), or of words (delivered), or ceremonies (done²), nor yet in any offering whatever when he (?) approaches (us for harm).

VISPARAD XXIII (SP. XXVI)³.

1. We worship Ahura Mazda as the best⁴ (worship to be offered in our gifts). We worship the Amesha Spenta (once more, and as) the best. We worship Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best). And we sacrifice to those (prayers) which are evident as the best; that is, the Praises of the Yasnas.

Also we sacrifice to that best wish, which is that of Asha Vahista, and we worship Heaven, which is the best world of the saints, bright and all-glorious; and we sacrifice likewise to that best approach which leads to⁵ it. 2. And we sacrifice to that reward,

¹ The parties are divided by knowledge and ignorance (compare the Gnosis). See Y. XXXI, 12

² Not in thought, word, or deed may we reach (his) priority in progress.

³ This piece from the later Avesta follows Y. LIII, in the Vendidad Sâdah, and has reference to its expressions.

⁴ It is an important suggestion which holds vahistem as equal to 'saying vahistem,' in allusion to the Vahistâ frstis; but as the word is inflected further on (see vahistahê), and as it moreover once applies to Asha, as Asha Vahista, it is better to render it as having adjective application throughout, being none the less, of course, an intentional echo of the first word of Y. LIII, 1.

⁵ Or, 'of it.'

health, healing, furtherance, and increase, and to that victory which is within¹ the two, the Ahunavairya and the Airyemâ-ishyô, through the memorised recital of the good thoughts, words, and deeds (which they enjoin).

¹ Possibly 'between them,' meaning the Gâthas which are so placed.

ÂFRÎNAGÂN.

ÂFRÎNAGÂN.

AS to the present use of these blessings, says Haug (ed. West): 'Âfrînagân are blessings which are to be recited over a meal consisting of wine, milk, and fruits, to which an angel, or the spirit of a deceased person, is invited, and in whose honour the meal is prepared. After the consecration (which only a priest can perform) is over, the meal is eaten by those who are present. The performance of these Âfrînagân is required of every Parsi at certain fixed seasons of the year. These are the six Gahanbârs, each lasting five days (at the six original seasons of the year) for which the Âfrînagân Gahanbâr is intended, the five Gâtha-days (the five last days of the year), during which the Âfrînagân Gâtha must be used; and, lastly, the third day (Ardibahist) of the first month (Fravardin) in the year, at which the performance of Âfrînagân Rapithwin, devoted to the spirit presiding over the southern quarter (who is the guardian of the way to paradise), is enjoined to every Parsi whose soul wants to pass the *Kinvað* after death.' (Essays, 2nd edition, page 224.)

I. ÂFRÎN[-AGÂN] GAHANBÂR¹.

1. I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, and of Zarathustra's order, a foe of the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for the holy Hâvani¹, the regulator of the ritual order (and its lord in its turn), for its sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise; (and I confess myself) for Sâvanghi and for Vîsya, the holy lords of the ritual order, for their sacrifice, homage,

¹ The Âfrîn for the morning hours from 6 to 10.

propitiation, and praise, and for that of the Asnya, the day-lords of the days during daylight, and of the days in their length, for the Mâhya, month-lords, and the Yâirya, year-lords, and for those of the especial seasons, and for the worship, homage, propitiation, and praise of that lofty lord who is the Ritual Righteousness (itself) ; yea, for the worship, homage, propitiation, and praise of the lords of the days, months, years, and seasons—for those lords of the ritual order who are of all the greatest, who are the regulators of the ritual at the time of Hâvani.

2. To Maidhyô-zaremya ¹, the lord [or to Maidhyô-shema ¹, the lord, or to Paitishahya ¹, the lord, or to Ayâthrima ¹, Maidhyâirya ¹, or Hamaspathmaêdhaya], be propitiation, homage, and praise.

3. O ye Mazdayasnians who are here present ! offer ye² this ritual service, and present ye the Myazda which is that of the Maidhyô-zaremya, taking a piece of sound flesh from a choice beast, with a full flow of milk.

4. If ye are able to do this, (well) ; if ye are unable to do it, ye may take then (a portion) of some liquor of equal value, it matters not which it is, and have it consumed as it is proper ; and so be ye discreet from your obedience, most correctly faithful in your speech, most saintly from your sanctity, best ordered in your exercise of power, least straitened by oppressions, heart-easy with rejoicings, most merciful of givers, most helpful to the poor, fulfilling most the ritual, the blest and longed-for Asha, (coy ?) riches woman-minded (?) bringing (as reward). If ye can do this

¹ The name of the season at the time present, when the text is recited, is to be used.

² Bring ye, O these Mazdayasnians !

and with vigour, (well); (5) if not, bring wood to the Ratu's house. It matters not what [kind, so it be well cut, and very dry, and in loads of fitting size. If that is possible, (well); if not, then let a man bring wood to the Ratu's dwelling, and heap it up as high as the ear, or to reach the fore-shoulder, or with the fore-arm measure, (or at least as high as the end of the hanging hand). If that is possible, (well); (6) but if it has not been possible, then let the worshipper (with the mind's offering) ascribe the power to him who rules the best, Ahura, (saying¹): Wherefore for this cause verily we offer and ascribe the Sovereign Power to Ahura Mazda, who rules the best, and to Righteousness (the ritual and moral Order), and we complete our sacrifice to them. Thus is the Myazda offered with the well-timed prayer for blessings.

7. In case that a man does not give of the first Myazda which is that of the Maidhyô-zaremaya, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Ratu that has the right to that Myazda, and who has this person under his guidance, expels² that (false) disciple who has not his Myazda with him, as a man that does not worship, from the midst of the Mazda-worshippers. 8. In the case that a man does not give of the second Myazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! which is that of the Maidhyô-shema, then let² the Ratu to whom the Myazda should come, and who has the person under his guidance, expel that disciple, since he comes without his Myazda, as he would a man who refuses to recite his vows, from among the number of the Mazda-

¹ Or, 'because we offer.'

² Not 'renders him (detected) among the Mazdayasnians;' compare for form *ahtarê-mrôyê*; see also *fra-dasti* and *fra-perenaoti*; also the present may be used for the imperative.

worshippers. 9. In the case that a man does not give of the third Myazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! which is that of Paitishahya, then let the Ratu who ought to receive that Myazda, and who has had the person under his guidance, expel that disciple which brings no Myazda, as a detected¹ reprobate, from among the number of the Mazdayasnians. 10. In case that a man does not offer of the fourth Myazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! which is that of the Ayâthrima, let the Ratu who ought to receive that Myazda, and who has the person under his guidance, expel that disciple, since he brings no Myazda, as a refuse² beast from among the number of the Mazdayasnians. 11. In the case that a man does not give of the fifth Myazda, which is that of the Maidhyâirya, then let the Ratu to whom that Myazda belongs as a perquisite, and who has that person under his guidance, expel him, since he brings no Myazda, as an alien³, from among the number of the Mazdayasnians. 12. In case that a man does not give of the sixth Myazda, which is that of the Hamaspathmaêdhaya, O Spitama Zarathustra! let the Ratu to whom that Myazda belongs as a perquisite, and who has this person under his discipline to learn him the lore of Ahura, expel him, (as ignorant) since he brings no Myazda, from among the number of the Mazdayasnians. 13. And let him decry him afterwards without hesitation⁴, and drive⁵ him out; and let that Ratu lay upon him after-

¹ Possibly 'having a breast burnt by the ordeal,' and so 'detected;' or 'hot-breasted, vehement' (?); comp. úras.

² It may be '(his) excluded beast,' or 'his stray beast' (?).

³ Or, possibly, 'he is rejected when offering himself as arrived from the settlements' (?).

⁴ 'Without recoiling.'

⁵ Syazdayôiz.

wards the expiating deeds without reserve; and in accordance with these rules, let the disciple treat the Ratu. (Let him beware of failure to bring his Myazda, or if he fails let the disciple bear, as is befitting, what is due.) A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best, it is weal, it is weal for this (man) when toward Righteousness Best there is right.

14. I bless with my prayer the royal Province-chiefs (who are faithful worshippers) of Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, (beseeching) for superior strength for them, and for more important victory, and more influential rule, and desiring for them further authoritative power, and helpful support, and long duration to their reign, and the prolonged vitality of their frames, and health. 15. And I pray in my benediction for strength well-shaped and stately of growth, and which smites victoriously, Ahura-made, and crushing, and for an ascendancy abundantly subduing all who are filled with furious hate, assaulting the evil-minded enemies, and destroying, as if at once, the deadly, godless¹ foes.

16. And I pray in my blessing that he (the province-governor) may conquer in victorious battles every malicious foe, and each malignant, profane in thoughts, and words, and actions, (17) that he may indeed be constantly victorious in his own religious thoughts, and words, and deeds, and unvarying in the smiting of every foe, and of every Daêva-worshipper, and that he may, as he proceeds², be well rewarded, and of good repute, possessing a far-foreseeing preparation of the soul. 18. And I pray with blessings thus: Live thou long and blessed be

¹ Unfriendly and untrue; ‘* avratyá.’

² Recall yôî zazenê vanghâu sravahî.

thou, 'hail' to thee; live for the aid of holy men, and for the crushing of the evil; and I pray for Heaven (for thee) the best world of the saints, shining, all glorious. And thus may it happen as I pray—¹. 19. And I bless in my prayer the sacrifice, and homage, and the strength, and swiftness of the day-lords during daylight, and of the lords of the days in their length, of the month-lords, and the year-lords, and of the lords of the seasons² (in their course), and for the worship, homage, propitiation, and praise of the lofty lord who is the Righteous Ritual itself, and of those lords of the ritual who are of all the greatest, and who are the lords of the ritual at the time of Hâvani, for Maidhyô-zaremaya the lord, [(or) for Maidhyô-shema the lord, (or) for Paitishahya² the lord, or for Ayâthrima, Maidhyâirya, or Hamaspathmaêdhaya²⁺³].

II. ÂFRÎN[-AGÂN]⁴ GÂTHA⁴.

1. As the Ahû is (revered and) to be chosen, so (is) the Ratu (one who rules) from the Righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Ahura, and the Kingdom (is) to Mazda, which to the poor may offer a nurturer.

I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper—for the praise of Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, and of the Bountiful Immortals, for the bountiful and

¹ See Y. XXXV, 2. The Ahuna follows.

² The name varies with the season in which the sacrifice is made.

³ As in 18.

⁴ Recited during the days called after the Gâthas, the last five of the year. A long period of time must have elapsed since the Gâthas were composed, as they probably were not originally 'five,' and yet seem to have been only remembered as such.

holy Gâthas which rule in the ritual order. (Propitiation and praise be) to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, and to the Gâtha Ustavaiti, to the Gâtha Spentâ-mainyu, and to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra, and to the Gâtha Vahistôisti. 2. Propitiation to the Fravashis of the saints, the mighty, overwhelming, even to those of the saints of yore, who held the primeval faith (the Gâthic faith), and to those of the next of kin.

3. We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious; and we sacrifice to the Amesha Spenta who rule aright, and who dispose (of all aright). And we sacrifice to the bounteous and holy Gâthas, which rule (as the first) in the ritual order.

We sacrifice to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, the holy, as it rules in the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Ustavaiti, the holy, as it rules in the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Spentâ-mainyu, the holy, as it rules in the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra, the holy, as it rules in the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the Gâtha Vahistôisti, the holy, as it rules in the ritual order. 4 = Yt. XIII, 49-52¹.

III. ÂFRÎN[-AGÂN]² RAPITHVIN³.

1. I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, of Zarathustra's order, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and for Frâdat-fshu³ and Zantuma⁴,

¹ Verses 5, 6 = Â. I, 14-18; for verse 6, see verses 1, 2; also see Â. I, 19.

² To be recited on the third day (Ardibahist) of the first month (Fravardin).

³ A genius who furthered cattle.

⁴ The genius of the Zantu, presiding over this Gâh Rapithvin.

the holy lord(s) of the ritual order. 2. And to Ahura Mazda, the resplendent, the glorious, and to the Bountiful Immortals, be propitiation, and to Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and to the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, and to all the holy Yazads, heavenly and earthly, and to the Fravashis of the saints, the mighty and overwhelming—.

3. For thus did Ahura Mazda speak to Spitama Zarathustra the word which was spoken for the ritual time of the Rapithwina, (saying): Ask us, O holy Zarathustra ¹, what are Thy questions to be asked of us ², for Thy question is as that mighty one when Thy ruler speaks his mighty wish ¹. 4. Then Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: O Ahura Mazda, most bountiful ³ creator of the material worlds and holy! what does that man acquire, what does he merit, what reward shall there be for that man (5) who shall recite the Rapithwina office with the Rapithwina prayer for blessing, and who shall sacrifice with ⁴ the Rapithwina office with hands (well) washed, and with (well) washed mortars, with the Baresman spread, and with Haoma high uplifted, and with fire brightly flaming, with Ahuna-vairya loud intoned, with Haoma-moistened tongue, and with a body Māthra-bound? 6. And Ahura Mazda answered him: As the wind from the southern quarter, O Spitama! causes the entire material world to advance and to increase, and as it will bless it ⁵, rejoice it, and cause it to progress ⁶, such a like reward does such a man receive, (7) who

¹ Erroneous.

² Ahmâi; see Y. XLIII, 10 with *ahmâ*.

³ Insert 'spirit.'

⁴ Or, 'to.'

⁵ Saoshyati^{ka}; or can saoshyanti be a locative absolute, preserving a fuller form?

⁶ Or, 'causes it to enter into helpful joy' (?).

recites the Rapithwina-ratu with the Rapithwina blessing, and sacrifices with¹ it with (well) washed hands, and mortars, with Baresman spread, and Haoma lifted, with fire brightly flaming, and with Ahuna-vairya loud intoned, and with Haoma-moistened tongue, and a body Māthra-bound! 8. Thus hath Ahura Mazda declared to Spitama Zarathustra the word which (should be) spoken at the Rapithwina time. 9, 10. (See Â. I, 14-19.)

¹ Or, 'to.'

THE GÂHS.

THE GÂHS.

THE Gâhs are the five divisions of the day. The Hâvani from 6 to 10 A.M., the Rapithwina from 10 A.M. to 3 P.M., the Uzayêirina from 3 to 6 P.M., the Aiwisrûthrima from 6 to 12 P.M., the Ushahina from 12 P.M. to 6 A.M. The Gâhs here following are prayers which must be recited at the Gâhs of the day; hence their name¹.

I. THE GÂH HÂVAN².

Unto Ahura Mazda be propitiation. A blessing is Righteousness (called) the Best—.

1. I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, of Zarathustra's order, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for the holy Hâvani, regulator of the ritual order, for its sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and for Sâvanghi and Visya, the righteous regulator(s) of the ritual order, for their homage, sacrifice, propitiation, and praise, and for those of the Asnya, the day-lords during daylight, and the Ayara, lords of the days in their length, and for the Mâhya, the month-lords, and the Yâirya, year-lords, and for those of the especial seasons.

2. And to Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name³, be sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and to Râman *Hvâstra*.

3, 4. And we sacrifice to Ahura Mazda the holy

¹ The term Gâh, itself, may have arisen from the practice of chanting the Gâthas at different fixed times in the day.

² To be recited every day at the time of Hâvani.

³ Having a special Yast.

lord of the ritual Order, and to Zarathustra, and to the Fravashi of Zarathustra, the saint. And we sacrifice to the Bounteous Immortals, (the guardians) of the saints, and to the good, heroic, and bounteous Fravashis of the saints (of the living and of the dead), of the bodily, and of those in heaven. And we sacrifice to the highest of the lords, the one that most attains its ends; and we sacrifice to the most strenuous of the Yazads, the most satisfying of the lords of the ritual order, the one who reaches (what he seeks), the most infallibly of those who have as yet approached the nearest in the ritual, even to the timely prayer of the saint who rules in the ritual order. 5. And we sacrifice to the Hāvani, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the Universal Weal, the holy, ruling in the ritual order, and to Deathlessness, the holy, ruling in the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the question and lore of the holy lord of the ritual. And we sacrifice to that heroic mighty Yasna, the Haptanghâiti, the lord of the ritual order. 6. And we sacrifice to Sâvanghi and Vîsya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the Airyemâ-ishyô¹, the holy lord of the ritual order, the powerful, victoriously smiting, that which no hate can reach, which overwhelms all torments, and which passes over all torments with victory, which is the uppermost, and the middle, and the foremost, for the effective invocation of that surpassing Māthra, the five Gāthas.

7, 8. And we sacrifice to Mithra of the wide pastures—, and to Râman Hvâstra, for the worship and exaltation of Vîsya, the chief. And we sacrifice to

¹ The personified prayer; see Y. LIV.

Viśya, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to Mithra, and to Râman *Hvâstra* —.

9-11. And we sacrifice to thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son, the holy lord of the ritual order. And we sacrifice to this Baresman which has the Zaotbra with it, and the girdle with it, and which is spread with exact sanctity, itself the holy lord. And we sacrifice to the Apām-napât, and to Nairya-sangha, and to that Yazad, the swift curse of the wise. And we sacrifice to the souls of the dead, [which are the Fravashis of the saints]. And we worship that exalted Lord who is Ahura Mazda, the highest object of the ritual order, who is the one who has attained the most to homage in the ritual. And we sacrifice to all the words which Zarathustra spake, and to all the deeds well done, and to those which shall yet be done in days to come. (And) we sacrifice to that male one of beings whose (gift) in the offering Ahura doth know to be better, and of female saints, the same. As the Ahû is to be (revered and) chosen, so (is) the Ratu, one who rules from the Righteous Order, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda, and the Kingdom (is) to Ahura, which to the poor shall offer a nurturer—.

II. GÂH RAPITHVIN¹.

1. Propitiation to Ahura Mazda. A blessing is Asha Vahista. I confess as a Mazda-worshipper, and of Zarathustra's order—for Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and for praise, and for Frâdat-fshu and Zantuma, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage,

¹ Recited every day at the hour of Rapithwina.

propitiation, and for praise. 2. And propitiation be to Asha Vahista, and to Ahura Mazda's Fire, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise¹. 3. 4. (See Y. LXXI, 2, 3.)

5. And we sacrifice to the Rapithwina, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the Gâtha Ahunavaiti, the holy, and ruling in the ritual order ; and to the Gâtha Ustavaiti, and to the Gâtha Spentâ-mainyu, and to the Gâtha Vohu-khshathra, and to the Gâtha Vahistôisti, holy, and ruling in the ritual order. 6. And we sacrifice to Frâdat-fshu, and to Zantuma, and to the Fshûshô-mâthra, even to the word correctly spoken, and we sacrifice to the (many) words correctly spoken, even to the victorious ones which slay the Demon-gods (the Daêvas²). And we sacrifice to the waters and the lands, and to the plants, and to the heavenly Yazads who are givers of the holy and the good. And we sacrifice to the Bountiful Immortals, (the guardians) of the saints.

7. And we sacrifice to the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and to the heights of Asha (called) Vahista, and to the greatest Mâthras as moving us to action, the greatest as teaching faithfulness to holy vows, the greatest as referring to actions which are evidently just, and the greatest for the acquisition of the Mazdayasnian Faith. 8. And we sacrifice to that assembly and reunion which the Bountiful Immortals hold when they gather (?) on the heights of Heaven, for the sacrifice and homage of Zantuma, the lord.

And we (therefore) sacrifice to Zantuma (as) the holy lord of the ritual order. 9. And we sacrifice

¹ The Ahuna follows.

² Zarathustra conquered the Demon with the Ahuna-vairya.

to Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and to the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son —. 10. Yea, we sacrifice to Thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son, the holy ritual lord —.

I bless the sacrifice, homage, strength, and swiftness of Asha Vahista, and of the Fire, of Ahura Mazda —. And to this one be the glory!

III. GÂH UZIREN¹.

1. Propitiation to Ahura Mazda! A blessing is Asha Vahista—. I confess myself a Mazdayasnian of the order of Zarathustra, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for the Uzayêirina, the holy lord of the ritual order, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and for Frâdat-vîra and Da^hvyuma, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, for their sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise. 2. And to that lofty Ahura, Apâm-napât, and to the waters which Mazda created be sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise²! 3, 4. (G. I, 3, 4.) 5. We sacrifice to the Uzayêirina, the holy lord of the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the Zaotar, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the Hâvanan, and to the Âtarevakhsha, and to the Frabaretar, and to the Âberež, and to the Âsnatar, and the Raêthwiskar, and to the Sraoshâvareza, holy lords of the ritual order. 6. And we sacrifice to Frâdat-vîra and Da^hvyuma, the holy lord of the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the stars, the moon, and the sun, and to the constellations (?), and we sacrifice to the stars without beginning (to their course ?), and to the glory of the doctrinal proclama-

¹ Recited every day at the hour of Uzayêirina.

² The Ahunâ follows.

tions which are the evil man's distress¹. 7. And we sacrifice to the manifest performer of the truth (the correct maintainer of the rites), the holy lord of the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the later lore; yea, we sacrifice to the manifest fulfiller of the truth, and to the (entire) creation of the holy (and the clean) by day and by night with Zaothras together with offered prayers, for the sacrifice and homage of *Dahvyuma*, the lord. And we sacrifice to *Dahvyuma*, the holy lord of the ritual order. 8. And we sacrifice to that lofty and royal lord, the brilliant *Apām-napât* of the fleet horses; and we sacrifice to the water which is Mazda-made and holy. 9, 10. And we sacrifice to thee, the Fire, Ahura Mazda's son². 11³. And I bless the sacrifice, homage, strength, and swiftness of that lofty Ahura *Napât-apām*, and of the water which Mazda created⁴.

IV. GÂH AIWISRÛTHRIMA⁵.

1. Propitiation be to Ahura Mazda. A blessing is Asha Vahista—. I confess myself a Mazdayasnian, and of Zarathustra's order, a foe to the *Daêvas*, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for *Aiwisrûthrima*, and *Aibigaya*⁶, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, for their sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and for *Frâdat-vîspām-hugyâiti*⁷ and *Zarathustrôtema*⁸, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, for their sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise. 2. And to the

¹ See Y. XLV, 7.

² The *Yēnhê hâtām* here follows.

³ The *Ahuna* follows.

⁴ The *Ashem* follows.

⁵ Recited every day at the hour of *Aiwisrûthrima*.

⁶ Or, 'that furthers life.'

⁷ The genius presiding over all that furthers happiness.

⁸ The genius presiding over the highest office in a province.

Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who have many sons, and to that prosperity of home which lasts without reverse throughout the year, and to Strength, well-shaped and stately, and to the victorious Blow Ahura-given, and for the crushing Ascendency which it bestows, (to all) be propitiation—. 3, 4. (See Gāh I, 3, 4.) 5. And we sacrifice to Aiwisrûthrima (and) Aibigaya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order, and to thee, O Ahura Mazda's Fire ! And we sacrifice to the stone-mortar, and to the iron-mortar, and to this Baresman spread with sanctity, with the Zaothra, and with its girdle, holy lords of the ritual order. Also we sacrifice to the sacred two, to the waters and the plants, and to the sacred vows for the soul, (as) holy lord(s) of the ritual order. 6. Also we sacrifice to Frâdat-vîspām-hugyâiti (as) ruling in the ritual order ; and we sacrifice to Zarathustra, the holy lord of the ritual ; also we sacrifice to the Māthra Spenta, (the bounteous word of reason¹), and to the soul of the Kine, and to the Zarathustrôtema². 7. Also we sacrifice to the Fire-priest, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the charioteer (the warrior), the holy lord of the ritual order. Also we sacrifice to the thrifty tiller of the earth, the holy lord of the ritual order. And we sacrifice to the house-lord, and to the village-chief, and to the Zantu-chief, and to the province-chief of the province, the holy lord of the ritual order. 8. And we sacrifice to the youth of the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, even to the youth of good conscience, the holy lord of the ritual order ; yea, we

¹ The Gāthas and Vendidad ; the first verse of the Gāthas mentions the Kine's soul.

² ' And to Zarathustra.'

sacrifice to the youth of the spoken word (who spoke the words which we hold so dear¹), the holy lord of the ritual order. Yea, we sacrifice to the youth who is given to his kin (and married to his blood), the holy lord of the ritual order. And we sacrifice to him who ranges through the province², and to the itinerant with his many arts³, the holy ritual lords. And we sacrifice to the house-mistress, holy, and ruling in the ritual order. 9. And we sacrifice to the holy woman forward⁴ in good thoughts, and words, and deeds, receiving her instructions well, having her husband as her lord, the holy, and such as Âramaiti, the bounteous, is, and such as are thy wives, O Mazda, Lord!

And we sacrifice to the holy man most forward in good thoughts, and words, and works, wise as to piety, simple as to sin, by whose deeds the settlements advance in the holy order, for the worship and homage of the Zarathustrôtema, the lord. And we sacrifice to the Zarathustrôtema, the holy lord of the ritual order. 10. And we sacrifice to the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints, and to the women who have many sons, and to that Prosperity which endures throughout the year, and to the well-shaped and stately Strength. And we sacrifice to the Blow of Victory, Ahura-given, and to the crushing Ascendency which it secures. 11, 12. (See Gâh I, 9, 10.) 13. (The Ahuna-vairya, &c.)

¹ See Yast XXII.

² It is very probable that the Yasna was at that period celebrated from house to house.

³ Medical?

⁴ Is it possibly, 'favouring good thoughts,' &c.?

V. GĀH USHAHIN¹.

1. Propitiation to Ahura Mazda. I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper, of the order of Zarathustra, a foe to the Daêvas, devoted to the lore of the Lord, for the Ushahina, for sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise, and to Beregya and Nmânya, the holy lord(s) of the ritual order. 2. Propitiation be to Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with recompense, smiting with the blow of victory, and causing the settlements to advance and to increase.

3, 4. (See Gâh I, 3, 4.) 5. We sacrifice to Ushahina, the holy lord of the ritual order; and we sacrifice to the beautiful Aurora, and to the dawn of morning; yea, we sacrifice to the morning, the shining², of the glittering horses, having the men of forethought (as its servants), yea, having men of forethought and heroes (awake and at their work), to the morning which gives light within the house³. And we sacrifice to the lights of dawn which are radiant with their light and fleetest horses which sweep over (?) the seven-fold earth. And we sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the holy lord of the ritual order, and to the Good Mind, and to Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and to Khshathra-vairya, and to Âramaiti, the bounteous and the good.

6. And we sacrifice to Beregya, even the holy lord of the ritual order, even to Nmânya with the longing desire for the good Asha, and with the longing desire for the good Mazdayasnian law, for the worship

¹ Recited every day at the hour of Ushahina.

² So, better than 'royal,' which is, however, possible.

³ Or, 'while it abides.'

and homage of Nmânya, the lord. 7. And we sacrifice to Sraosha, and to Rashnu, the most just, and to Arstât, who causes the settlements to advance and to increase. 8, 9. (See Gâh I, 9, 10.) 10. And I bless the sacrifice, homage, strength, and swiftness of Sraosha (Obedience) the blessed, endowed with sanctity, smiting with the blow of victory, and who causes the settlements to advance; and I bless the sacrifice of Rashnu, the most just, and that of Arstât, who causes the settlements to advance and to increase¹.

¹ The Ashem and the Ahmâi raêška.

MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS.

I.

1. (An incitation to the priest or worshipper.) As thou keepest company with the Good Mind, and with Righteousness the Best, and with Khshathra-vairya (the Kingdom to be desired), speak to the male and female disciples of Zarathustra Spitama the saint, (and declare) the praise which is to be spoken, that of the Yasna, even the words against which no anger¹ shall prevail.

2. And do thou, O Zarathustra²! declare our words for sacrifice and worship, ours, the Bountiful Immortals', that the waters may (thus) be sacrificed to by thee, and the plants, the Fravashis of the saints, and the created Yazads, heavenly and earthly, which are holy and beneficent.

II.

1. I confess myself a Mazda-worshipper—for the praise of Thraêtaona, the Âthwyan. Let them declare it—. Propitiation be to the Fravashi of Thraêtaona, the Âthwyan, the saint. 2. We sacrifice to Thraêtaona, the Âthwyan, the holy lord of the ritual order; and may we be free from the dog Kuro³, and the Tarewani³, and the Karpan, (we who are) of⁴ those who sacrifice in order. 3. (The Ahuna

¹ Others 'the unrestricted words.'

² Perhaps 'Zarathustra' is here merely the equivalent of 'priest.'

³ Obscure.

⁴ Awkward formations.

follows.) Sacrifice, homage, strength, and swiftness be to the Fravashi of Thraêtaona, the saint. (The Ahem and Ahmâi raêška follow.)

III.

1. All good thoughts, and all good words, and all good deeds are thought, and spoken, and done with intelligence; and all evil thoughts, and words, and deeds are thought, and spoken, and done with folly.
 2. And let (the men who think, and speak, and do) all good thoughts, and words, and deeds inhabit¹ Heaven (as their home). And let those who think, and speak, and do evil thoughts, and words, and deeds abide in Hell. For to all who think good thoughts, speak good words, and do good deeds, Heaven, the best world, belongs. And this is evident, and as of course (?) (or, 'and therewith their seed').

IV.

1. I proclaim the Airyemâ-ishyô as the greatest of all authoritative prayers, O Spitama! as the most influential and helpful for progress; and may the Saoshyants (who would further us) use it and revere it.

2. I am speaking in accordance with it, O Spitama! and therefore I shall rule as sovereign over creatures which are mine, I who am Ahura Mazda. Let no one rule as Angra Mainyu² over realms that are his own, O Zarathustra Spitama! 3. Let Angra Mainyu be hid beneath the earth³. Let the Daêvas likewise

¹ Ashaêta = â + shaêta used subjunctively.

² Insert 'of the evil faith.'

³ In Y. IX, 14, 15, it is the Ahuna-vairya which drives the Daêvas beneath the earth.

disappear. Let the dead arise (unhindered by these foes), and let bodily life be sustained in these now lifeless bodies.

V.

1. To Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, to the Bountiful Immortals, to Force well-shaped and stately, to the Blow of Victory, Ahura-given, to the Victorious Ascendency (which it secures), to the path of pleasantness, to the good Zarenumant¹, to the 'Glowing' Mountain made by Mazda, and to all the Yazads! 2. We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the radiant, the glorious, and to the Bountiful Immortals who rule aright, who dispose (of all) aright, and to Force well-shaped and stately, and to the Blow of Victory, and to the Ascendency of Victory, and to the path of pleasantness, and to Zarenumant, the good, which Mazda created, and to the 'Glowing' Mount, and to every saint.

VI².

Propitiation be to the created body of the Kine of blessed endowment, and to the Kine's soul (so, if there is one cow presented³). Propitiation be to the body and soul of you two (so, if there are two³). —To your body and soul (if there are three, or the entire herd³). (The Ahuna follows.)

¹ According to the Bundahis, the name of a lake.

² This fragment was spoken when the milk was drawn from the cow, or cows, for the offering, and when the water was received with which the udder of the cow was to be washed. (Sp. transl. vol. iii, p. 254.)

³ These words are in Persian introduced as rubric.

VII¹.

1. To the good waters, and to all the waters which Mazda created, and to that lofty lord, Apām-napāt, and to thee, O Ahurian One of Ahura, that water which Mazda created! be sacrifice, homage, propitiation, and praise. (The Ahuna follows.) 2. We utter our praises forth to thee, O Ahurian One of Ahura! and we complete good sacrifices, and deeds of adoration, with good gifts of offering, and gifts with praise, which are appropriate to thee among the holy Yazads. I will seek to render thee content. I will pour thee out. [Let them now recite the lofty Gâthas which belong to the ritual.]

VIII².

1. The moons* of the season will wane. Let the Mazdayasnian (pray) for a smiter who may destroy quickly (the demon who causes their decrease). And quickly indeed may the malignant one die off—. For no one of her adherents can maintain this Drug(k) by prayers.

2. Smiting fiercely³ with her weapon, she, the Drug(k), goes on, and most mighty she has been. And she wanders on, O Zarathustra! as mindful of her might, and strong⁴ in proportion as she advances

¹ This was to be spoken when the vessel containing the Zaothras was taken in hand (Sp.).

² This fragment is very much broken in its connections, and most corrupt in its grammatical forms. The translation is entirely conjectural. Section IX has also irregularities.

³ Some form of dva may be conjectured.

⁴ 'With her weapon.'

as the sinful Drug(k). But may Khshathra¹ be with me—, so that . . . the deadly one may die away, for thereupon the blow of destruction shall come upon the Drug(k)².

IX.

1. The Ahuna-vairya is a prayer to be (revered and) chosen as the choice one of Mazda. The Khshathra-vairya is likewise such, and the Yâ daêna³. They (it) will gain the reward. Yathâ ahû vairyo. It is the word of Mazda. They are the words in season. It is the Māthra-spenta word, the unsubdued, the undeceived, the victorious, the opponent of malice, the healing and victorious word of Mazda, which, as it is pronounced⁴, gives most the victory to him who utters it. 2. I have declared the hymn which is most helpful and victorious against the words of Aêshma, which is health-giving and healing, and conducive to progress, the multiplier, and the furtherer of growth. And let the worshipper present it with a liberal offering . . . with its pleasing words. Let that be done through veritable grace which helps us on the most⁵. The Kingdom (is) to Ahura, which to the poor may grant a nurturer⁶.

¹ Khshathra~~ta~~ ?

² See Y. XXX, 10.

³ So I conjecture as the commencing words of some piece.

⁴ 'For healing.'

⁵ Y. L, 11.

⁶ Last line of the Ahuna.

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In addition to the occurrences cited above, the words *aêshma*, aka *manah*, *ameretatâr*, *amesha spenta*, *asha*, *ashi vanguhi*, *asnya*, *âramaiti*, *âtharvan*, *drûg*, *frashakarâ*, *ganrâk* *mînavad*, *haurvatâr*, *îsti*, *khshathra*, *kinvar*, *kisti*, *mazdayasnian*, *mâhya*, *mâthra*, *ratu*, *spenta mainyu*, *sraosha*, *vahista manah*, *verethraghna*, *vîsya*, *vohu manah*, *zaotar* occur as translated.

With regard to the subject indexed as the originality of the Gâthas, it is not intended to deny that the original migrations of the entire Aryan race may have been from the North-west.

On page 198 read *Maidhyô-shema*, *Maidhyô-zaremaya*; p. 204, -*gyâiti*; p. 209, -*gyâitê*.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.		III Class.								
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k			क	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k	
2 " aspirata	kh			ख	𐬖	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh	
3 Media	g			ग	𐬔	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓		
4 " aspirata	gh			घ	𐬕	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔		
5 Gutturo-labialis	q										
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)			ङ	{ 𐬓 (ng) } { 𐬓 (N) }						
7 Spiritus asper	h			ह	𐬖 (𐬖 h)	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,										
9 " asper faucalis	ʔh										
10 " lenis faucalis	ʔh										
11 " asper fricatus											
12 " lenis fricatus											
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis				च	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	k	
14 " aspirata				छ	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	kh	
15 Media				ज	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	g	
16 " aspirata				झ	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	gh	
17 " Nasalis	ñ			ञ	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	ñ	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬚	𐬎	𐬎	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper					𐬚					
20 " lenis		(y)			𐬚					
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬚	𐬎	𐬎	س	ש	
22 " lenis assibilatus		z			𐬚	𐬎	𐬎	ز	ז	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬚	𐬎	𐬎	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th				𐬚	𐬎	𐬎	ת	ת	th
25 " assibilata			TH		𐬚	𐬎	𐬎			
26 Media	d			द	𐬚	𐬎	𐬎	ד	ד	
27 " aspirata	dh				𐬚	𐬎	𐬎			
28 " assibilata			DH		𐬚	𐬎	𐬎			
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬚	𐬎	𐬎	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l				𐬚	𐬎	𐬎	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l			𐬚	𐬎	𐬎			
32 " mollis 2			L		𐬚	𐬎	𐬎			
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬚	𐬎	𐬎	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2			S (S)		𐬚	𐬎	𐬎			
35 " lenis	z				𐬚	𐬎	𐬎	ז	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1			z (z)		𐬚	𐬎	𐬎			
37 " asperimus 2			z (z)		𐬚	𐬎	𐬎			

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ə			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ɔ			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا	א	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	آ	א	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	ي	י	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	יי	י	...
8 Dentalis brevis	ɛ			ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	ē			ऐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ɪ			ऋ	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	ī			ॠ	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	é(ai)	(e)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei(ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi(ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō(au)	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu(ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou(ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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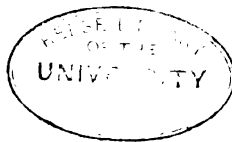
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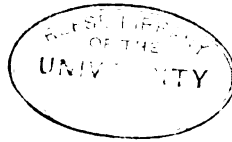
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PART IV

CONTENTS OF THE NASKS



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INTRODUCTION.

ATTENTIVE readers of the Sacred Books of the East have had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Zoroastrian scriptures, so far as these have been preserved by the Parsis. In vols. iv, xxiii, and xxxi they have translations of all the texts extant in the original language of the Avesta, excepting a few fragments which are not yet collected. And in vols. v, xviii, and xxiv they have translations of later Pahlavi texts, showing how faithfully the old doctrines and legends were handed down by the priests of Sasanian times to their immediate successors. But they will also have noticed that the translators of these texts are well aware of the fact that the texts themselves are mere fragments of the religious writings of the Zoroastrians, which owe their preservation to the circumstance that they were those portions most usually committed to memory by the priesthood, such as the liturgy, sacred myths, and ceremonial laws. The object of the present volume is to add to those fragments all the accessible information, that can be collected from Irânian sources, regarding the contents of the whole Zoroastrian literature in Sasanian times.

It has been long known that this literature was contained in twenty-one Nasks, or treatises, named either from the nature of their contents, or from their initial words, and each having one of the twenty-one words of the Ahunavair attached to it as a kind of artificial reminder of their proper order and number while enumerating them. Very brief statements of the contents of each Nask have also been accessible in manuscripts of the Persian Rivâyats, such as those translated in pp. 419-438 of this volume. And the existence of a much longer account of the Nasks in the *Dinkard* was ascertained by Haug, who published

some extracts from it in 1870, when describing several of the Nasks in the Index to the Pahlavi-Pāzand Glossary. He was unable to do more, on account of the defective state of all modern manuscripts of the *Dīnkard*, in which a large portion of the text of the description of the Nasks, in the eighth and ninth books, is missing in various places without any hint of the omissions. These defects were owing to the abstraction of 52 folios of this part of the Irānian manuscript of the *Dīnkard*, after it was brought to India and before any copy of it had been written; and, even now, two of these folios are still missing, as stated in pp. 262, 270. The importance of recovering these 52 missing folios was due to the fact that they contain the text of Dk. VIII, Chaps. VII, 5–XIX, 36, XXXI, 31–XXXVIII, 19, XLIV, 34–XLVI, 5, and Dk. IX, Chaps. I, 1–XI, 11, XII, 15–XLVII, 17, or nearly half the text of the two books.

Regarding the early history of the *Dīnkard* there exists a detailed statement in the last chapter of its third book, which can now be translated with greater precision than was possible in 1867, when Haug published its Pahlavi text, with an English translation, in his introduction to the *Farhang-i Oīm-aēvak*, or *Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*. In this historical statement it is evident that §§ 1–8 refer to the traditional history of the Zoroastrian scriptures generally, considered as the original source of the information contained in the *Dīnkard*; but §§ 9–13 may be accepted as the actual history of the compilation of the work itself, the facts of which may, very possibly, have all been within the personal knowledge of the writer of the statement. The Pahlavi text of this statement, as preserved in the manuscripts B and K (see pp. xxxv–xxxviii and 2), may be translated as follows:—

‘1. About the *Dīnkard* scripture (nīpīk), from the Exposition of the Good Religion, there is *this*:—The *Dīnkard* scripture is a work which is adorned with all wisdom, and a publication of the Mazda-worshipping religion. 2. And, first, the work—which *was derived* from the good religion of those of the primitive faith, and which *was* the knowledge revealing the good religion of the

prophet (vakhshvar) Spítāmān Zaratūst, *whose* guardian spirit is revered, and *his* first disciple through asking and hearing the same revered guardian spirit—is information which is a similitude of enlightenment on every subject from the original light. 3. And those original questions and the decision of the exalted ruler Kai-Vistâsp to have *them* written *were its* origin, and he ordered *them* to deliver the original to the treasury of Shapîgân¹, *and* to distribute copies provided. 4. And, after that, he sends a copy to the fortress of documents, to keep the information also there.

‘5. And during the ruin that happened to the country of Irân, and in the monarchy, owing to the evil-destined villain Alexander, that which *was* in the fortress of documents came to be burnt, and that in the treasury of Shapîgân² into the hands of the Arûmans, and *was* translated by him even into the Greek language, as information which *was* connected with the ancients (min pêsîngân padvastakô).

‘6. And that Artakhshatar, king of kings, who *was* son of Pâpak, came for the restoration of the monarchy of Irân, *and* the same scripture *was* brought from a scattered state to one place. 7. The righteous Tôsar of the primitive faith, who was the priest of priests³, appeared with an exposition recovered from the Avesta, and *was* ordered to complete *the scripture* from that exposition. 8. He did so accordingly (ham-gûnakô), to preserve a similitude of the splendour of the original enlightenment in the treasury of Shapîgân⁴, and *was* ordered to distribute copies *of* the information provided.

‘9. And after the ruin and devastation that came from the Arabs, even to the archives (dîvân) and treasures of the realm, the saintly⁵ Âtûr-farnbag, son of Farukhō-zâd, who became the leader of the orthodox, brought those copies, which were scattered on *all* sides, *and* new resources, back from dispersion into union *with* the archives of his residence; *and*, through observance and consideration for the Avesta and Zand of the good religion, he made the sayings of those of the primitive faith again a similitude of the illumination (fîrôkô) from that splendour.

¹ Both MSS. have Shasîgân here, but see p. 413, n. 4.

² So in K, or perhaps Shîzîgân; B has Shasîgân.

³ So in K.

⁴ So in K; B has Shapân.

⁵ B has Âtûrpâd inserted here by mistake.

'10. Through the awful displeasure (*or defect*) and ruin (*or injury*) that happened to Zaratûst, son of Âtûr-farnbag, who became the leader of the orthodox, even those archives came to devastation, that scripture to dilapidation and dispersion, *and* the statements (*vâkîh*) also to obsolescence, perversion, and corruption.

'11. And, after that, I, Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmêd *and* leader of the orthodox, *have* likewise written, from their fragments (*sûbâra-gânô*), a new means of giving assistance *to* the Mazda-worshipping religion, with much prayer, investigation, and trouble. 12. From whatever *was* recovered from those dilapidated (*visândakô*), decayed, worn out, and dust-mingled (*khâk-âmêg*) archives—and these, too, brought back by taking away, carrying *off*, and seizing—*it* is selected, owing to ¹ the assistance of the counselling wisdom of the mighty spirit, for the rediffusion of the words and deeds of the ancients, and *of* the evidence of the Avesta, for those of the primitive faith. 13. And the increase of knowledge from the good religion, arranged and prescribed in its chapters, is a lustre from encountering that splendour from the enlightenment of the original light primarily composed for the exposition of the good religion, *and* this which is named is a resemblance by adoption *of* the thousand chapters of that great original Dînkard². 14. It is perfected by the sacred beings, *and* transmits the powerful effect which *has* come upon even that which is the perfect religion of the sufferers³ in *this* age, and also the coming of the assistance of the soul to the knowledge⁴ of the orthodox; and even reunion with⁵ the rest of Irân is acquaintance *with* the exposition of the Mazda-worshipping religion, and the reproviding of more resources of a like origin, which *will be* also due to those whom the Supreme *has* provided, the disciples of Aûshêdar⁶, son of Zaratûst, for asking again a declaration of⁷ the good religion from Aûshêdar.'

From this statement it appears that the compilation of the Dînkard was commenced by Âtûr-farnbag, son of Farukhō-zâd, one of the leaders or supreme high-priests of the Mazda-worshippers, and was revised and completed

¹ Assuming that m stands for min.

² Both MSS. have zak rabâ būn Dênô-kardô.

³ K has dênô-î būrdârân.

⁴ B has 'arising.'

⁵ B has 'and the reunited selection for.'

⁶ See Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 12.

⁷ B omits 'a declaration of.'

by Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmêd, one of his successors. From the Mâdîgân-î gugastak Abâlis we learn that Âtûr-farnbag had a religious disputation with Abâlis in the presence of the Khalîfah Al-Mâmûn, who reigned A.D. 813-833; he must therefore have been compiling the *Dînkard* during the first half of the ninth century. In the *Sikand-gûm-ânîk Vigâr*, IV, 107, IX, 3, X, 55, he is also mentioned as a compiler of the *Dînkard*, but the details there quoted must have been taken from its first two books which are still missing. It is likewise stated at the beginning of both its fourth and fifth books that their contents are derived from his statements, and a similar acknowledgement is made with regard to some of the contents of Chap. CXLII of the third book; so that the evidence of his authorship is very complete. With regard to Âtûrpâd, the completer of the *Dînkard*, we may safely identify him with the Âtûrpâd, son of Hâmêd, mentioned in Bd. XXXIII, 11 as a contemporary of Zâd-spâram, who flourished at the latter end of the ninth century (see S. B. E., vol. xviii, p. xiv). We have, therefore, every reason to be satisfied that the whole of the *Dînkard* was compiled during the ninth century.

The history of the transmission of the text of its last seven books, through the last thousand years, down to the present manuscripts, is equally satisfactory, owing to the preservation of a series of colophons appended to the text, of which the first and most important may be translated as follows:—

‘Completed in great joy and full of gratification this last portion of the manuscript of the incomparable, priceless, and unequalled *Dînkard*, at the place where *it was found and* happily disinterred¹ by us in Asûristân, within the happily prosperous, odoriferous, precious, well-thriving, *and* glorious Bakdâd of Good Rectitude²; from a copy which, as regards the religion, is *just* as the leaders of the saintly *and* orthodox, who *were* of the family of the saintly Âtûrpâd, son of Mâraspend, (who re-explained knowledge, by five *or* six well-destined ones, from the pure revelation

¹ Khûs-kand might be the name of a place here, but cannot be so in the next paragraph.

² The angel Aharîsvang (Av. ashîs vanguhî).

which is the all-embellished learning of learnings) *and* the successive leaders of the orthodox (*who* again provided at different times [ahamvâr] for its restoration, through manuscripts *at* various places, to maintain reading *and* investigation *therein*) had written.

‘I, Mâh-vindâd, *son* of Naremâhân, *son* of Vâhrâm, *son* of Mitrô-âpân, like an adopted son for his own possession, who wrote *it*, *am* letting *it* forth *on* the day Dên of the month Tîr, the victor, of the year 369 after the year 20 of that Yazdakard, king of kings, who *was* son of Shatrô-ayâr [2nd July, 1020]¹; in reliance on the pure good religion of the Mazdâ-worshippers, as regards remembrance of Zaratûst, the Spîtâmân with the righteous guardian spirit, *and* of the genuine achievement of Âtûrpâd, son of Mâraspend; and as regards remembrance of the righteous utterance of blessings for the whole embodied existence *by* the desirers of righteousness, who are thinkers of good thoughts, speakers of good words, and doers of good deeds; in the worldly *existence*, through completely-wishful kind regard of the practices of righteousness, they shall unite with the union of the renovation of the universe, and spiritually *their* pure souls *and* guardian spirits *attain* to the supremely great position and eminence, and complete acquirement of recompense, which are in the light that is endless, constantly beneficial, *and* full of glory, which they shall obtain. *This* is especially for those saintly *and* supremely learned men, Âtûrfarnbag, son of Farukhō-zâd, *and* Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmêd, by whom this priceless² Dînkard scripture *was* selected so learnedly and (with a pure perception of the spiritual lord, in seizing the cream of the fortunate commentary of³ the good religion) so truly amicably, and fully affectionately *for* the good creatures and religion, with great advantage for us moderns, *and* concealed for me who, through eagerness *for* righteousness, like an adopted son, *have* happily disinterred this scripture; and even he who reads, and shall make use of it, is reliant and free from doubt about it; and him who shall take a copy from it, and preserves *it* with propriety, they shall appropriately connect with it.’

¹ The remainder of this colophon, so far as it is here translated, is also quoted in the second colophon.

² Here written ar’gō, but it is an-ar’gō in the second colophon.

³ Reading dên farukhō zand shîr-hâkō-î, but this is doubtful. From this point the whole of the rest of this colophon, including the aphorisms, is also found in K.

(This is followed by a long succession of aphorisms, and the colophon winds up with some threats against those who shall misuse the manuscript.)

As this colophon mentions only the 'last portion' of the *Dīnkard*, and is appended to the text of Dk. III-IX, it is probable that the first portion of the work, Dk. I, II, had already become separated from the rest within 150 years of its revision and completion. And if Māh-vindād did not copy from the original manuscript of Âtûrpâd, he must certainly have done so from a very early transcript.

The second colophon was written by Shatrô-ayâr, *son of Êrdîshir, son of Airîk, son of Rûstâm, son of Airîk, son of Kubâd, son of Airân-shah*, who completed his copy on the day *Aûharmazd* of the month *Spendarmad* in the year 865 after the 20th year of *Yazdakard* [3rd October, 1516], having transcribed it from a copy written by Mar'zapân, *son of Spend-dâd, son of Mar'zapân, son of 'Mitrô-âpân, son of Spend-dâd, son of Mitrô-âpân, son of Mar'zapân, son of Dahisn-aiyyâr, son of Rôg-vêh, son of Shâh-mard*. The date of Mar'zapân's copy may be approximately fixed by observing that his father's first cousin wrote a copy of AV. and Gf., mentioned in K20, in the year 690 of *Yazdakard*, while his great great granduncle wrote a similar copy, mentioned in MH6, in the Pârsî year 618. If this Pârsî year be reckoned from the era of the 20th year of *Yazdakard*, as seems probable¹, these dates give 52 years for three generations; and Mar'zapân, living one generation later than the writer of A.Y. 690, may perhaps have written his copy of the *Dīnkard* about A.Y. 707 [A.D. 1338]; so that there was probably another copyist, intermediate between him and Māh-vindād-i Naremâhân, of whom no record has been preserved. Shatrô-ayâr concludes his colophon by quoting a long passage from the first colophon, as already stated in p. xxxiv, n. 1, and by acknowledging his obligations to three other persons whom he names. This colophon is the last that now remains attached to the manuscript B, but it was formerly followed

¹ Observe the use of the phrase 'Pârsî year' in the third colophon and in the manuscript K (see p. xxxviii).

by a third colophon, written by the actual writer of B, and preserved in copies transcribed from B since its arrival in India.

This third colophon was written by Mâh-vindâd, *son of Vâhrâm, son of Êrdîshîr of Tûrkâbâd*, who completed his copy, from that of Shatrô-ayâr, on the day *Âvân* of the month Khûrdâd in the Pârsî year 1009 after the 20th year of Yazdakard [21st December, 1659, N. S.]. This copy, which constitutes the manuscript B, was afterwards approved by Vâhrâm, *son of Mâh-vindâd, son of Rûstâm, son of Anôshak-rûbân, son of Rûstâm of Tûrkâbâd*, who blesses the writer of the second colophon, on the day Tîstar of the month Vohûman in the year 1038 of Yazdakard [18th August, 1669, N. S.]. It was also finally seen and approved by Rûstâm, *son of Gûstâsp, son of Êrdîshîr*, who likewise blesses the writer of the second colophon; and the approximate date of this approval may be guessed from the fact that Rûstâm Gûstâsp is known to have copied one manuscript in A.D. 1706, and another in 1741.

Regarding this manuscript B, written in 1659, it appears from Mullâ Firûz's *Avtâgêh Dîn* (Bombay, 1830) that Mullâ Bahman, son of Mullâ Behrâm, a Parsi priest of Yazd, brought this manuscript of the Dînkard from Irân to Surat in 1783, and, having shown it to Aspandîârji Ratanji-shâh, he lent it to Kâusji Rustamji, then Dastûr of Surat, and allowed him to have it copied. Mullâ Bahman had great difficulty in obtaining the return of his manuscript, and when it was returned many folios were missing. It was after this loss of folios that Aspandîârji had several other copies transcribed from the defective manuscript, to be sent to various persons, and all these copies were therefore equally defective.

This manuscript B, thus defective, afterwards came into the possession of Mullâ Firûz, who was high-priest of the Kadmi Parsis in Bombay; and, after his death in 1830, it descended to his successor. In 1875 it belonged to Dastûr Sohrâbji Rustamji, high-priest of the Kadmis, through whose courtesy, and that of Dastûr Dr. Jâmâspji Minochiharji, it was then lent to me long enough to

enable me to copy and collate two-thirds of Dk. III and to collate Dk. IV-IX; and Dastûr Jâmâspji, afterwards, kindly supplied me with a copy of the remainder of Dk. III.

The manuscript has been bound in its defective state, and contains 322 folios, originally fourteen inches high and ten inches wide, written 20 to 22 lines to the page. When complete it appears to have consisted of 392 folios, all numbered in Persian words, but with several blunders, including one of fifty folios, so that the last folio was really numbered 442. Of the 70 folios not bound with the rest of the manuscript, fourteen were lying loose in the volume; forty-three belonged to Dastûr Rustamji Kaikobâdji of Nausâri, with a copy of which I was kindly supplied by Dastûr Dr. Peshotani Behramji of Bombay, who also enabled me to collate it with the original folios; and seven folios were lent to me by Dastûr Dr. Hoshangji Jâmâspji of Poona, for the purpose of copying. The remaining six folios have not been discovered; they comprise the first folio of the manuscript, containing the commencement of Dk. III, which was probably lost before the manuscript arrived in India; also one folio in Dk. VII, two in Dk. IX (see pp. 262, 270 of this volume), and the last two folios of the manuscript, containing the third colophon and final approvals (see p. xxxvi).

I am likewise much indebted to the kindness of Professor Kielhorn, who gave me a modern copy of Dk. IV-IX (with the text in its defective state) which had been prepared at Poona, so that it was only necessary to collate this copy with the original text of the manuscript B. With the aid of all this liberal assistance I was enabled to obtain the whole text of the *Dinkard*, known to exist, in the course of a few months; that it has since taken as much as sixteen years to find opportunities for translating and publishing rather more than one-fourth of its contents, will not surprise any one who is acquainted with the nature of the work that had to be done.

The only known manuscript, independent of B, that contains any portion of the *Dinkard*, is the old codex K

brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843, and now No. 43 of the Irânian manuscripts in the University Library at Copenhagen. This codex contains about one-fifth of the text of the *Dînkard* in two detached portions, together with other Pahlavi texts. The first portion occupies fols. 177-261, and comprises Dk. VI, of which one-eighth is missing, with Dk. III, Chaps. CLX and CCLXXXIII, and a colophon, all written in the district of *Tûrkâbâd* by *Mitrô-âpân*, son of *Anôshak-rûbân*, son of *Rûstâm*, son of *Shatrô-ayâr*, son of *Mâh-vindâd*, son of *Vâhrâm*, son of *Gûshisn-ayâr*, son of *Mitrô-âpân*, and completed on the day *Gôs* of the month *Mitrô* in the *Pârsî* year 943 after the 20th year of *Yazdakard* [10th May, 1594, N. S.]. This copyist appears to have been a great-uncle of the writer who approved the manuscript B in 1669, ten years after it was written; and the original from which he copied was, no doubt, descended from *Mâh-vindâd-î Naremâhân's* manuscript of 1020, as he appends to his colophon all the latter part of *Mâh-vindâd's* colophon (see p. xxxiv, n. 3). The second portion of the text of the *Dînkard*, contained in the manuscript K, is written by another hand on 42 additional folios, and comprises the last two chapters of Dk. III, the whole of Dk. V, and the first three-tenths of Dk. IX (as mentioned in p. 172, n. 1, of this volume). This manuscript supplies several short passages in the *Dînkard*, which are omitted by B, especially in the first portion of the text described above. It has also afforded much assistance in the translation of Dk. IX, Chaps. I, 1-XXXI, 17.

Regarding the authorship of the summary account of the Nasks, contained in Dk. VIII, IX, it may be reasonably assumed, in default of any positive information, that the compiler was *Âtûrpâd*, son of *Hêmêd*, the last editor of the *Dînkard*. And, as nothing is said about any previous treatise being consulted, it may be safely supposed that he had access to the Avesta texts and Pahlavi versions of all the Nasks he describes, fully three centuries after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia. The only Nask he could not obtain was the *Vastag*, and the Pahlavi version

of the *Nâdar* was also missing ; under which circumstances, the fully detailed accounts of these two Nasks, given in the Persian *Rivâyats*, must be viewed with suspicion, until better evidence of their authenticity has been discovered than is at present available.

The survival of so much of the sacred Zoroastrian literature, during three centuries of Muhammadan rule, indicates that the final loss of nearly all this literature was not so directly attributable to the Arabs as the Parsis suppose. So long as a considerable number of the Persians adhered to their ancient religion, they were able to preserve its literature almost intact, even for centuries ; but when, through conversion and extermination, the *Mazda*-worshippers had become a mere remnant, and then fell under the more barbarous rule of the Tartars, they rapidly lost all their old literature that was not in daily religious use. And the loss may have been as much due to their neglecting the necessary copying of manuscripts, as to any destructiveness on the part of their conquerors ; because the durability of a manuscript written on paper seldom exceeds five or six centuries.

The statements of the *Dînkard*, about the classification and subdivisions of the Nasks, are corroborated and supplemented by those of *Zâd-sparam* (see pp. 401-405). The division of all literature into three classes of knowledge, religious, worldly, and intermediate, is one that would naturally suggest itself to any classifier¹, but the names employed (which are transcribed from the Avesta, and do not exactly correspond with these three meanings) must have originated at a period when the Avesta language was still spoken. That such a classification cannot be very strictly carried out in practice is already admitted in *Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 13.*

¹ Professor Darmesteter has suggested to me the very similar apportionment of the old Hebrew literature, mentioned in Jeremiah xviii. 18, thus :—‘ For the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet.’ And in Ezekiel vii. 26, thus :—‘ Then shall they seek a vision of the prophet : but the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients.’

The further division of the literature into twenty-one books, seven in each of the three classes, is a much more artificial arrangement, and can, perhaps, be best explained as an attempt to make the twenty-one words of the Ahunavair serve the purpose of a reminder for enumerating the Nasks in their proper order. This arrangement was probably made at some period when the scattered Avesta literature was being collected and re-arranged, the Pahlavi versions being then supplied, and the present Pahlavi names of the Nasks appointed. This may possibly have been the work of 'composition and preservation' attributed to Âtûr-pâd, son of Mâraspend, in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 22, when 'the Nasks were enumerated' (see Dk. IV, 27, in p. 415), which occurred in the fourth century.

Why the established sequence of the Nasks, detailed in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 12, should differ from the successive sequences of their three classes, given in §§ 9-11, is very imperfectly explained; but some of the reasons for the difference may perhaps be guessed. If the notation proposed in p. 7, n. 3, be adopted, the established sequence is G2-4; H1-7; G5; L6; G7; L7, 1-5; G6, 1; in which the only Nasks that are out of their order in the classes are G1, 5-7 and L6, 7. The placing of G6, 1 next after L5 (that is, the Hâdôkht and Stôd-yast next after the Vendîdâd) may perhaps have been owing to the constant use of these three Nasks in the liturgy, in which either the Vendîdâd, or the Hâdôkht¹, was frequently interpolated in the recitation of the Stôd-yast which comprised by far the larger portion of the present Yasna and Vispêrad. But this position of the Stôd-yast, at the end of the list of Nasks, was probably considered derogatory to its sacred character by most of the writers of the Persian Rivâyats, who have, therefore, restored it to its original place at the head of the Gâthic Nasks. Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 15, states that G5 was placed after H7 because the Vastag was connected with the Vistâsp-sâstô, probably by the nature of its contents. And, possibly, the sequence L6, G7, L7 of the Kitradâd, Spend, and Bakân-yast, between the Vastag

¹ So long as it was preserved.

and *Nîkâdûm*, may indicate some similar resemblance of contents; especially as the contents of the *Kîtradâd* and *Bakân-yast* were so far from being strictly legal that these Nasks were placed in a sub-class by themselves, and the connection of the *Spend* with the *Gâthas* appears to have been merely historical. The Persian *Rivâyats* place the *Spend* next after the *Vastag*, thereby bringing the two imperfectly *Gâthic* Nasks together, as well as the two imperfectly legal ones; but then they also transpose the *Ganabâ-sar-nigad* and the *Hûspâram*, for which there seems to be no justification.

With regard to the names of the Nasks, it is evident that several of the Persian names, used in the *Rivâyats*, are more or less irreconcilable with the Pahlavi names in the *Dinkard*, and some others are improbable readings of the Pahlavi forms. In this translation the Pahlavi forms have been followed, as clearly more authentic than the Persian corruptions, and some few of the names have been read differently; while in other cases the most probable readings have been merely suggested in foot-notes, not on account of the Persian reading being justifiable, but because the evidence for the suggested reading is less complete than would be desirable.

In dealing with this account of the Nasks it is always necessary to remember that the compiler of the *Dinkard* relies entirely upon their Pahlavi versions, as he states distinctly in *Dk. VIII*, Chap. I, 3; he occasionally mentions the Avesta texts, as in Chaps. VI, 1, XII, 1, and it is abundantly evident, to the practised translator, that Avesta phrases often underlie the Pahlavi passages which seem to be quoted at length from the original Nasks, especially in *Dk. IX*; but, for some of the details mentioned, there may be no older authority than a Pahlavi commentary, and this should ever be borne in mind by the sceptical critic in search of anachronisms.

Owing to his complete reliance upon the Pahlavi versions, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty whether any particular statement, made by the compiler of the *Dinkard*, was contained in the Avesta text; his summary, there-

fore, throws little or no satisfactory light upon the origin of that text. A few of the details he mentions (such as those contained in Dk. VIII, Chaps. XIII, 17-20, XLIII, 24 and Dk. IX, Chaps. XXXII, 17, XXXIX, 13-16, LIII, 3) evidently refer to Sasanian times, and may be reasonably supposed to have originated in the Pahlavi versions of those times. But vaguer prophecies of good or evil, such as are common in all religions at all times, may have often occurred in the Avesta texts themselves.

It is evident, however, that all the Nasks have accumulated around the Gâtha centre of the *Stôd-yast*, and that this Gâtha centre in the earliest Sasanian times was neither more nor less extensive than it is at present. The age of Gâthic composition had so long passed away in the time of the earliest Sasanian monarchs, that the sages whom they appointed to collect and re-arrange the sacred literature, were unable to fully understand many of the stanzas they had to translate into Pahlavi, much less could they have added to their number. How far they may have been able to write ordinary Avesta text is more uncertain, but any such writing was probably confined to a few phrases for uniting the fragments of old Avesta which they discovered, or for interpolating opinions of their own. All such compositions, however, would have been hazardous, as forming no part of their duties, which seem to have been confined to the arrangement of the fragmentary Avesta texts, and their translation into Pahlavi with explanatory comments in that language. It appears from the traditional statements, mentioned in p. 415, that this work was completed, and the Nasks were fully arranged, by *Âtûrpâd*, son of *Mâraspend*, in the reign of *Shahpûhar II* (A. D. 309-379); but the Pahlavi versions were certainly revised, and some further commentaries added, after the suppression of the heresy of *Mazdak*, as late as the reign of *Khûsrô I* (A. D. 531-579).

That the Avesta texts themselves were not written, to any great extent, in Sasanian times, is shown by the quantity of Pahlavi commentary necessary to adapt them to the altered circumstances of those times. The Gâthic

Nasks, being strictly religious, required only some explanations, with little extended commentary ; because the religion had to be maintained without sensible modification. Of the Hadha-māthric Nasks we know but little. But the strictly Legal Nasks consisted chiefly of the commentary which is always necessary to adapt ancient laws to modern ideas.

With regard to the mode of describing the Nasks, adopted in the *Dinkard*, it is evident that the compiler intended, in the first place, to give merely a very short account of the general contents of each Nask, to be followed by a detailed statement of the particular contents of each chapter (see Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 23, 24). But, when he had fully carried out this intention with respect to the first three Nasks, his work came to a premature conclusion, which has deprived us of much valuable information regarding the rest of the Nasks. The descriptions of these other Nasks vary in extent, but may be roughly classified as follows:—Of the *Nādar* and *Vastag* there is no description whatever. Of the *Dāmdād*, *Radō-dād-aitag*, *Kaskîsrôbô*, *Vistâsp-sâstô*, *Bakân-yast*, and *Stôd-yast* the description is very short, averaging 80 Pahlavi words for each. Of the *Pāgag*, *Baris*, *Kitrādād*, *Spend*, and *Hādôkht* the description is rather longer, averaging 358 Pahlavi words for each ; but, as such a description is still far too brief to be satisfactory, the compiler must have intended to add a detailed account of each chapter of all these Nasks. On coming to the strictly Legal Nasks, however, he adopted a different plan, by giving a much more voluminous statement of the contents of certain selected chapters ; thus the very long description of the *Nikādûm*, *Ganabâ-sar-nigad*, *Hûspâram*, and *Sakādûm* averages 3670 Pahlavi words for each. This change of plan is somewhat modified in the case of the *Vendidād*, where the description of 1272 Pahlavi words is only moderately long. While the first three Nasks, the *Sûdkar*, *Varstmânsar*, and *Bakô*, after a very short description averaging 65 Pahlavi words for each, are again described in detail, as already mentioned, to the average extent of 8647 Pahlavi words for each.

From these descriptions, and their connection with certain Avesta texts and Pahlavi writings, it is now possible to form a more or less adequate conception of the contents of Nasks I-IV, X, XIII-XIX, XXI, and also some idea of those of Nasks VI, XII; but the accounts of the remaining six Nasks, most of which belonged to the Hadha-māthric or scientific class, are very unsatisfactory.

With reference to the total extent of the Nasks, when they were all extant, it is obvious that the length of descriptions, drawn up on the same plan, ought to bear approximately some definite proportion to the lengths of text described; so that, if the extent of the text of one Nask be known, and the proportion it bears to the length of its description be ascertained, this proportion becomes a rough means of estimating the probable extent of other Nasks, from the length of their descriptions drawn up on the same plan. Three years ago an attempt was made¹ to estimate the total extent of the Nasks in this way, based upon the assumptions that the Nasks still extant were three in number, that the length of the description of the Vendîdād was a fair average one for estimating the extent of Pahlavi version in all the lost Nasks, and that the proportion of Avesta text to Pahlavi version in the Nirangistān was also a fair average for estimating the extent of their Avesta texts. These assumptions were carefully made, as the least liable to objection, and the total extent of the Nasks in Sasanian times, thus estimated, amounted to 133,000 words of Avesta text and 844,000 of Pahlavi version.

Since the completion of the translation of Dk. IX it has, however, become possible to estimate the probable extent of the first three Nasks from the proportion between the actual extent of the first three fargard's of the Bakō (Yas. XIX-XXI) and the length of their description. It has also been thought no longer reasonable to neglect the actual length of the Nirangistān as a basis for estimating the extent of the Pahlavi versions of the strictly Legal Nasks XV-

¹ In the *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1888, pp. 441, 442.

XVIII; and the Bakân-yast has been identified with the Yasts still extant¹. These additional considerations have led to a new estimate of the probable extent of each Nask separately, based upon the best data available in each case, as stated in detail in the foot-notes to the names of the Nasks in the Extant Fragments (pp. 451-488 of this volume). These estimates are here collected, for the sake of convenient reference, as follows:—

			Avesta.	Pahlavi.
G2 :	Nask	1. Sûdkar . . .	4,700 words	10,500
" 3	"	2. Varstmânsar . . .	8,300 "	18,500
" 4	"	3. Bakô . . .	9,500 "	21,200
H1	"	4. Dâmdâd' . . .	8,900 "	29,300
" 2	"	5. Nâdar . . .	6,800 "	22,200
" 3	"	6. Pâgag . . .	9,100 "	29,800
" 4	"	7. Radô-dâd-aîtag . . .	10,500 "	34,300
" 5	"	8. Baris . . .	4,400 "	14,600
" 6	"	9. Kaskîsrôbbô . . .	5,500 "	17,900
" 7	"	10. Vistâsp-sâstô . . .	2,200 "	7,200
G5	"	11. Vastag . . .	8,900 "	18,400
L6	"	12. Kitradâd' . . .	2,600 "	23,400
G7	"	13. Spend . . .	9,900 "	20,500
L7	"	14. Bakân-yast . . .	22,000 "	44,000
" 1	"	15. Nikâdûm . . .	62,600 "	562,900
" 2	"	16. Ganabâ-sar-nigad' . . .	28,000 "	251,500
" 3	"	17. Hûspâram . . .	44,900 "	403,600
" 4	"	18. Sakâdûm . . .	53,000 "	476,600
" 5	"	19. Vendîdâd' . . .	23,000 "	48,000
G6	"	20. Hâdôkht . . .	8,400 "	17,400
" 1	"	21. Stôd-yast . . .	12,500 "	22,400
Total extent of 21 Nasks .			345,700	2,094,200

This total is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as that of the former estimate, but, as nearly the whole of this increase is in the four strictly Legal Nasks, whose length is well attested by that of the extant Nîrangistân, there is little probability that further investigation will lead to any re-

¹ This had been done, long ago, in a Persian Rivâyat, quoted in B29, fol. 164, which states that the following sixteen Yasts were in the Bayân-yast Nask, namely, the Hôrmezd, Âbân, Mâh, Tîr, Gôr, Mihir, Srôsh, Rashn, Fravardîn, Bahîrâm, Râm, Dîn, Âshasang, Âstâd, Zamyâd, and Khursheh Yasts.

duction of this estimate. No probable alteration of the estimate of the extent of the Hadha-māthric Nasks, which is the most uncertain, would materially affect the total.

Another matter of interest to the readers of translations from the Pahlavi, especially to those who are aware of the ambiguities of the original text, is the degree of confidence they can place in the correctness of the translation. In the case of the *Dīnkar* it is fortunately possible to consult manuscripts written in Persia, and descended through only four or five intermediate copies from the work of the original writer, so that the text is remarkably free from copyists' errors. The eighth and ninth books also contain very few of those involved sentences, with long parenthetical clauses, which, owing to the habitual absence or misplacement of stops, are very perplexing to a translator. The chief difficulties of the text arise from its synoptical character, and the consequent want of connection between its sentences; there being often too little context to define the meaning of a doubtful word. The number of words of doubtful meaning in Pahlavi is, however, fast diminishing, in proportion to the advancing study of the texts; and the certainty of a translator, as to the correctness of his work, is increasing in a like proportion. At any rate, the reader may safely rely upon the general accuracy of these translations, even if a few errors should hereafter be discovered.

As an instance of such possible errors I will here correct one that exists in my translation of the Epistles of Mānūshihar, which was pointed out to me by Mōbad Tehmuras Dinshawji Ankalesaria, in a letter dated 28th October, 1887. In Ep. II, ii, 9-11, there occurs an illustration of what should be done when commentators differ, derived from the use that can be made of different observations of the stars, and containing three names that were difficult to identify. These names were doubtfully read as corruptions of the names of three of the lunar mansions, but it now appears that they were the names of three sets of astronomical tables (*zîk*); so that *Shatro-ayârân*, *Hindûk*, and *Ptolemêôs* should be read, instead of *Satvâharân*, *Avênak*, and *Padramgôs*; both sets of readings expressing the same

Pahlavi letters. With these alterations the passage may be translated as follows :—

Ep. II, ii, 9. 'And there may be a position of the stars, *settled* even by computers of the stars, when they would take that of the sun and moon from the tables of Shatro-ayâr, that of Saturn from the Hindû tables, and that of Mars from the tables of Ptolemy, *and* the position comes *out* very good, *and they* are able to speak *of* the maturity of strength undoubtedly brought on. 10. That this is to be seen as an occurrence is a conjunction which is not possible; because, if the tables of Shatro-ayâr *be* exact, yet, since its Saturn *and* Mars are not from the tables, the effect is not a good configuration; if the Hindû tables *be* correct, yet, since its sun, moon, *and* Mars are not from those tables, the effect is not good; *and* if the tables of Ptolemy *be* correct, yet, since its sun, moon, and Saturn are not from those tables, the effect is not good; on account of which the conjunction is not correct in any way; they believe *it* possible, however, for a firm mind to accomplish this auspicious labour. 11. But they say the just and wise *are* making the decision that this would be a very good position, because that which is in the tables of Shatro-ayâr is truly issuing from him, the great Shatro-ayâr; *and* that of Shatro-ayâr, *being* better through the tables of Ptolemy, remains that employed.'

In conclusion, it is desirable to make some remarks upon the transliteration of Pahlavi, because it is necessary to express not only the various sounds of the letters of a very deficient alphabet, but also the mode of writing several abbreviated compounds which are quite as essential to the correct orthography of Pahlavi as the forms of the separate letters themselves. For this purpose italics are used to indicate not only a few differences of sound from the usual English pronunciation of consonants, but also different letters having the same sound, and letters abbreviated in the writing of compounds. When the abbreviated letter is already italicised, the preceding short vowel (which is not expressed in Pahlavi writing) is also italicised to indicate the abbreviation, or an apostrophe is introduced between the two consonants when no short vowel sound intervenes. Hyphens are used both to connect the components of compound words, which are often written

separately, and also to separate words that are written together in Pahlavi. The application of these rules will be best understood by reference to the following list of transliterations which have been found necessary:—

ALPHABET.

𐭠 a (<i>initial</i>), â, h, kh, zd.	𐭠 or 𐭡 s, 𐭠 + 𐭠.
𐭡 z, a (<i>privative</i>), aê, âê (<i>final</i>), h (<i>final</i>).	𐭡 s, sh, 𐭠 + 𐭠, g-a.
𐭢 b.	𐭢 gh.
𐭣 f, p, v.	𐭣 k.
𐭤 d, t.	𐭤 m.
𐭥 g, k, z.	𐭥 l, n, ô, ô, r, û, v.
𐭦 l, r.	𐭦 l, r.
𐭧 z.	𐭧 d, ê, g, g, ga, î, y.

IRREGULAR COMPOUNDS.

𐭠𐭡 ayâ.
𐭠 (𐭠 + 𐭡, or 𐭠 + 𐭥) aêk, af, ag, ap, av, az, âf, âg, âk, âp, âv, âz, haf, hak, hap, haz, khef, khck, khz.
𐭠 âñ.
𐭡 z, aê, âê (<i>final</i>), êh (<i>final</i>).
𐭡 adîn, didû (<i>better bidû</i>).
𐭡 lþ, rag, raz, r'g, rþ, r'z.
𐭡 dif, diþ, gîf, sag, sak, sap, sig, siþ, sp.
𐭡 s'k, yâf, yâv.
𐭡 m-ê.
𐭡 dag, d-k, êg, êk, gag, gak, gug, îk, îv, îz, yaz, yes.
𐭡 dên (<i>better bèn</i>), yên.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

A.D. for Anno Domini; Âf. for Âfrîngân; Ar. for Arabic; AV. for *Arđâ-Vîrâf nâmak*, ed. Hoshangji and Haug, 1872; Av. for Avesta; A.Y. for Anno *Yazdakarđi*; B for Bombay MS. of *Dînkard*, written in Irân, A.D. 1659, see pp. xxxv-xxxvii; B29 for MS. No. 29 in the University Library at Bombay; Bd. for *Bundahis*, as translated in vol. v of this series; Bk. for Book; B.P. for Bahman Pûngyah, see p. 418, n. 3; Byt. for Bahman Yast, as translated in vol. v of this series; Ch. or Chald. for Chaldee; Chap. for chapter; Dd. for *Dâdistân-î Dînik*, as translated in vol. xviii of this series; Dk. for *Dînkard*; Dv. for *Dînvîgîrgard*; ed. for edited by or edition; Ep. for Epistles of *Mânûskîhar*, as translated in vol. xviii of this series; Farh. Oîm. for *Farhang-i Oîm-aêvak*, or *Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*, ed. Hoshangji and Haug, 1867; fol. for folio; G for gâthic; Gah. for *Gahanbâr* or *Gâhanbâr*; Gen. for Genesis; gen. for genitive; Gesch. der Sas. for *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 1879; Gf. for tale of *Gôst-î Fryânô*, ed. West and Haug, 1872; Gld. for Geldner; H for *hadha-mâthric*; Haug's Essays for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by M. Haug, 2nd ed.; Hn. for *Hâdôkht Nask*, ed. Haug, 1872; Ibid. for ibidem; J2 for *Jâmâspji's Yasna* MS. with Pahlavi, now in the Bodleian Library, by the same copyist as K5; K for Copenhagen MS. No. 43, written A.D. 1594, see pp. xxxvii-viii; K1, K5, K20, K35 for Iranian MSS. Nos. 1, 5, 20, 35 in the University Library at Copenhagen; L for legal; l. for line; ll. for lines; Mf4 for the Mullâ Fîrûz Library's *Yasna* MS. with Pahlavi, descended from an ancestor of K5; MH6, MH10 for MSS. Nos. 6, 10 of Haug's Collection in the State Library at Munich; Mkh. for *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad*, as translated in vol. xxiv of this series; MS. for manuscript; n. for foot-note; N.S. for new style; Ny. for *Nyâyis*; O225 for MS. No. 225 of Ouseley's Collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; OM for Olshausen and Mohl's *Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre*; p. for page; Pahl.

for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; Pers. for Persian; pp. for pages; Pt₄ for Peshotanji's Yasna MS. with Pahlavi, similar to Mf₄; Riv. for Rivâyat; S.B.E. for Sacred Books of the East; Sd. and Sg. for Sad-dar and Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, as translated in vol. xxiv of this series; Sîr. for Sîrôzah; Sls. for Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, as translated in vol. v of this series; Sp. for Spiegel; Vend. for Vendîdâd; Vig. for Vigirkard-i Dînk, ed. Peshotan, Bombay, 1848; Vîsp. for Vîspêrad; vol. for volume; W. or Westerg. for Westergaard; Yas. for Yasna; Yt. for Yast; ZA. for Zend Avesta; Zs. for Selections of Zâd-spâram, as translated in vol. v of this series.

CONTENTS OF THE NASKS

AS STATED IN

THE EIGHTH AND NINTH BOOKS

OF THE

DĪNKARD.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is chiefly responsible, as the stops found in the manuscripts are not used systematically.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Italics occurring in Oriental words, or names, represent certain peculiar Oriental letters (see the 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets' at the end of this volume), or certain abbreviated modes of writing Pahlavi letters, for which see the remarks on Pahlavi transliteration near the end of the Introduction. Italic *a, ð, d, e, é, h, i, î, kh, l, p, r, sh, u, v, zd* indicate no change of pronunciation; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *s* like *sh*, and Avesta *z* like French *j*.

4. In the translation words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those that precede them.

5. For the meaning of the abbreviations, used in the notes, see the explanatory list after the Introduction.

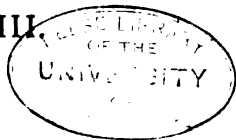
6. The manuscripts used, being the only two independent authorities for the text of the *Dīnkar* known to exist, are:—

B (written A.D. 1659), a nearly-complete MS. of Books III–IX, brought from Irān to Surat in 1783, and now divided between three, or more, owners in Bombay, Nawsârî, and Poona. Of the Books here translated two folios are missing, which contained portions of Bk. IX, Chaps. XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI, XXXVII.

K (written A.D. 1594 and later), No. 43 in the University Library at Copenhagen, a miscellaneous MS. containing several fragments of Books III, V, VI, IX. Of the Books here translated it contains the text of Bk. IX, Chaps. I, 1–XXXI, 17.

CONTENTS OF THE NASKS.

DĪNKARD.—BOOK VIII.



CHAPTER I.

1. Praise *for* Aûharmazd, and obeisance *to* the Mazda-worshipping religion which is the ordinance of Aûharmazd opposed to the demons.

2. The eighth *book* is the present (latamman) memorandum about a summary of what is in the Nasks of the Mazda-worshipping religion, each separately. 3. That which is within the compass (shâd-aûrvân) of this book, about the account of the good religion, is a writing for the information of the many, *and* an announcement from the commentary (zand)—that which is in explanation of revelation (dênô)—which, for this simple (pâdram) high-priest, is in itself the writing of the voice of revelation¹.

4. But, before that, is a writing² of the usage about the divisions (bangisnô) of the reckoning of the Mazda-worshipping revelation, also the parts (bâhar) of its divisions, and the sections (burînakô) of the parts; *and* the exposition of the account—

¹ The author means that he derives his information about the contents of the Nasks entirely from their Pahlavi versions which, so far as he is concerned, are of equal authority with the Avesta text.

² This introductory chapter.

which, though very condensed, is in its division—is *also* condensed in the parts of its division, and more diffuse in the sections of the parts. 5. The divisions of the reckoning of the *Mazda*-worshipping revelation are three :—Gâthas which are the higher spiritual knowledge *and* spiritual duty; Law which is lower¹ worldly knowledge and worldly duty; and the Hadha-māthric which are mostly information and matters about what is between these two ².

¹ Or 'mostly,' if we read *avīrtar*, instead of *azīrtar*, as is done in the next clause of this sentence.

² The three Pahlavi terms are *gāsânō*, *dād*, and *hâḍak-mānsarik*. Of these *dād* evidently means 'law,' because the *Dāḍik* Nasks are chiefly devoted to legal matters (see Chaps. XVI–XLIV); and *gāsânō* appears to mean 'gâthas' rather than 'verses,' because the first *Gāsānik* Nask contained the Gâtha texts (see Chap. XLVI), the next three were commentaries upon the Gâthas (see Chaps. II–IV and Bk. IX, Chaps. II–LXVIII), and the remaining three, so far as we are informed, were devoted to religious matters, but we have no reason to suppose that any of them were metrical, except the Gâthas themselves. The exact meaning of *hâḍak-mānsarik* is less clear; it is derived from *Av. hadha-māthra*, 'provided with spells, or inspired words,' a term applied to *Zarātūst* in *Vīsp.* XIII, 1 and also to the *Māthra-spenta*, or liturgy, in a phrase (see Westerg. Z. A., p. 485) which is appointed to be used in certain parts of the liturgy whenever the *Vistāsp Yast* (a remnant of the last *Hadha-māthric* Nask) is recited; just as another phrase, referring to the Law, is appointed to be used in the same places whenever the *Vendīdād* (one of the *Dāḍik* Nasks) is recited. In what sense the *Hadha-māthric* Nasks can be said to be 'provided with spells' is not clear from the details given in Chaps. V–XI, but, practically, the meaning of the term must be something like 'semi-religious,' being applied to philosophy and science which are neither strictly religious nor strictly secular.

The same three terms were applied to the three classes of mankind, probably the priests, philosophers, and laity; a classification analogous to that of the three professions, the priests, warriors, and husbandmen, but not quite identical with it, as may be gathered from a passage in the sixth book of the *Dīnkard*. This book is

6. And the reason of the triple division of the reckoning of revelation is the exposition of all knowledge *and* duty, and the kinds of knowledge and action *in* the same revelation are these three that *have been* written. 7. Also in the Ahunavair¹, which

'about an epitome, composed *and* preserved by those of the primitive faith, concerning the statements of the religion of Mazda-worship;' and its statements are introduced by the following words:—'Those of the primitive faith, who *were* the sages of the ancients, considered thus, &c.' Near the middle of the book the following passage occurs:—'And this, too, *was* considered by them thus, that these are the three species of mankind:—One is the Gâthic, one the Hadha-mâthric, *and* one the Dâđk. The association (hamîh) of him who is Gâthic is with the sacred beings, *and* his severance (vîgî-aîtagîh) from the demons *and* fiends; the extent of *his* wealth is due to members of the community and *religious* feasts (dâhm va-sûr), and the punishment for the sin which he may commit is shame and is invisible. The association of him who is Hadha-mâthric is with the righteous, and his severance from the wicked; also the extent of his wealth is that which may be produced virtuously, and the punishment for the sin he shall commit is the goad, or scourge (see Chap. XLIV, 65 n); also noxious creatures *for* the body, and compensating the destitute. And the association of him who is Dâđk is with Irânians, and his severance from foreigners; also the extent of his wealth is due to affairs that it is possible to accomplish lawfully, *and* the punishment for the sin which he shall commit is *for* the lifetime of a fowl (kûk), the day of a demon.'

¹ This information seems to be taken from the first fargard of the Sûđkar Nask (see Bk. IX, Chap. II, 19). The Ahunavair (Av. ahuna vairya) is the name of the most sacred formula of the Parsis, derived from its second and third words; it is also called the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, from its first phrase, and is a declaratory statement in metre, consisting of one stanza of three lines, containing twenty-one Avesta words, as follows:—

Yathâ ahû vairyô, athâ ratus ashâd-kîd hatâ,
Vangheus dazdâ mananghō shyaothananām anghēus mazdâi,
Khshathremtâ ahurâi â, yim drigubyô dadad vâstârem.

The usual Pahlavi version of this formula explains it as follows:—

is the basis of the reckoning of revelation, are three metrical lines (gâs); the first chiefly indicates the Gâthic lore, the second the Hadha-mâthric lore, *and* the third the Law.

8. And there have been twenty-one parts¹ of its divisions, which are called Nasks :—(9) Seven are Gâthic, because they are composed for the Gâthas,

‘As is the will of the spiritual lord (as is the will of Aûharmazd) so should be the priestly master (so virtuous should he be) owing to whatsoever are the duties and good works of righteousness (the duties and good works should be as virtuous as the will of Aûharmazd). Whose is the gift of good thought (that is, the reward and recompense that good thought gives, it gives also *unto* him) which, among spiritual lords, is the work of Aûharmazd (that is, he would do that which Aûharmazd requires): [there are *some* who would say thus: Whose gift is for good thought (that is, the reward and recompense which they give for good thought, they give also unto him); *and* there are *some* who would say thus: Whose gift is through good thought (that is, the reward and recompense which they give up through good thought, they would also give even him); Âtûrpâd, son of Zaratûst, said thus: Owing to the gift of good thought, among spiritual lords, they recognise a doer of deeds]. The dominion for Aûharmazd is his (that is, his dominion exists through the advantage that Aûharmazd has maintained) who gives allotments (vâyagânō) to the poor (that is, he would make intercession for them).’

The Avesta text may be translated, according to Haug, as follows:—‘As a spiritual lord is desirable, so is a priestly master, for the sake of every righteousness, *to be* a giver of good thoughts as to the actions of life towards Mazda; and the dominion is for the lord whom he (*Mazda*) has given as a protector for the poor.’

According to Geldner the first two lines refer to Zaratûst, and, if we assume that yim is a contraction of yô im, the Avesta text may be translated somewhat as follows:—‘As *he* is the desirable spiritual lord, so *is he* the priestly master with every right, the producer of the actions of the good thoughts of life towards Mazda. The dominion, however, is for Ahura who has given him as a protector for the poor.’

¹ See §§ 18, 19.

and their names¹ are that of the ritual of the Gâthic worship, which is the *Stôd-yast*, *with* the *Sûdkar*, *Varstmânsar*, *Bakö*, *Vastag*, *Hâdökht*, and that which has made them Gâthic², the *Spend*. 10. And the names of the seven *Hadha-māthric* are *Dâm-dâd*, *Nâdar*, *Pâgag*, *Radö-dâd-altag*, *Baris*, *Kasktsrôbô*, *and* *Vistâsp-sâstô*. 11. *And* seven are *Legal*, because they are composed for the lawyer (*dâdîk*), and their names are those of the legal, and those are the *Nikâdûm*, *Ganabâ-sar-nigad*, *Hûspâram*, *Sakâdûm*, *and* *Vendîdâd*, and those which are composed for the law with separate dedications, the *Kitradâd* and *Bakân-yast*. 12. And the sequence is *Sûdkar*, *Varst-mânsar*, *Bakö*, *Dâmdâd*, *Nâdar*, *Pâgag*, *Radö-dâd-altag*, *Baris*, *Kasktsrôbô*, *Vistâsp-sâstô*, *Vastag*, *Kitradâd*, *Spend*, *Bakân-yast*, *Nikâdûm*, *Ganabâ-sar-nigad*, *Hûspâram*, *Sakâdûm*, *Vendîdâd*, *Hâdökht*, and *Stôd-yast*³.

13. In all three *divisions* all three are *found*; in the Gâthic are the *Hadha-māthric* and *Legal*, in the *Hadha-māthric* are the Gâthic and *Legal*, and in the *Legal* are the Gâthic and *Hadha-māthric*.

¹ For variants of these names, in the order stated in § 12, see the notes to the first sections of Chaps. II-XVI, XXI, XXVIII, XXXVIII, XLIV-XLVI, which begin the summary description of each of the twenty-one Nasks.

² Referring probably to 'the bestowal of the other Nasks' mentioned in Chap. XIV, 5.

³ This is the order in which the twenty-one words of the *Ahuna-vair* are applied to the twenty-one Nasks, as hinted in § 19; and, therefore, the order in which they ought to be enumerated. Representing the three divisions of the Nasks by G, H, L, respectively, and the seven Nasks in each division by the ciphers 1-7, the order of enumeration is as follows:—G 2-4; H 1-7; G 5; L 6; G 7; L 7, 1-5; G 6, 1. More or less fanciful reasons for this dislocation of the divisions are given in §§ 15-17.

14. *In* each separately that which is essentially and specially itself is included, and that which is partly another and introduced is included; and the reason of it is *that* in spiritual and worldly *existences*, and in worldly and spiritual *existences*, and in that which is between the two, *there* are both *existences*.

15. The occurrence *of* the joining of the Vastag part of the Gâthas on to the last of the Hadha-mâthric¹ is because *it* is written in connection with the Vistâsp-sâstô, the last *of* the Hadha-mâthric.

16. The reason of the Hâdôkht and Yast *being* in succession to the Vendîdâd, the last of the Law², and 'the production of the worldly creation'³ *being* between the Hadha-mâthric *and* those spiritual Gâthas, is because the spiritual *existence* likewise, which is spiritual life (ah v ô), is the beginning; and the worldly *existence* is purposed and caused, and a part is preserved (nôst-aitô), important for the purpose and intended for the spiritual life, the part at the beginning. 17. And the rejoining of the end of the Law, which is *about* the Hô⁴, to the Gâthas, which are the beginning,

¹ That is, the placing of G 5 after H 7.

² That is, the placing of G 6, 1 after L 5. The Vendîdâd appears to be the last of the truly legal Nasks, as the contents of the Kîtradâd (see Chap. XIII) appear to have been chiefly historical, and those of the Bakân-yast (see Chap. XV) chiefly religious. These two Nasks are also placed in a sub-class in § 11.

³ This Dahisnô-î-stiâ-dâdô is evidently another name for the Dâmdâd, or 'the creatures produced,' which is placed between G 2-4 and H 2-7.

⁴ Written Hîm in Pâzand, for Hûm; and referring to the white Hô^m, mentioned in Pahl. Vend. XX, 17, 21, and its healing properties. It is not absolutely necessary to understand from the text that the twentieth fargard was literally the end of the Vendîdâd in Sasanian times, because Chap. XLIV, 81 is quite as descriptive of the twenty-second as of the twentieth fargard.

is a symbol of the existence of the pure influence of the Gâthic lore upon the first spiritual state—that *which* exists likewise at last—and of the rejunction of the worldly existence to the spiritual, because it came down from the spiritual to exist at present.

18. And the reason of the twenty-one-fold partition of the three divisions of the reckoning of revelation is in the distinction which is evident from *their* composition; also in the three metrical lines of the Ahunavair, which is the basis of the reckoning of revelation, there are twenty-one words (*mârtk*). 19. As the three metrical lines of the Ahunavair, which is the basis of the reckoning of revelation, are an emblem of the triple division of the reckoning of revelation; so the twenty-one words of the three *lines* indicate the twenty-one-fold partition of these three divisions; as *it* is declared that 'He who is the omniscient creator produced a discourse from every single word.'

20. *As to* the sections of the parts, such as the Hâs and Fargards¹ in the Nasks, *it* is known *there* were one thousand², from the testimony *and* knowledge of the religion owing to the teaching of Zaratûst—*whose* guardian spirit is revered—in the country of Irân. 21. And after the devastation occurred, owing to the evil-destined *and* raging villain Alexander, *there* was not so much of them

¹ The term Hâ (*hâd*, Av. *hâiti*) is applied to the chapters of the Yasna, and the term Fargard (Av. *fra+kereta*) to the chapters of the Vendîdâd and most of the other Nasks.

² Combining the information given in the Persian Rivâyats with that in the Dînkard we find only 905 chapters enumerated, of which 180 are said to have been lost, from the philosophical Nasks, during the Greek rule.

recovered as would be possible for a high-priest to preserve¹. 22. And that which the saintly (hû-fravardō) Âtûr-pâd², son of Mâraspend, achieved through their composition and preservation, is known so far as the decrees (kakō) in the treatises (mâdî-gân) of the country of Irân are preserved as teaching and admonition (pandânō).

23. After writing of each separate Nask, that is, as to what it speaks about more particularly³, each Nask is accounted for separately, and what is in its various Hâs and Fargards comes to be realized⁴; for in these particulars (mâdîgân) any ruggedness of the auspicious⁵ and desirable collection is explained. 24. But, first, the class of writing of the various Nasks—that is, about what they speak—is here written; the extent of attainment not *being* adapted to *their* peculiarity of wonderfulness.

CHAPTER II.

1. Homage *to* the glory *of* the good religion *of* Mazda-worship!

2. The Sûdkar⁶ contains particulars about the

¹ Probably meaning not more than a high-priest could retain in his memory.

² A supreme high-priest who was prime minister of king Shah-pûhar II (A.D. 309–379).

³ In this eighth book of the Dînkard.

⁴ In the more detailed statements in the ninth book.

⁵ Reading hûsukûngûn, but it may be khûskûnîñō, 'beneficent,' or anasikôn-gûn, 'unconfusing.'

⁶ Corresponding to the first word, yathâ, in the Ahunavair, according to the Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah, which adopts the sequence detailed in Chap. I, 12. All other Persian Rivâyats and also the Dînî-vîgîrkard adopt the sequence G 1–4; H 1–7;

power of the pure glorifying of the first utterance of Aûharmazd¹, through thinking, speaking, and acting; and *about* abstaining from the law of very evil *and* very disturbing people². 3. Glorifying the observances (hûnarânö) *and* good works *of* the good religion *and* of a like nature, as well as their effectualness; and condemning the faults and sin *of* him *of* very evil religion, when all kinds of neglect of the spiritual ceremony and *of* care for the archangel of the worldly existence are owing to him³; *also* much information about spiritual matters. 4. It *has* become old (kahûnî⁴), and is a witness whose statement *extends* even unto the renovation *of the universe*⁵.

5. Righteousness is perfect excellence⁵.

G 5, 7; L 6, 7, 1, 3, 2, 4, 5; G 6. Like most of the names of the Nasks, Sûdkar is an adjective, meaning 'causing benefit, or acting beneficially'; it is corrupted into Stûdgar, or Istûdgar, in the Rivâyats and Dv. For a detailed account of the contents of each of its twenty-two fargard's see Bk. IX, Chaps. II-XXIII.

¹ The Abunavair, or Yathâ ahû vairyô, which Aûharmazd recited before the creation in order to confound Aharman (see Bd. I, 21, 22). This clause refers chiefly to the first fargard of the Sûdkar (see Bk. IX, Chap. II).

² Referring to Bk. IX, Chaps. V, IX, X, &c.

³ See Bk. IX, Chap. IX. ⁴ See Bk. IX, Chap. XXIII, 7.

⁵ The text is aharâyîh dšâdîh pâhlûm aîtö, the Pahl. equivalent of the Av. ashem vohû vahistem astî, 'righteousness is the best good,' the first metrical line of the Ashem-vohû formula, with which it is usual to conclude forms of prayer and religious writings. It is here used to conclude the account of each of the twenty-one Nasks, and twice over at the end of the last one, so that it occurs twenty-two times in this eighth Book. In the ninth Book it concludes the account of each fargard of the three Nasks detailed, and is written twice at the end of the second Nask, and twice at the end of the Book; so that it occurs in three series of 22, 24, and 24 repetitions, respectively, in the ninth Book. As the formula,

CHAPTER III.

1. The Varstmânsar¹ *contains* particulars about the birth of Zaratûst, his attaining the religion², and whatever is on the same subject³. 2. A notice (numâd) of the priestliness, discipleship, spiritual lordship, priestly authority, and steadfastness which are in his original more concise words of the Gâthas⁴. 3. The explanation (zand) of the statements about everything and also the good arrangement (khus-radakö) are such as that which *one* speaks of thus : — ‘*It is the Varstmânsar which has given forth an exposition upon everything.*’ 4. So that, in the Varstmânsar, something is said about *everything* that is mentioned in the Gâthas.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

which is thus repeated, consists of four words, it is capable of $1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 = 24$ permutations in the order of its words; and it appears as if the author intended that each of the four series of repetitions of the formula, contained in the two Books, should give all these permutations successively; and, with the exception of a few deviations (chiefly in the first two series, and probably due to the errors of copyists), he has maintained this fanciful peculiarity throughout. The English translations of the formula have been varied, so as to preserve this peculiarity to some extent, but it has not been found possible to differentiate the whole of the twenty-four permutations.

¹ Corresponding to the second word, ahû, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the third Nask in other Rivâyats. Varstmânsar means ‘used as spells, or employed as liturgy,’ and is often corrupted into Vahist-mânthrah in the Rivâyats. For a detailed account of the contents of each of its twenty-three fargard’s see Bk. IX, Chaps. XXIV–XLVI.

² See Bk. IX, Chap. XXIV.

³ This final phrase is often used for unspecified details, and may be considered as equivalent to *et cætera*.

⁴ See Bk. IX, Chap. XXV.

CHAPTER IV.

1. The Bakō¹ *contains* particulars about the division of the recital of the first saying of revelation², the first creature³ *in* that saying, the first occurrence of it, the adaptation of the creature, and the greatness of that saying which is incorporating the creature, owing thereto; also, especially, the intermingling of thought (mêd)⁴ with it. 2. Very comprehensive knowledge about everything, each separately its own offspring, and many an appendage as much connected with it as that which is said concerning the Bakō⁵, that 'the Bakō of the community (dâh-mân) is heard where it is spoken for the community,' that is, whoever shall do this good work, for him this good work *will* be done.

3. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER V.

1. Amid the Dâmdâd'⁶ are particulars about the maintenance of action and the production of the

¹ Corresponding to the third word, vairyô, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the fourth Nask in other Rivâyats. Bakō means 'subdivision, or apportionment,' and is written Bagh, or Bagh-ast, in the Rivâyats. For a detailed account of the contents of each of its twenty-two fargard's see Bk. IX, Chaps. XLVII-LXVIII.

² The Ahunavair (see Chap. II, 2 and Bk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 3).

³ The Ahû, or 'spiritual lord,' who is the first creature mentioned in the Ahunavair (see Bk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 4).

⁴ Av. maiti, Pâz. mit in Bk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 5; the Av. manas of Yas. XIX, 29 (Sp.).

⁵ This section is an extreme condensation of the contents of Bk. IX, Chaps. XLVIII-LXVIII.

⁶ Corresponding to the fourth word, athâ, in the Ahunavair,

beneficial creatures. 2. First, as to the spiritual existence, and how much *and* how is the maintenance in the spiritual *existence*; and the production of the worldly *existence* therefrom, qualified *and* constructed for descending (*fitôdanô*) into the combat with the destroyer, and accomplishing the associated necessity for the end and circumvention (*garang*) of destructiveness.

3. The manner *and* species *of* the creation of the creatures; also their material *existence*, and the character and use of the races and species; and whatever is on the same subject. 4. The reason for *their* creation, and for *their* perfection at last. 5. About the adversity, injury, and misery of those creatures, and their secret (*nîhônô*) resources *and* means of attacking *and* annihilating *them*; *with* the preservation *or* disablement (*apîkârtntdanô*) of the creatures thereby¹.

6. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect excellence.

according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the fifth Nask in other Rivâyats. *Dâmdâd* means 'the creatures produced,' and it is called *Dvâzdah-hâmâst* (or *humâst*) in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained thirty-two *kardah*, or subdivisions. No further particulars of this and the subsequent Nasks are given by the *Dīnkard*, beyond the contents of this eighth Book.

¹ So far as this brief account of the *Dâmdâd* goes, it corresponds very well with much of the contents of the *Bundahis*. *Zâd-spāram*, in his *Selections*, IX, 1, 16, also quotes the *Dâmdâd* as the authority for certain details contained in the *Bundahish*, which work must therefore be considered as derived from this Nask. It is very probable, however, that the Nask contained much more information than is here hinted, because the author's usual plan, in these brief summaries, is evidently to confine his remarks to a few of the details near the beginning of each Nask.

CHAPTER VI.

1. On account of the Zand of the Nâdar¹ not reaching us, the Avesta is retained, for teaching, recital, *and* ceremony, because *it has* come unto *us* with authority.

2. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The Pâgag² *contains* particulars about lawfully slaughtering a sheep, for the ceremonial of fires, waters, *and* holy-water, in aid of a season-festival³ of the Mazda-worshippers; besides this, namely, in what are the skill, and the means for selection, of a man for such work, and the formula (nîrang) of the ceremony. 2. And this, namely, from which limb of the sheep species is the

¹ Corresponding to the fifth word, ratus, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the sixth Nask in other Rivâyats. Owing to its Zand, or Pahlavi version, having been lost, the author does not undertake to describe its contents; but the Rivâyats state that it consisted of thirty-five jûrat, or compilations, about astronomy and astrology. The traditional name Nâdar, or Nâdûr, is probably a misreading; as Vakhtar (for Vakhttar), 'more destined,' and Vakhtar, 'fate-bringing,' would be more intelligible readings of the same letters.

² Corresponding to the sixth word, ashâd, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the seventh Nask in other Rivâyats. Pâgag probably means 'cooking,' with reference to the preparations for the sacred feasts; it is called Pâgam, Pâtam, or Pâzûn in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained twenty-two kardah, or subdivisions.

³ The six Gâhanbârs or season-festivals are held on the five days ending, respectively, with the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year (see Sls. XVIII, 3 n).

share *of* the fires and waters to be taken¹, *and* how is the preparation which is to be carried on, *and* with what Avesta. 3. And whatever is about a season-festival; where the appointed place is, when *one* celebrates *it*, *and* when it has fully elapsed; the assembly of the season-festival, and the donation for the feast; where and when the celebration is possible, in what proportion the provisions are to be given out, *and* when to be prepared *and* divided; where its advantage is, *and* what benefit *there* is from it to the good creations both spiritually and materially.

4. And this, namely, what skill is more suitable for the sacerdotal (*rad-pīśag*) leadership *and* other priestly authority (*radīh*) each separately. 5. About the business *of* the sacerdotal leadership, where *it is* owing to *having* appointed the place and *having* gone forth to the assembly of the Mazda-worshippers, *and* when *they are* to be made aware that that assembly is more particularly for the arrangement of renunciation of vice and retribution for sin; the needful supply of things for the feast; the selection of the men for the Zōti duty *and* Rāspī duty before the day²; the Zōtis, Rāspīs, and others who put in action the work for the preparation *and* giving of the portions; *and* the cleansing of the body-clothing. 6. *As to* the selection *of* the president (*pēs-gās*) *of* the feast *there* is this, namely, what ability is requisite for that presidentship. 7. The allotment of the portions, and giving *them* sooner to *those* who are sooner in need *of them*. 8. Scoffing before

¹ The heart for the fires, and the fore-legs for the waters, according to Sls. XI, 4.

² The Zōti is the chief officiating priest in the ceremonial, and the Rāspī is the assistant priest.

priestly authorities, *who are great and good, and* when they do not give a portion to the authorities are *cases when* the season-festivals are not to be considered as celebrated. 9. This, too, that the Zôti and Râspîs are for the Zôti duty *and* Râspî duty, *and* the other priestly authorities for the control of sin and computation (*âvâr*) of the portions; and more on the same subject.

10. About the rotation of the day-watches (*gâs*), days, months, and seasons of the year—which are when *it* is summer *and* winter—and the appearances (*sahtsnö*) therein which are owing to the motion of the constellations¹. 11. Where the coming of the righteous guardian spirits (*fravâhar*) into the worldly *existence occurs*, in those ten days which are the end of the winter *and* termination of the year, because the five Gâthic days², among them, are for that *purpose*; the cessation of that same, as well as *its* continuance. 12. The great needfulness *of* the guardian spirits of the righteous in the ceremonial *and* obeisance of those ten days, *and* their abundant gratification therefrom; their vexation from

¹ That is, the *apparent* motions of the akhtarân, or signs of the zodiac.

² The five supplementary days, named after the five Gâthas, which are added to the twelfth month of thirty days to complete the 365 days of the year. They are also called *fravardîkân*, or 'those devoted to the Fravards,' or Fravashis, the guardian spirits, or prototypes, of created beings, who are supposed to revisit their old haunts on earth during those days. The last five days of the twelfth month are also considered a part of the same festival of ten days, which would have terminated at the vernal equinox, as indicated in the text, about A.D. 1000 if the ordinary receding calendar of the Irânian Parsis were used; but it seems probable, from Bd. XXV, that the calendar in those times was fixed for the new year to begin at the vernal equinox.

want of welcome and want of obeisance; and *their* ascent from the worldly existences. 13. The extreme importance (*frêvôḍānikh*) of liberality and bounty at that season; and the proper duty of the priestly authority of a district (*shatrô*) in assisting and interceding for the poor, for the sake of teaching, from the days devoted to the guardian spirits, *proper* actions among those having guardian spirits.

14. About the period for taking medicinal plants, and whatever is on the same subject. 15. About where *there* is a household, village, communal, or provincial petitioning *for* the royal chastisement of sins affecting the soul, each separately; *and* for whom is the atonement. 16. About the advantage owing to disposal of sin and infliction of chastisement, and the harm owing to not disposing of sin *and* neglecting the chastisement inflicted.

17. About the first thirty-three chieftainships (*radh*), around *and* concealed; that is, which *and* how many are spiritual, *and* how many worldly; and which is the second, and which the third, of the spiritual *and* worldly *existences*. 18. About the admirableness and great meritoriousness of public observances, and the awfulness and grievous sinfulness of apostasy. 19. And also this, that is, when any one is doubtful, through apostasy, which is the law from the sacred beings in elucidation, and which of the sacred beings is to be entreated for assistance. 20. About this, namely, *for* which of the women the bringing of a handful of anything, from the property of *her* husband, *to be* given away is allowable, in what proportion, and how, *and* for whom; and for whom, when she gives *it* away, *it* is allowable *for* the husband to bring *it* back.

21. About this, namely, when summer comes on, where does winter run to; and when winter comes on, where does summer go to? 22. About the amount of disaster¹ *that* has passed by in one century, and the duration of *its* passing; everything which is connected with the disaster, and whatever is on the same subject. 23. Where *and* how many months are of such a kind², *and* how many of such a kind²; as well as the religious names of the twelve months, and the reason of the name of each one of them, that is, to which of the sacred beings, in the ceremonial, each one of these twelve months is predominantly appertaining; so also of the thirty days which are in every month, and so also of the five Gâthas in every *year*—that is, the five Gâthic days at the end of the year³—all the sacred beings *to whom they are* appertaining, and when the righteous guardian spirits (*ardâi fravardō*) are revered.

24. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. The *Radō-dâd-aītag*⁴ *contains* particulars *about* the religious and important customs *and* laws to be

¹ Pâz. vôighn.

² Reading hamgûn in both places; but the two words may be hamînô, 'summer,' and khamînô, 'wet weather.'

³ The five supplementary days mentioned in § 11.

⁴ Corresponding to the seventh word, *kîd*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the eighth Nask in other Rivâyats. *Radō-dâd-aītag* means 'concerning the habits of a priestly master,' which is a fair description of the contents of this Nask, but it is misread *Ratustâi*, or *Ratustâid*, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained originally fifty kardah, or subdivisions, of which only thirteen were recovered after the time of Alexander.

enforced. 2. The reason of the worthiness and superexcellence in a sacerdotal leader, *and his* possession of a portion of the other authority (*pat̄h*) of a ruler also; that is, how worthiness is to be distinguished from unworthiness, and superexcellence from unworthiness, in him, namely, in the priestly chieftainship (*rad̄h*) of Khvanīras¹ *and* the other regions, each separately, the first which stood aloof from the Mazda-worshippers.

3. About the demonstration *and* notification of the sitting together of the archangels, the ritual and appliances in the ceremonial of the sacred beings, the position and business of the Zōtis *and* Rāsp̄s² in a ceremonial, and also all the business of the leaders in their duty, each separately *and* originally³.

4. The greatness of the helpfulness (*viḡt̄d̄ār-dahisn̄h*) in good works, the kinds of helpfulness, and the proximity of Aūharmazd to the thoughts, words, *and* deeds of the embodied existence.

5. The excellence of righteousness is perfect.

CHAPTER IX.

1. The Baris⁴ *contains* particulars about the invigorating power, truth, *and* generosity of the many

¹ Av. *Hvaniratha*, the central region of the earth, containing the countries best known to the Irānians, around which the other six smaller regions were supposed to be arranged.

² See Chap. VII, 5.

³ Or 'fundamentally' (*va/ b̄n*).

⁴ Corresponding to the eighth word, *haḥā*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the ninth Nask in other Rivâyats. Baris, or Baris, means 'splendid, sublime;' and the Rivâyats state that it contained originally sixty kardah, or subdivisions, of which only twelve were recovered after the time of Alexander.

capabilities of instinctive *and* acquired wisdom. 2. And also the ill-advisedness of falsity, stinginess¹, and ignorance; and the many defects which are fraternizing *with* the opponent of capabilities. 3. The blessing and cursing, the good will and ill-will of the good ritual and evil ritual, the good statements and evil statements of Vohûman, Spendarmad, Srôsh, Aharîsvang², *and* many *other* sacred beings, and of evil thought, lust, wrath, unrighteousness³, and many *other* demons; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

4. The destiny, nature, desire, religion, habit, learning, business, and diligence of the period, *and* whatever is on the same subject, as regards sovereignty, government, priestly authority, justice, and mediation. 5. The union, peace, and promise-keeping, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. The law and custom, good works and sin, good repute and evil repute, righteousness and wickedness, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 7. The modesty and pomp, glory and penance (srôshîkîh)⁴, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 8. The connec-

¹ Pûs, the demon of misers in Bd. XXVIII, 28.

² These four angels are personifications of Av. vohû manô, 'good thought,' spenta ârmaitis, 'bountiful devotion,' sraoshô, 'the obedient one,' and ashîs vanguih, 'good rectitude.'

³ These four demoniacal propensities are here mentioned as the opponents of the foregoing four angels. Akômanô and Aeshm, the first and third, are the recognised opponents of Vohûman and Srôsh, respectively (see Bd. XXX, 29). Varenô, the second, is considered a demon (see Bd. XXVIII, 25), and is mentioned in the Dinkard, book VI, as opposing the angel Ard or Aharîsvang (see Dd. XCIV, 2); here he evidently opposes another female angel, Spendarmad, while Aharîsvang or Ashi is opposed by her simple negation, Anâhar.

⁴ Av. sraoshya, see Pahl. Vend. XIII, 9.

tion through ownership, subordination, service, and religion, and whatever is on the same subject. 9. The suitability and unsuitability, friendship and enmity, and whatever is on the same subject. 10. The handsomeness and ugliness, youth and decrepitude, opulence and destitution, happiness and misery, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 11. The strength in races *and* species of things, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 12. The learning, solving of questions, complete virtue, and whatever is on the same subject. 13. The hunger¹ and thirst, and their remedy, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 14. The delirium and death, and *their* expediency, and whatever is on the same subject. 15. The primitive state *and* tendency of things, precedence and sequence, and whatever is on the same subject. 16. The acceptableness *and* unacceptableness, gratification and afflictiveness², and whatever is on the same subject. 17. The mightiness (takīkīh), loquacity, sociality, and whatever is on the same subject. 18. The understanding *and* mind; the body *and* soul; the heaven, hell, *and* future existence; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 19. The omniscience of the creator Aūharmazd, *and* all goodness of like motive, the life *and* glory of a righteous man, *and* whatever is on the same subject³.

20. And many other arrangements of the creator, through propagation of statements, preparation of sovereignty, maintenance of the body, and preserva-

¹ Supposing that sūkō stands for sūd.

² Reading bēshīnīdārīh which is more probable than the bēshāzīnīdārīh, 'curativeness,' of the MS.

³ All the details in §§ 5-19 are to be read in connection with 'the period' mentioned in § 4.

tion of the soul; a statement adapted to that which one mentions thus: 'Truly-spoken statements are the Baris, Kaskîsrôbbô, *and* Vistâsp-sâstô.'

21. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

CHAPTER X.

1. The Kaskîsrôbbô¹ *contains* particulars about the explanation of the ceremonial *and* ritual of the sacred beings, through what *arises its* conversion *into* demon-worship, *and* information *as to* cleanness and uncleanness. 2. The preparations and precautions for the Yasts²; the tokens and signs of the overflowing and evil owing to the demons at various times, and the cause of their exhaustion *and* the final victory of the sacred beings. 3. Then the exalting chants *of* every kind, which Aûharmazd *taught* to Zaratûst, are called the teaching (sâstô) of the spirits.

4. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The Vistâsp-sâstô³ is about particulars of

¹ Corresponding to the ninth word, vangheus, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the tenth Nask in other Rivâyats. Kaskîsrôbbô may perhaps mean 'with happy, or comfortable, statements,' and is corrupted into Kasrôbb, Kaskasîrah, or Kas-kanfz, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained originally sixty kardah, or subdivisions, of which only fifteen were recovered after the time of Alexander.

² The minor ceremonies.

³ Corresponding to the tenth word, dazdâ, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the eleventh Nask in other Rivâ-

every kind *relating* to Kai-Vistâsp¹; the temper, character, demeanour, knowledge, learning, and law for sovereignty; the government of the creatures, *and* the advancement of the will of the sacred beings requisite for it.

2. The creator Aûharmazd sends the archangels² on to Kai-Vistâsp as evidence about Aûharmazd, *and* a reminder of Sptâmân Zaratûst, *of* the pure goodness of the Mazda-worshipping religion, *and of* the command for the ruler Vistâsp, as to *its* triumph, on accepting the religion from Zaratûst. 3. The visible coming of the archangels to the metropolis, *and*, secondly, *their* domestication (handêmânth) at the residence *of* Vistâsp and his companions; the envoys' explanation of Aûharmazd's message to Vistâsp, *and* the accepting of the Mazda-worshipping religion *by* the obedient king Vistâsp.

4. The outpouring (sârînlđanō) of Argâsp the Khyôn³, by the demon of wrath, for war with Vistâsp

yats. Vistâsp-sâstō means 'the instruction of Vistâsp,' and is corrupted into Vistâsp-shâh, Vistâspād, or Vistâsp, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained originally sixty kardah, or jûrat, of which only ten, or eight, were recovered after the time of Alexander. The last number refers, no doubt, to the eight fargards still extant under the corrupt name Vistâsp Yast, which probably consist of fragments of the Avesta text of this Nask; but in comparing that text with this description it must be remembered that the author is describing the contents of the Pahlavi version which would contain much commentary.

¹ The king of Irân in the time of Zaratûst, who accepted the Mazda-worshipping religion; the last king of the old history derived from the Avesta (see Chap. XIII, 15, 16).

² Compare Vistâsp Yt. 40.

³ The 'deadly Hvyāona Aregad-aspa' of Yt. IX, 30, XVII, 50, whom Kavi Vistâspa prayed to be delivered from. According to the Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân, Argâsp, king of the Khyōns, made war upon

and disturbance of Zaratûst; the arrangements *and* movements of king Vistâsp for that war, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

5. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

CHAPTER XII.

1. The Avesta *and* commentary of the Vastag¹ *have* not reached us through *any* high-priest.
2. Excellence *that is* perfect *is* righteousness.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. The *Kitradâd*² *contains* particulars about the race of mankind; how the formation of the first

Vistâsp on account of the latter's conversion to Mazda-worship, and was defeated with great difficulty in a most desperate battle which is also described in the Shâhnâmah. Whether the Khyôns were the Chionitæ of later times is uncertain.

¹ Corresponding to the eleventh word, *mananghô*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the twelfth Nask in other Rivâyats. The name of this Nask is very uncertain; in five occurrences of the word the first letter is omitted once and may once be the conjunction 'and,' and the last syllable is also omitted once; the B. P. Riv. calls it *Dâd*, by omitting the first and last letters and varying the reading of the rest, and the other Rivâyats call it '*Hast* or '*Hart*. They also state that it contained twenty-two *kardahs*, or *fargard*s, in six divisions treating of various religious and worldly duties, as detailed in the translations in the latter part of this volume.

² Corresponding to the twelfth word, *shyaothananâm*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the fourteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. *Kitradâd* means 'the races produced,' a name of the same form as *Dâmdâd*, but it is read *Kîdrast*, *Kîrast*, or *Girast* in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained twenty-two *kardah*, or subdivisions.

man, Gâyômar¹, by Aûharmazd *was* for the manifestation of the bodily form (kerpîh); and *in* what manner the first couple, Mashya and Mashyô², arose. 2. About their progeny *and* lineage during the entire progress *of* mankind in the central region of Khvanîras³, and the distribution from them into the six⁴ regions which are around Khvanîras. 3. The various races, which are specially enumerated, *were* ordered to disperse by the attracting *or* banishing command of the creator, to each separate race, as to the place where it went to; *and whose* life *and* soul (nisman) are appointed from yonder *world*. 4. Also the original description of their descent into the various regions, of those, too, who are on the frontiers of Khvanîras, and those who also made their habitation in the intermediate places; *and* the customs of each one *of* the species of mankind which was produced among the original races.

5. The original establishment of law *and* custom; that of village superintendence (dihânkânîh)⁵, for the cultivation *and* nourishment *of* the world, *based* upon the traditional early law (vâsarîd pêsâdâdô); *and* that of monarchy, for the protection and govern-

¹ The original human being who was created as the source whence mankind were to spring, in the same way as 'the sole-created ox' was to be the origin of all other animals (see Bd. III, 14, 17, 19-23, IV, 1, XV, 1, 31).

² Literally 'man and woman,' here written masyê va-masyâôî. The mode of their origin from Gâyômar^d and the development of man upon the earth are detailed in Bd. XV.

³ See Chap. VIII, 2.

⁴ The MS. has 'seven' by mistake.

⁵ A more probable reading than gehânakânîh in the sense of 'colonization.'

ment of the creatures, upon Hôshâng the Pêsdâdian¹.

6. A report of the lineage of Hôshâng, who *was* the first, and Tâkhamô-rupô² who *was* the second ruler of the seven regions; and an enumeration of reports of lineage from the original creation even unto Yim³.

7. A report of the lineage of Yim, the third ruler of the seven regions; information as to his period, *and* the progress (sa^hisnô) of time from the original creation till the end of the reign of Yim.

8. A report of the ill-informed evil ruler of the seven regions, Dahâk⁴; his lineage back to Tâz⁵, the brother of Hôshâng and father of the Tâzîks (*Arabs*); information *as to* him and his period, the progress of time from the end of the good reign of Yim till the end of the evil reign of Dahâk, and the lineage from Yim as far as Frêdûn⁶.

¹ This 'Hôshâng of the early law,' Av. Haoshyanghō paradhâtō, is considered to have been the great-grandson of Mashya and first monarch of the world, being the founder of the Pêsdâdian dynasty (see Bd. XV, 28, XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 3, 4).

² Here written Tâkhamô-rupô, Av. Takhmô-urupa; the great-grandson and successor of Hôshâng (see Bd. XXXI, 2, 3, XXXIV, 4).

³ Av. Yimō khshaêtō, the Gamshêd of the Shâhnâmah; the brother and successor of Tâkhamô-rupô (see Bd. XXXI, 3-5, XXXIV, 4).

⁴ Also called Az-î Dahâk, Av. azis dahâkō, 'destructive serpent,' a name applied to a foreign dynasty, considered as a single king who conquered Yim and succeeded him, being traditionally his third cousin once removed (see Bd. XXXI, 5, 6, XXXIV, 5). Further details are given in Bk. IX, Chap. XXI, 1-13. Dahâk was the last ruler of all the seven regions, excepting Kât-Ûs.

⁵ See Bd. XV, 26-28.

⁶ Av. Thraêtaonō, son of Âthwyō, and, traditionally, the ninth in descent from Yim (see Bd. XXXI, 7, 8); nine generations being assumed necessary to allow for the thousand years' reign of the Dahâk dynasty which he put an end to. His rule was confined to the central region of Khvanîras.

9. A report of Frêdûn, the ruler of Khvantras ; as to the smiting of Dahâk, the conquering of the country of Mâzendarân¹, and the allotment of Khvantras among his three sons, Salm, Tûg, and Aitrê² ; their union with the daughters of Pât-srôbô³, king of the Arabs and descendant of Tâz, and the lineage and report of them, each separately. 10. The reign of Mânûskîhar of Irân, descendant (nâpô) of Aitrê. 11. The expiating⁴ monarch Frâsîyâv of Tûrân, and Aûzôbô⁵ the Tûmâspian, monarch of Irân.

12. The descendant of Mânûskîhar, Kavî-Kavâd, who *was* progenitor of the Kayâns and ruler of Irân ; and the expiating ruler Keresâsp⁶. 13. Kât-Ûs, *grandson*⁷ of Kavâd, ruler and maintainer of royalty (kat-dânô) in the seven regions. 14. Kât-Khûsrôî who *was* son of Sîyâvakhsh⁸ *and* ruler of

¹ The land on the southern coast of the Caspian belonging to the Mâzainya daêva (demons, or idolators) of the Avesta.

² The last of whom *was* slain by his brothers, and *was* avenged by his descendant Mânûskîhar (see Bd. XXXI, 9-12).

³ Possibly the celebrated individual of that name who is mentioned, in Pahl. Vend. XX, 4, as an instance of opulence. The Shâhnâmah speaks only of the three daughters of the king of Yaman.

⁴ Or 'plundering ;' but Tûg-hômônd here, and Tûgâvand in § 12, may perhaps mean 'descended from Tûg,' as Frâsîyâv *was* the sixth in descent from Tûg (see Bd. XXXI, 14).

⁵ Said to have been a great-grandson of Mânûskîhar (see Bd. XXXI, 23).

⁶ Probably the hero who *was* sixth in descent from Tûg, and third cousin of Frâsîyâv (see Bk. IX, Chap. XV ; Bd. XXXI, 14, 26, 27) ; though placed by Firdausî as a king Garshâsp preceding Kât-Qubâd.

⁷ As appears from Bd. XXXI, 25.

⁸ The son of Kât-Ûs, who did not become king.

Khvanîras. 15. And a special report of many particulars of the races of Irân, Tûrân, and Salmân¹, even unto the ruler Kai-Lôharâsp² and the monarch Kai-Vistâsp³. 16. The prophet (vakhshvar) of the Mazdâ-worshipping religion, Zaratûst the Spîtâmân, and the progress of time from the beginning of the reign of Frêdûn till the coming of Zaratûst to conference *with Aûharmazd*⁴.

17. And many races and statements, onwards from that *time*, are enumerated in the same Nask as *having* existed, and are characterized by it for existence, such as the Sasanians—whom it reckons as the well-created—and their sovereignty. 18. In the race of Mânûskîhar, Nôdar⁵, Yôskö Fryânö⁶, and

¹ The people of the Airya, Tûirya, and Sairima provinces, mentioned in Yt. XIII, 143.

² Fifth in descent from Kavî-Kavâd, and third cousin once removed of his predecessor Kai-Khûsrôî (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28).

³ Son of Kai-Lôharâsp (see Bd. XXXI, 29).

⁴ The historical legends contained in the Avesta end with the sons of king Vistâsp, and other contemporaries of Zaratûst; not a word being said of any succeeding monarch. Similarly, Bd. XXXI and this historical Nask fail to carry on the details of the royal line beyond Vistâsp; ignoring the Achæmenians, Alexander, and the Askânians, they leap over an evident gap in history (very insufficiently bridged in the more modern chapter, Bd. XXXIV) to the Sasanians. This gap, between Avesta legends and the later undoubted Persian history, is a very weak point in the continuity of the two periods. And as the mode of bridging over this gap in Bd. XXXIV occurs in a chapter 'on the computation of years of the Arabs' (see S. B. E. vol. v, p. xxxvii) it must be considered as more of an Arab than a Persian contribution to history.

⁵ Av. Naotara; a son of Mânûskîhar (see Bd. XXXI, 13, 23, XXXIII, 5).

⁶ Doubtful; if the second name be a patronymic, the combination suggests the Yôistô yô Fryânânâm of Yt. V, 81, XIII, 120, regarding whom the tale of Yôst-î Fryânö is told. No son of

Namûn, son of Spend-shêd¹, is *included* the father of Avarethrabzu², Âtûr-pâd son of Mâraspend; and *its* existence, even then, remains for the future. 19. Also about the many qualities of capability and glory *of* the selfsame sovereignty, which are promoting the renovation *of the universe* destined for the races; and *its* fortune *and* splendour which are shed upon the race, and are not severed from it till the renovation³.

20. About the original knowledge of the professions, care, and industry of the period; the great acquaintance *of* mankind with the putting aside of injury from the adversary, the preservation of the body, *and* the deliverance of the soul; the govern-

Nôdar with a corresponding name is known, so that we are not dealing with a complete pedigree.

¹ Probably intended for Spend-dâd, and we should perhaps read 'Vohûmanô, son of Spend-dâd,' whose reign is celebrated as the silver age in Byt. II, 17 (see also Bd. XXXI, 29, XXXIV, 8).

² This name, or surname, is given in Pâzand, and is also to be found in Yt. XIII, 106, as follows: 'we reverence the guardian spirit of the righteous Avarethrabzu, son of Râstare-vagham.' If the latter epithet were a surname of Âtûr-pâd, the famous prime minister of Shahpûhar II, as the text intimates, we must conclude that the former epithet was a surname of his only son, Zarâtûst, mentioned in his Pandnâmak. These surnames, and others of their time, might have been easily interpolated in the long list of uncouth names included in the Fravarân Yast, when the Avesta books were revised during the reign of Shahpûhar II, and the Nasks were 'reckoned,' as stated in the fourth book of the Dînkard (see Haug's Essay on Pahlavi, pp. 146, 152).

³ §§ 17-19 refer to text which must have been written either in the time of Shahpûhar II, or at some later period during Sasanian rule. Whereas §§ 1-16 are descriptive of an older record which, though consistent with the extant Avesta texts, could not have been compiled from them alone. And § 20 describes text that might have been written at any time.

ment necessary for the world, even before the coming of Zaratûst by order of the creator; the bringing of the word¹ from the sacred beings, and all occurrences to the leaders *of religion* at various times; *and* whatever is on the same subjects.

21. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

CHAPTER XIV,

1. The Spend² *contains* particulars about the origin *and* combination *of* the material *existence*, guardian spirit, *and* soul (nisman) of Zaratûst; how the creation of each one *occurred* in the spiritual *existence*, and *in* what mode *it was* produced for the worldly *existence*; how *their* connection with the parents *arose*, the coming of the parents together, the combination in the mother, and the birth from the mother; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

2. Also about the arrival of both spirits, the good *one* for developing, and the evil *one* for destroying; the victory *of* the good spirit, and the rearing of Zaratûst.

3. His attainment on maturity, at thirty years *of age*, to a conference *with* Aûharmazd; and the

¹ Reading vakhsh in the same Avesta sense as in vakhshvar, 'a prophet;' it may, however, mean 'gain, fortune, gifts.' A similarly-written word, vâyâ, 'air, breath,' is used in Sg. XIII, 7 to translate the 'Spirit' of God in Gen. i. 2.

² Corresponding to the thirteenth word, anghêus, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; and it is the thirteenth Nask in all Rivâyats. Spend means 'beneficent, or bounteous,' and is written Sfend, or Spentah, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained sixty kardah, or subdivisions.

occurrence of seven conferences in ten years. 4. Many marvels, owing to him, are published therein, just as there are *some* which, collected *and* selected, are noticed by the *Dinkard* manuscript¹.

5. *In* seven sections (*burīnō*), such as are called *Spend*, are the seven enquiries, *in* each instance a single enquiry; *and* the bestowal of the other Nasks, in these seven enquiries, *was* through speaking out in each one *of* the places of conference. 6. About the various enquiries, the period of the sitting *and* rising *on* each occasion, the nature of the sitting of the archangels, the coming forward of Zaratūst to that domestic conclave (*handēmānth*), his position *in* that place, what *there was* to say to him, *and* what *there was* to exhibit to him.

7. The conferring of the wisdom of omniscience upon Zaratūst, and *what was* seen *by* Zaratūst *of* the past *and* future, *and* the perpetual amount of duration therein, through that wisdom². 8. The existence of that wisdom, *and* what that is which, after *having* subsisted in it, is again well recognised; such as, owing to it, are the highest *and* best of places, heaven and the various grades of position *and* reward *of* the righteous, according to their worthiness through the practice of good works; the most downward and worst of places, hell and the place *of* punishment *of* the wicked, according to their sin; and, between the two, the place of the ever-stationary, those having equal good works *and*

¹ In its seventh book which contains a full account of the birth and much of the life of Zaratūst, with a narrative of future events, all derived, no doubt, from the *Spend Nask*. Particulars connected with his birth will also be found in Bk. IX, Chap. XXIV.

² See Byt. II, 5-9.

sin; the *Kīnvad* bridge¹, at which is the account as to good works *and* sin; and the future existence, in which is the consummation of every one, righteous and wicked, and the preservation of all good creations from every evil occurs.

9. Information also *as to* many other things which are marvellous, and *as to* a summary of the statements of these seven enquiries, which is *derived* from knowledge of every kind. 10. Likewise, about the communication of Zaratûst's knowledge of the Mazda-worshipping religion to the world, his attracting mankind to the religion, *and* the ages, after Zaratûst, until the renovation *of the universe*. 11. *And* about the nature of the advancement of the people of the period, the separation *of* centuries and millenniums, *and* the signs, wonders, and perplexity which are manifested in the world at the end of each millennium in the world.

12. Also as to the birth *and* arrival of Aûshêdar², son of Zaratûst, at the end of the first millennium³, and a report of him and his time, *and of* the many destroyers of the organizers of the period between Zaratûst's millennium and the coming of Aûshêdar⁴.

¹ Av. *kīnvatô peretus*, the route to the other world (see Bk. IX, Chap. XX, 3).

² Commonly written Hûshêdar, but it is a corruption of Av. *Ukhshyad-ereta*. He is the first of the three posthumous sons of Zaratûst, who were expected to restore his religion and make it triumphant by three successive efforts, each preceded by a period of anarchy (see Bd. XXXII, 8, 9, Byt. III, 13, 43-50).

³ The millennium of Zaratûst, which, according to the chronology of the Bundahis, must have ended during the period A.D. 593-635 (see Byt. III, 11 n).

⁴ The occurrence of such an interval between the first millennium and the coming of Aûshêdar seems inconsistent with the previous

13. The arrival of Aûshêdar-mâh¹, son of Zaratûst, at the end of the second millennium; information *about* him and his time, *and* the destroyers *of* the organizers who *were* within the millennium *of* Aûshêdar. 14. The coming and arrival of Sôshâns², son of Zaratûst, at the end of the third millennium, the destroyers *of* the organizers who *were* within the millennium *of* Aûshêdar-mâh, the arrival of Sôshâns, *and* information *about* Sôshâns and his time. 15. Also, as to the renovation *of the universe and* the future existence, *it* is declared *that* they arise in his time.

16. Perfect *is* the excellence *of* righteousness.

CHAPTER XV.

1. The Bakân-yast³ *contains* particulars, first, about the worship of Aûharmazd, the highest of divinities (bakân), and, secondly, *of* the worship of the angels of other invisible and visible worldly existences, out of whom are likewise the names of

statement as to his arrival at the end of that millennium, but, from Byt. III, 44, it appears probable that he was expected to come in the 600th year of the next millennium (A.D. 1193-1235).

¹ Commonly written Hûshêdar-mâh, but it is a corruption of Av. Ukhshyad-nēmangh. He is the second of the expected posthumous sons (see Byt. III, 52, 53).

² Av. Saoshyāns; the last of the posthumous sons, who is expected to complete the triumph of the religion, and prepare for the renovation of the universe (see Bd. XXX, 4, 7, 25, 27, Byt. III, 62).

³ Corresponding to the fourteenth word, mazdâi, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the fifteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. Bakân-yast means 'worship of the divinities,' and is written Baghân-yast, or Bayân-yast, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained seventeen kardah, or subdivisions.

the days¹; *also* their glory, power, triumph, *and* marvellousness. 2. Besides, *also*, many angels who are invoked by name in their worship, and the attention *and* obeisance *due* to them.

3. The worthiness *and* dispensation of favour for worshippers, *and* the duty of their many separate recitations unto the angels. 4. The duty of unlimited acquaintance *with* knowledge about the possessions *and* arrangements of the period, over which the creator Aûharmazd *has* appointed them, and they remain to cause industry.

5. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The beginning of the law is the Nîkâdûm² of thirty fargards³. 2. The section Patkâr-radîstân ('*magistrate code*')⁴ is about this, that the ruin *and* misery (ayôyakîh) from the destroyer, for mankind and animals, occurring really apart from the spiritual *existence*, have arisen through the sinfulness even of

¹ Each of the days of the Parsi month being named after some particular angel, or spirit. From this description it appears probable that the Yasts formed a part of this Nask; but, if so, it ought to have contained at least thirty chapters.

² Corresponding to the fifteenth word, khshathremkâ, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the sixteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. This name should probably be Vîk-aft-tûm, meaning 'the most separate concerns,' as the Nask refers chiefly to public law; but it is called Niyâram, or Niyâdâm, in the Rivâyats.

³ The Rivâyats say fifty-four kardah, which number may have been obtained by adding the 'twenty-four particulars,' mentioned in Chap. XX, 1, to the thirty fargards stated here.

⁴ The patkâr-rad, or settler of disputes, appears to have held a position somewhere between an arbitrator and a judge, and which may be approximately defined as that of a magistrate.

mankind; *and* the progress of ruin and misery in the world is owing to unauthorisedly assaulting one another. 3. Advice to mankind about abstaining therefrom, *with* an estimate of an authorised assault, *and*, again, for a slight assault and no assault. 4. To stand magisterially, even opposed to the unmagisterial, with freedom from hurt and loss to oneself; *and* to abstain altogether, likewise, from the most innocuous (anakhrûgûnôôtûm) assault even upon an unmagisterial *person*.

5. *In* all magisterial investigation (patkâr-radîh) —of which, when the custom that exists is established judicially, the substance is two statements, which are verbal and demonstrable, that subsist in different combinations—*there* are four species: the verbal and demonstrable, the verbal which is not demonstrable, the demonstrable *which* is not verbal, *and that which* is neither verbal nor yet demonstrable. 6. In the arguments (sâmân) which are allotted *as* verbal are four species, the dispute *having* different arguments *and* different assertions which are for unmagisterial investigation, for one's own priestly authority (radô), for another good man —three of such being requisite¹—and also for other evidence². 7. And in those which are allotted *as* demonstrable are six species, and for an unmagisterial *person* the assertions, like the previous species which are on the same subject, are twelve³. 8. Of

¹ Evidently referring to arbitrators with an umpire.

² Reading hanô gôkâyîh, but hanô is an unusual form. Perhaps agôkâyîh, 'want of evidence,' would be more suitable to the context.

³ So the MS., but 'four' would suit the context better, and the two Pahlavi ciphers do not differ much in shape.

all unmagisterial proceedings—which, though it be a custom, is to proceed unauthorisedly—the species are five¹, which consist in *having* demonstrated, getting upon, striking², *having* caused a wound, and *having* slain.

9. Of *those* subject to the magistrate (patkâr-radō-hômônd) the twelve species are divided into four sections of three each. 10. One section are the hearing who are seeing, they to whom a dispute which is verbal [is demonstrable; the hearing who are not seeing, they to whom a dispute which is verbal³] is not demonstrable; and the seeing who are not hearing, they to whom even a dispute which is demonstrable is not verbal. 11. And with these three, who are in one section, there is magisterial investigation; and the magistrate, unless (ba~~o~~â hat)⁴ risk for the body *be* certain, is then irresistible; which is as though it be said *that* to restrain by

¹ These five grades of unauthorised retribution are analogous to the five grades of personal outrage mentioned in Vend. IV, 17.

² Pahl. *zatham*, 'a blow, assault, striking,' is used throughout, instead of *zâkham* (Pers. *za'h*m), which latter word does not occur in these two books of the *Dînkard*, except in the form *zakhamî-hastanō* in Bk. IX, Chap. VIII, 6. The *Farhang-i Oîm-aêvak* also uses *zatôm* in the same sense, in its oldest MSS.; and Dd. V, 1 has *zatham*. Darmesteter suggests that *zatham* and *zâkham* are both traceable to an original *zathma*, or *zathema*.

³ The words in brackets are omitted by mistake in the MS.

⁴ The ambiguity, mentioned in the latter clause of this section, appears to lie in these words, which mean either 'but if' or 'only if.' Such ambiguity must have existed in the original Pahlavi text of the Nask, and probably indicates that the earlier part of this section is a summary of the Pahlavi version of the original Avesta text, while the latter part is a summary of the Pahlavi commentary upon that version. As the same ambiguity occurs, without comment, in § 12, where the meaning seems tolerably certain, it is doubtful if the commentator's opinion can be adopted.

wounding (*rêsh*) is not justifiable, *but* the decision therein is this, that, when they do not change through lawful litigation, and they cannot hold back without wounding, *it* is justifiable to keep *them* back even by wounding. 12. One section are the not hearing who are also not seeing, the women, and the children; and with these three, who are in one section, there is no magisterial investigation; and the decision *as to* the bodies thereof is this, that, unless risk for the body *be* certain from their complete change, they are then to be completely changed (*barâ vardisnô*). 13. One section are the foreigner and *him* worthy of death, certain of thereby producing a sentence for *being* executed from the judges; *also* the highwayman, when he stays on the highway and his destruction is proclaimed, *but* it is not possible to effect *it*. 14. With these three, likewise, who are in one section, there is no magisterial investigation, but the decision about them is even this, that when *one* is utterly destroying their life, *one* is thereby possessing merit. 15. One section are they who are walking, *or* coming upon *one*, unseasonably, *or* retreating confused into a rugged place, *and*, when *people* ask them to speak, *they* are giving no answer, *and* they are not suspicious as foreigners. 16. With these three, likewise, who are in one section, there is no magisterial investigation, and the decision about them is this, that when *one* kills them outright, *one* does not become sinful thereby.

17. *As to* whatever is on the same subject it introduces many opinions, and also this, that a counter-assault (*avâz-zatam*) is that which becomes a blow and wound, *and* is to be so committed when it

is possible to produce *them* again exactly in every single particular.

CHAPTER XVII.

Nîkâdûm Nask.

1. The second section is the Zatamistân ('*assault code*'), particulars about assault (zatam) and the annoyances (vêshîgânö) from assault, such as pain, blood, and unconsciousness; *also* the sin¹ that a man may commit in a state of unconsciousness.

2. About the seven kinds of symptoms of unconsciousness, and separate decisions about assaults that adults may commit among those who are children; also as regards an assault which proceeds to pain *and* blood, and as regards that *in* which the duration of the disposition of wrath abates the pain *and* blood.

3. About begging (khvahlîsnö) *and* beneficence (hû-dahlîsnö)², such as those of which *one* says in particular *there* are four species: when stinginess (pûsth) benefits pride (pîkô), when pride benefits stinginess, when stinginess benefits stinginess, and when pride benefits pride; and *there* are three other species that originate from these *last* two, in consultation together, when stinginess and pride benefit stinginess and pride, when stinginess and pride benefit stinginess, and when stinginess and pride benefit pride, *all* which, *together*, constitute the seven primary species; many others, too, are traced back to these. 4. Also about seeing the depravity (khang

¹ Involuntary violations of the ceremonial law.

² The terms used in this section are not quite certain.

dīdanō) of a perverting member of the community (kastâr dâhm) and of the perverter of a member of the community, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

5. About a weapon seizable, and a weapon *one* brings, *there* is this, namely, what is the thing which is imperfect (anaspôrik) as a weapon, what is that which is not, and what is that which is welcome as a weapon; what is that which, when any one forces *it* back at any one as a weapon, is itself something annoying to him; what is his natural annoyance and what his imparted; *and* the penalty *in* property and difference of sentence on a man who is carrying a weapon, due to any weapon *he* has to carry away.

6. About the six modes of engaging in conflict: through assault, tumult (khvasisnō)¹, false teaching (mītôk-sâstô)², giving no food (atapdâdō)³, speaking with wizard's spells⁴, and speaking with threats of danger⁵; and, where *there is* an engaging

¹ Pers. 'hasis. Farh. Oīm, p. 34, ll. 6-8, has 'Av. vâiti=Pahl. khvasisnō is that when *one* runs behind any one for offensiveness.'

² Farh. Oīm, p. 35, ll. 1-4, has 'Av. mithôsâst and its explanation "false teaching" are that when *one* teaches a false way to any one; even when he unaccustomedly shows *it* rightly to any one, *it* is a committal of Mithôsâst by him.'

³ Compare Pers. tabah, tō, tōf. Farh. Oīm, p. 38, ll. 2-4, has 'Ataftdâd is that when *one* keeps back food and drink, whereby *there* is hunger and thirst.' It is worthy of death (see Chap. XX, 97).

⁴ Farh. Oīm, p. 34, ll. 3-5, has 'Av. yâtukhta, through wizard's spells (yâtûk-gôbisnîhâ), is that when *one* shall speak thus: "I will destroy thee through witchcraft;" when *one* says "through the spirits' lack of good religion" *it* is of the same kind.'

⁵ Farh. Oīm, p. 34, ll. 5, 6, has 'Av. dudhuwi buzda, threats of danger (saham-numâyisnîh), is that when *one* speaks thus: "I will strike with worldly weapons."

in conflict, it then occurs when *one has* stood up for beginning *it* and the assault is committed, *on* one by the other, *and* not before. 7. And this, too, that engaging in conflict occurs *as regards* adult with adult, childless women with childless women, pregnant women with pregnant women, and children of seven years with children of seven years—but, as regards children of seven years in sight of *their* fathers, it becomes an engaging in conflict of the fathers—and the decision about it is this, that the atonement for every sin which may be committed through engaging in conflict goes to the priestly authorities.

8. About the affliction *of* a pure lord who sees any one *who* has been useless (abûn) unto *his* slave, though the slave is beseeching, and does not contend for *his* ownership. 9. About sin *affecting* accusers¹ not being atoned for by any other good work, except unto the accuser himself; *also* about the slaying of a servant together with *his* lord, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

10. About slaying *by* untaught children of seven years, *or* even of eight years in sight of *their* fathers; *and* the criminality of the fathers therein, when *it* is possible for them to hinder *it* *and* they do not hinder *it*, and when *it* is not possible for them to hinder *it*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Nikâdûm Nask.

1. The third section is the Rêshistân ('wound code'), particulars about cutting, tearing, cleaving,

¹ A sin which injures another person, or any good creation, who must be satisfied by compensation before the sin can be remitted.

disembowelling, stabbing, gnawing¹, rupturing, hacking, mutilating, and withering²; such as are all called wounds. 2. The upheaving circular movement of a certain serpent-scourge³, the throwing down of the person, and the flow of blood from the bodies of the people.

3. How the various members are divided into seventy-six that are more particularly called principal, which are comprised in two classes; two of these, which are clothed *and* different, one from the other, are female, and *some* out of the surrounding parts (girvôgânth), which are *apart* from eight of the principal, that are comprised in the members of the two classes *and* among those seventy-six—and which, in like manner, are different one from the other—are female, and are *of* different purpose and different design, one from the other.

4. These, too, namely, when any one, through an assault, produces, for any other, stupefaction, swelling, or leanness, blackness⁴, or paleness, shortness, or tallness, want of intelligence, much eating, little eating, or moderate eating, indolence, or diligence, or dulness of hearing; or he wishes to speak *some* words, and they strike him in return; or *one* altogether diminishes *any* one's speech, sight, *or* hearing,

¹ Or, perhaps, khvâyisnō (compare Pers. 'hâyîdan) may mean 'biting.'

² The last four terms are, in Pahlavi: skônisnō, khûrdō kardānō, tâshîdanō, and khûsfîdanō.

³ The mâr-ganō (Av. khrafstraghna), we are told in Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 6, 'may be *made* of anything, *but* a leathern *one* is good' (see also Bd. XXVIII, 22). Intended as a snake-killer, it was misused as a scourge for human beings.

⁴ Assuming that vêsîh, 'excess,' is a miswriting of siyahîh.

wisdom, strength, *or* semen, milk, *or* pregnancy; *or* when *one* destroys the spleen (*sp̥ur*) or milk of females, or, in revenge (*gt̥far*), kills *his* son outright; *or* when they would inflict a wound upon a wound, and one's blood goes streaming forth.

5. Also about an assault with one, two, or three weapons, or more, in conjunction; or they may commit *it* on the spot, or in confederacy, or as a first offence¹. 6. About the measure of a wound when a two-edged sword (*dôbarakō*) plunges down, the area (*sarât*), walls, and surroundings, and the shape which is plunged; that *which* is hacked, or cleft, or mutilated, or a torrent *of* blood streaming; the affliction (*vamang*) of the furious serpent-scurge (*mâr-vanô*)², and the length, glitter, and weight of the weapon.

7. The ritual for the departure of a wound and the departure of pain, watching over *it* for the duration of three nights *or* a year, *its* greater wretchedness *or* less wretchedness, *its* cure (*sp̥ôrikîh*) *or* incurableness, and whatever is on the same subject. 8. Trivial enumerations, and decisions upon each separately.

CHAPTER XIX.

Nîkâdûm Nask.

1. The fourth section, which is also called the law of the Hamêmâlistân ('*accuser's code*'), contains particulars about accusation, and about the false

¹ These three modes are expressed by Pâz. *ithrih*, *hidhih*, and *apavarâvarstih*, which stand evidently for the original Avesta words *ithra*, *hadha*, and *apaurvavarsta* (see Chap. XXI, 6).

² See § 2.

accusation *by* any one, regarding any other, as to witchcraft, destroying a righteous *man*¹, theft, plunder, injuring the existence, minor injury² as regards several particular things, taking up *a weapon*, threatening with it³, assault, tumult⁴, incarcerating⁵, false teaching, fettering, making dejected (*nigûnô*), giving no food, falsehood, speaking with wizard's spells, or with threats of danger, abstracting

¹ Pahl. *aharûbôkîh* (=Av. *ashavagha*) must not be confounded with *aharûbôîh*, 'righteousness,' for which *aharâyîh* is more commonly used.

² These two kinds of injury, usually written *bâîôdôk-zêdô* and *kâîtyôk-gađô* in the *Dīnkard*, are mentioned in Farh. Oīm, pp. 32, l. 8-34, l. 2, as follows:—'*Av. baodhagađ=Pahl. bôdôb-zêd and Av. baodhô-varstahê=Pahl. bôdôk-varst* are as *it were* "observantly assaulted," and *one* mentions *them* most about the assault and injury of anything which is noticeable. Through falsehood other noticeable sin is small, *and* is subdued through *being* devoid of an injurer, as the assault *and* injury of anything through wear is a small sin. *Kâîtyô-ged* is a sin for mankind, which is a degree of *Bôdôk-zêd*, *but* less; so also the decree (*das-tīnak*) is different from *Bôdôk-varst*. The principal *Bôdôk-zêd*, that of animals with observance, the *Bôdôk-zêd* through wear, *and* the *Kâîtyôk-zêd* sin towards people are sins which are *hamê-mâlân* ("affecting accusers"). The dissipating weapon for sin dissipates the sinfulness of the other sin, which is called *rûbânîk* ("affecting the soul").'

³ These two terms are *âgêreptô* and *avoîristô* (Av. *âgereptem* and *avaoiristem*) which are thus described in Farh. Oīm, p. 36, ll. 4-6: '*âgerept*, "seized," is that when they shall take up a weapon for smiting an innocent *person*; *avoîrist*, "turning," is that when *one* turns the weapon upon an innocent *person*.'

⁴ See Chap. XVII, 6, for some of these terms.

⁵ Pahl. *handerêto* which is thus described in Farh. Oīm, pp. 34, l. 8-35, l. 1: '*Av. handereiti, Pahl. handeretô*, is that when, owing to negligence, *one* keeps any one exhausted; when *one* would make him fallen who is of the ruined, or him who is a master of arms, and *has* imprisoned him, the causing of much anguish thereby is the committal of incarceration.' See also § 44.

the increase of labourers' wages, wishing to cut (*vurīdanō*) and squeeze (*pashkhâdanō*) anything *from any one*, and seizing (*magīdanō*) *it* for fire *and* water, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 2. Also about the limitation of the accusation of sin therein, the retribution for *it*, and the dust, or ashes, or flour, for the eyes and the rest of the bodies of human beings, it now¹ speaks henceforth for thirty successive heads².

3. About the sin of making people eat bodily refuse³, *and* bringing *it* unlawfully to *their* persons *or* clothes; *and of* going to a menstruous woman, or a wizard. 4. About a juvenile and well-behaved woman who comes out from a house of those of the good religion, *and* is considered as well taught. 5. About falsehood *and* slander, small *and* great, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. About the care of a pregnant woman in lawful reclining (*khapâk*), feasting (*gashnō*), and work.

7. About a householder who does not teach his own household, *in order* to teach the household of another; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 8. About a quiet *and* an unquiet *person* with equal opinionativeness, and the opinion which *they have* to form before beginning. 9. About the expediency *or* in expediency of the opinion which is announced, and the reason of both. 10. About the man who, for fear of a counter-assault, runs away.

11. Also about not renouncing *sin*, neglecting complaints, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

¹ Pâz. *knîn* (= *knûn*).

² Of which the details are not mentioned.

³ Pahl. *hīkhar* (Av. *hikhra*) is any refuse or dirt from the living body, or any liquid exudation from a corpse.

12. The difference *of* sin in priests from that in any one else, as regards *its* renunciation. 13. About the expediency of retribution, and the measure of the expediency. 14. About *and* to what extent is the authority of one's own priestly master, *for* allowing the sin which any other person may commit as regards a disciple of that same, and that, too, of his disciple affecting the soul.

15. About the chastisement of a judge who is releasing sinners, and whatever is on the same subject. 16. About the justifiableness *of* a plaintiff in committing illegality. 17. About seizing the purity produced for foreigners, and whatever is on the same subject. 18. About *one* worthy of death making supplication (lâvakö), co-operation with *one* worthy of death, and whatever is on the same subject. 19. About confession as regards anything, the object of confession, and whatever is on the same subject. 20. About exhibiting a liking for sin worthy of death.

21. About a blow with a weapon, which is incomplete *or* not incomplete, when adults *or* children shall inflict *it*, *or* when children with mutual assistance. 22. About a wounded *person* whose anguish *was* allayed by medicine, the arising of the anguish again from disease, *when* he died, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

23. About taking security (garôbö) from the defendant after the decree of the judges. 24. About the legal proceedings as to an offence when, owing to the incapability *of* the plaintiff, adjournment *has* always occurred, *and* a man would occasion an acceleration of the statement of law (dâdö vâk) *and of* the procedure of the plaintiff. 25. About appointing

a mediator (dâḍak-gôbô), *and* the object of mediation.

26. About an assault (zatam) which is altogether of furious (pûr-tâk) origin. 27. And about a harmless (âzaḍ) assault and striking back fairly to test a weapon, *and*, when it is not possible fairly, turning *it* into execution of duty, or giving of scars (pisang-das), or punishment; a statement of the change, and whatever is on the same subject. 28. About the limit of the punishment of a child for the sin it may commit. 29. About seeking an interpretation (pâḍô-khân), the limit of interpreting, and whatever is on the same subject. 30. As regards a signal of approving the words *of* any one, on passing away, are these:—About giving up anything, making a will about it, *and* renunciation of sin.

31. About committing an assault *upon* an unknown person at an indefinite time, and whatever is on the same subject. 32. About giving a weapon *and* telling *some one* to kill a foreigner who is taken for judicial investigation, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 33. About the great hinderers¹ who are slain by a righteous man, who the great hinderers are, *and* unto whom it occurs; when *one has* to command *it* as assistance for one or many, or they shall commit the assault in advance *or* afterwards, and whatever is on the same subject. 34. About the weapon they shall seize *it is* stated thus: 'I see a man and a sheep, I strike upon this *and* upon that, and *it is* gone:' *and* whatever is upon the same subject.

¹ Doubtful: the word can be read freh-gasîgân on its first occurrence, and freh-gasîgânô on its last; but both reading and meaning are very uncertain.

35. About petitioning, *and* the going of a frontier governor (mar'z-pân) to the feet of tyrants (sâstârânö) to speak of regulations, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 36. Where *and* when *one* strikes a living *person* he vexes *him*, and the living *person* he strikes vexes *him when* dead ; *but* he who strikes a dead *person* is vexed alive, and the dead *person* he strikes vexes *him when* dead ; and whatever is on the same subject.

37. As to wood and useless pith (dīl), that which is for keeping is as far as a dimension that is mentioned, *and one*, therefore, passes *it* by not to burn ; concerning also that wood which is only for the blast of a furnace (gûrīh zīgâ) as firewood, the burning *and* dimensions and blast of the furnace *are stated*, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 38. About the sin through which a man attains from atonement to the sacred-twigg ordeal (baresmôk-varīh), *and* from the sacred-twigg ordeal to the heat ordeal (garemôk-varīh) which *has* maintained the worthiness of an assault that is an actual inexcusability (akârīh)¹ to reasoning thought ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

39. About the excellence of physicians, *their* merit from doing good, *and* sin from not doing good ; the quality that exists as regards medicines, seeking a physician for animals also, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 40. About a horse, which is new to the saddle (kôfak), *being* made tailless (kapê) and not feeding (akhavânö), how *it* is done, the sin owing to doing *it* unlawfully and heedlessly, the

¹ It might be 'inevitability,' but this would render the ordeal unnecessary.

wound *and* damage *that* arise from it, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

41. About several persons, when anything that is imperfect, *or* even not imperfect, as a weapon is convenient to them, and a wound occurs, and *it* is not evident which, *or* who, threw the weapon, it is not necessary to know *its* imperfection *or* lack of imperfection¹; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 42. About the three modes for thrusting a weapon are these *details*, that is, so much of it when *one* thrusts it on ground that is hard, or soft, or full of ruggednesses (*ākhārigānakō*); when *one* shall bear it up aloft, and the amount of the height; *and* when *one* impels it again with a sweep, or *has* to draw up its centre at the time of a sweep; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 43. About an assault and the most hurtful occasion when, *for* the same reason, they would celebrate a religious rite; the retribution on the spot, *and* the sentence upon the fourth occasion².

44. About incarcerating (*handerêto*) in a frightful and inaccessible (*avidarg*) place, and among noxious creatures; the quantity of noxious creatures, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 45. About grasping the tail of an ox, or a horse, on which *another* sits, to hold *it* back, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 46. About threatening danger,

¹ The fact of the wound being sufficient to prove the unlawfulness of using the weapon.

² According to Vend. IV, 35, if a man wounds another so that the blood comes, and does this for the *fourth* time, he becomes an outcast and receives the maximum punishment. Also, when a person walks without the sacred girdle or shirt (Vend. XVIII, 59), it is at the *fourth* step that the demons possess him.

wizard's spells¹, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

47. About complaints as to the value of a lamb², or a sheep³, or a beast *of burden* (stôr), or a human being (vîrôk)⁴; either *when* the plaintiffs are one, or two, or three, or four, or many; how *one has* to summon the defendant, and how much time *there* is.

48. About when the controversy (han-bêshinîh) is as to theft (dûgô), and the confession as to plunder (*avor*); or the controversy is as to plunder, *and* the confession as to theft; and when the controversy is as to injuring the existence⁵, *and* the confession as to minor injury; or the controversy is as to minor injury, and the confession as to injuring the existence; *and* when the controversy is as to theft *and* plunder, *and* the confession as to injuring the existence *and* minor injury; or the controversy is as to injuring the existence *and* minor injury, *and* the confession as to theft *and* plunder. 49. And when the controversy is about so much, *and* the confession about so much *of* a different kind; when the controversy is about so much, and the confession about more of a different kind; when the controversy is about so much, *and* the confession about less *of* a different kind; when the controversy is about so much, *and* the confession as to more of the same kind; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

¹ See Chap. XVII, 6.

² Pahl. Av. *asperenô* (=Pahl. *anaspôrfk*) 'imperfect, immature;' an epithet for a lamb or kid.

³ Pahl. *anûmôyê* (Av. *anumaya*), probably 'bleater,' an epithet for a sheep or goat.

⁴ These four grades of value are mentioned in Vend. IV, 48.

⁵ See § 1.

50. About the sin of unfriendliness *of* a master towards a disciple, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 51. About taking a thief of any one's goods (a1s1gânð), conducting *him* to the judges, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 52. This, too, that when affliction has come upon a good *man*, the effort of every one, for removing that affliction, should continue just as though it happened to himself. 53. And when a good *man* is beaten through malice, the effort of every one, in demanding compensation for him from the smiter, should continue just as though it happened to himself. 54. And this, too, that, when there is no danger for one, the power of affording assistance is thus assistance *of* the innocent; *and*, as to the property which may be carried *away* from him, *and of which* they shall make no restitution, after as much as a Hâsar¹ the carrier *off* becomes guilty *and* liable to penalty.

55. About the distinction of indigenous and foreign (a1r va-an-a1r) thieves as to cold and the clothing given, *and* as to sickness *and* undergoing remedies. 56. About the hands of a foreigner *being* unfettered for no other reason but care of water and fire, to

¹ A Hâsar (Av. hâthra) is a measure of distance, as well as of time. This is stated in Farh. Oim, pp. 41, l. 11-42, l. 3, thus:— 'Of the Hâsar there are also several kinds that express measurement. A medium Hâsar on the ground, which they call also a Parasang, is a thousand steps of two feet which have to walk. With the lapse of time of a medium Hâsar the day and night are computed.' Again, p. 43, ll. 1-3 state that 'of twelve Hâsars is the longest day; that day and night in which is the longest day are twelve of the longest Hâsars, eighteen of the medium, and twenty-four of the least.' From this it appears that an average Hâsar of distance is a thousand paces, or Roman mile; and an average Hâsar of time is one hour and twenty minutes.

preserve *them* from blood, filth, and injury (âsipð). 57. About the sin of not restraining him who is the first assailant of two combatants, as soon as his attack is seen. 58. About teaching the peace of renunciation *of sin*, the bond of worthiness of him *of* great power even when proffering union in renunciation *with* him of little power, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

59. On the nature of responding about the keeping *away* from *one* worthy of death which arises through great judiciousness, the reason of keeping, how to keep, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 60. And on the nature of responding when they ask in malice about a righteous man, when *one* knows *his* whereabouts, and when *one* does not know. 61. About how *one* is to give a weapon to generals (hên-gô-padânð) *and* august frontier governors.

62. About authorisedly shooting an arrow at *one* worthy of death, which is given again for killing *him* to any one unto whom the *person* worthy of death is consigned *and* becomes supplicating (lânakð) *and* goes to the middle of the distance, and they shall afford him assistance *and* enervate *him* for *it*, when, through the three words¹ which he utters, they do not deliver *him* up again. 63. About *one* worthy of death who is preserved with great judiciousness when the evidence, which they give before that about him, is through another *one* worthy of death, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 64. About evidence as to witchcraft and destroying a righteous *man*, that is, in what propor-

¹ Possibly hûmat, hûkht, hûvarst, 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' which would be accepted as a sign of repentance.

tion it is certain or doubtful. 65. About causing the execution of *one* worthy of death *for* entertaining fondness for witchcraft and laughing at witchcraft, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

CHAPTER XX.

Nikkādam Nask.

1. *In* the fifth section are twenty-four particulars¹ about the standing up and going forth of a man with a weapon and angry thoughts towards *another* man; and also when he takes a beast *of* burden, saddles *it*, and sits upon *it*, takes the rein² (ayôkham) in hand and walks *away*; this, too, that, when he arrives there, he smites that *man*, or some one else; and whatever is on the same subject. 2. About what *one* *has* to do when the conversation of two men is *of* the destruction of a righteous man, *of* highway robbery, and *of* the cursing owing thereto; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 3. About what *one* *has* to do when, of two men who are *on* the same road, one slays a righteous man; *and* *about* the other when *he* *is* fearless, *and* when *he* *is* fearful. 4. About preserving *one* worthy of death when it is requisite for medical purposes (bezashkîh), though the plaintiff is *of* a different opinion; and whatever is on the same subject.

5. About the needlessness of plaintiffs *and* defendants speaking as to the substance (min tanû) of

¹ It is not clear whether these twenty-four particulars are to be sought in the details of § 1, or in the whole chapter, or some portion of it.

² Merely a guess.

the law, when the witness and judge is the supreme priest; the confidence which they may place *in* the decision of the supreme priest, due to his own knowledge *and* evidence, when, moreover, *they have* not to atone in the body; *and* the want of confidence *in* another judge when, moreover, *they have* to atone in the body, *and* the needfulness of plaintiffs *and* defendants speaking on the substance (*vaḷ tanû*) of the law, even when the judge is aware of the law. 6. About unauthorised combatants, become mutually sinful, when, to dissipate (*sīkh tanō*) a wound of the one, *he* would make the *other* one worthy of death. 7. About supplies (*pishôn*)¹ in travelling together, and their renewal; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

8. About inflicting penalties *by* magistrates, the assistance *of* the unmagisterial *given* to magistrates, the assistance of the magistrates, *and* the exemption of these *latter* from atonement to those *former*; likewise about conversation as to an assault, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 9. About the evasion of penalty *by* men at the *time* when a sin may be committed, and the arrest *of their* nearest relations *being* important, in whatever measure implicated therein *and* impossible to consider innocent; how to confine and make them really coerced to seek a remedy, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 10. About the powerfulness which comforts in sin where *there* is any special worthiness, and the reason

¹ Compare Pers. *bising*, Av. *fshaoni*. In some cases it might perhaps be read *pīkhvô*, and be traced to Av. *pithwa*. The word often occurs, as in § 11, Chaps. XXIII, 3, 15, XXVI, 10, XXVII, 4, 6, XXXI, 25, 36, XXXVII, 5, 7, 22, XLI, 19, 23, XLIII, 19, and its meaning, 'provision, or nourishment,' is well ascertained.

of any worthiness ; the want of power where *there* is special unworthiness, and the reason of any unworthiness ; the production of the good works of one towards another of the powerful, *and* of the sin of one of those lacking power ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

11. About the plaint which *one* *has* to argue, and for the defendant to dispute ; the time for making the statement (gôbô) when the defendant does not come, or comes not to conduct the business ; the several peculiarities of plaintiff and defendant, the time for conducting *being* on the day before yesterday, the firm *one* and the powerless, the incrimination therein, the death-blow on the exhaustion of the possessions of the plaintiff, and provisions for conducting the legal proceedings ; a privileged wife¹ shall be capable of making a plaint *for her* husband, and *of* informing the husband of the plaint ; when her property is anything whatever, and nothing is manifest as to that wealth, *she* is to be admitted for evidence ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

12. About the ordeal of those *who have* atoned, *of* those *undergoing* the sacred-twigs ordeal, *and of* those *undergoing* the heat ordeal, *who are* pure ; the freedom from falsehood of which, each separately, which they, every one of them, request when the ordeal is not that for their own station, but that for the station of others ; and whatever is on the same subject. 13. About the object of any evidence, and, on account of the reason of *its* propriety, the impropriety of any one *being* without evidence ; *and* what-

¹ One married to her husband with the parents' consent, and never betrothed to another, so that she and her children belong to him in both worlds (see Bd. XXXII, 6 n).

ever is on the same subject. 14. About the reality *of* a statement due to an ordeal, and so many *having* gone to the ordeal place for the sake of watching the first-comer *and* after-comer; the time *of* performance, the statement, the ceremonial and the invulnerableness due to it; the kinds *of* incrimination, how to protect the limbs by which the ordeal is accomplished, *and* each one *of* the formulas (nīrang) of protection; the superintendence for observing the ceremonial, *and* the decision about the acquitted *or* convicted *one*. 15. This, too, that is, whose going to the ordeal place is first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth; *and by* whom is the command to be given. 16. About the business of the ordeal attendants (var aûstīgânō). 17. About incrimination through confession, or *some* other reason, the reliance restored thereby, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 18. About a thief destroying life *and* escaping, the suspicion owing thereto, about any one, as to assisting the thief, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 19. About *there* being no ordeal for those confessing, *and* so also as regards those of good repute; accusation as to the existence of a limit *to* the good repute, even that which is for the extent of a Yûgyâst, a Dashmest, an Agoyôst, a Takar, and a Hâsar¹ *at* the least.

¹ The relative lengths of these five measures of distance are stated in Farh. Ōīm, p. 41, ll. 9-11, as follows:—‘So much as two Dashmêst (Av. dakhshmaiti) is as much as a Yûgyast (Av. yugyasti); so much as two Agoyôhast is as much as a Dashmêst; so much as two Takar is as much as an Agoyôhast; *and* so much as two Hâsar (Av. hâthra) is as much as a Takar (Av. takara).’ As the average Hâsar is a Roman mile (see Chap. XIX, 54 n), the Takar (‘run?’) is two, the Agoyôst or Agoyôhast (‘cattle-run?’)

20. About litigation as to a costly article, when a witness of *its* possession by the one *party* is *combined* with non-possession by the *other* one with no witness, or *with its* possession by the *other* one with a single witness; or the witness of one is with the sacred beings, *and its* possession by the *other* one is likewise not manifest; when both *parties* are related (khidyahîk), or both are unrelated (anazdîhîk); and what kind of possession they say is most real.

21. About annulling the decision of a judge, and the time *it* is done at *the court of* a chief judge, and also owing to an ordeal for certainty; and whatever is on the same subject. 22. About the litigation of three persons as to property *it* is declared, so much is given to one *on* the day Aûharmazd to the day Vohûman¹, to *another* one *on* the day Ardavahist, *and* possession is not made *over to the third* one at all.

23. About selling property which is not one's own, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 24. About controversy as to anything which ought not to occur. 25. About any essential dispute *that* any one has, *when* agreeing thus: 'I do not have it *as* my own, but owing to the other person;' and whatever is on the same subject. 26. About the litigation of an Irânian with a foreigner, *or* with foreigners, *of* a

Av. gaoyaoiti?) is four, the Dashmêst ('distance-mark?') is eight, and the Yûgyâst ('stage?') is sixteen miles. This series of distances is analogous to the Sanskrit series, but more elaborate; the Hâsar is best compared with the Krosa as the commonest unit of moderate distance, though less than half its usual length; the Agoyôst is nearly the same as the Gavyûta; and the Yûgyâst is analogous to the Yogana, though nearly double its length.

¹ That is, on the first or second day of the Parsi month; and to the other on the third day.

foreigner with an Irānian, *or* a slave with a man of the country, as to a costly article; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 27. About a much-clamouring plaintiff *having* summoned defendants to the judges regarding a decision, and about the perverted wordiness *and* mixed verbiage in the legal proceedings; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

28. About the time for a high-priest of property and possessions, what is the specific necessity for a high-priest, and whatever is on the same subject.

29. About the fitness of a woman for evidence and judgeship when guardian over herself, *and* the unfitness of a privileged *wife*¹ who is a foreigner and worthy of death for only a single *offence*, even with the authority of *her* husband; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 30. About the owner of a pledge not depositing the pledge beforehand, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 31. About giving up the property of partners, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 32. About the property that any one possesses, and is without any witness as to his ownership and possession *of it*. 33. About the ordeal of excessive eating (pâûrû-khûrânö) for escaping distress (mûst-kar zîh) *by* plaintiffs *and* defendants before driving each other into legal proceedings, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

34. About the legal proceedings as to a female² they steal from some one, and she becomes a suppliant of a thief; some one takes *her* by sequestration (*hakîdakîh*)³, and they steal *her* also from him;

¹ See § 11 n.

² A slave no doubt.

³ This is the technical term for legal seizure, or sequestration (see Chap. XXXIX).

the original *possessor* (bûn) sees his own, not knowing *she is* back alive, when they become disputing about her; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

35. About property which is in the possession of any one, when some one gives *it* up to some one else in his sight, *and* he does not dispute *it*. 36. About a master teaching a disciple not to go back to legal proceedings, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 37. About controversy, with any one, as to special property in righteous gifts, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

38. About legal proceedings in which *one* accomplishes an ordeal three times, and it comes *off* in one way; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 39. About the existence of the many kinds of speaking with wizard's spells¹, *and* those with threats of danger; and about the usage in witchcraft as to the moderate *and* justifiable production of mutual afflictiveness thereby. 40. About which is the ordeal for *one* worthy of death, the greatness and littleness of an ordeal, and also this, that is, which are the blessed among twenty of those undergoing ordeals. 41. About the proportion of firewood, and from which tree it ought *to be* good; and again, too, the several appliances and formulas that are necessary in accomplishing the ordeal. 42. And this, too, that when the man is aware of his own truth, even though *he be aware of it*, the fire speaks in the words of men thus: 'Walk not on to me! for I chastise during one's progress.' 43. About *one* still mediating in legal proceedings as to a thief who *has* acted faithfully about quitting confinement and fetters to

¹ See Chap. XVII, 6.

cause a ceremonial¹, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

44. About the wealth of a priest who is not keeping his property in edifices (aûzdestikh) or domains (matâ), *but* goes on with *his* occupation ; *and* when he passes away, to whom *and* how *it has* to come.

45. About litigation as to property from the residuary *wealth* of fathers, about keeping *it* together (vâham-dâr), and whatever is on the same subject.

46. About the amount *of* retribution, *in* confinement, fettering, and punishment, for a lamb², a sheep, *or* a beast *of burden*, which is stolen ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

47. About a defendant regarding whom three plaintiffs complain, all three as comrades, one as to a lamb, one *as to* a sheep, and one as to a beast *of burden* ; *and* whose answer is first given. 48. About the litigation of three persons as to a costly article which remains apart *from them*, he who deposited it *being* a strong person, *and* the ownership of not even one of them *being* certain. 49. About the coming of retribution to three persons who, all three as comrades, have stolen a lamb from one, a sheep from *another* one, and a beast *of burden* from *a third one*.

50. About the reason of the justifiableness, *and* that also *of* the unjustifiableness, *of* confining a fellow-countryman for his own theft, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 51. About the extent of continuance in hearing a defendant, *and* this, *too*, *as to* a plaintiff ; *also* about the time appointed for speaking, and its extent. 52. And about this,

¹ Or it may be 'to provide supplies.'

² See Chap. XIX, 47.

namely, when any one has made an accusation about any other, *and* goes back at the time appointed, *and*, before a reply is given, he shall make out another accusation about the same man, to which *of the two accusations* a reply is to be first given. 53. About the reason of the hardship of legal proceedings; about what man *it is* whose statement is second, third, fourth, *and* last in conducting legal proceedings; and about the twenty-two stratagems in conducting legal proceedings.

54. About the cancelling (pâdyârânth) of an ordeal, even that which is accomplished with three selected witnesses. 55. About the season of the hot ordeal, and also that of the cold; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 56. About one, in a procedure, demanding an ordeal, *the other one having* appointed the time for the supreme priest, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 57. About the benediction of the supreme priest on making, *or* changing, a decision; also this, namely, which are the blessings for changing, through *their* nature, a decision which is made.

58. About evidence of walking upon a water-skin (khîk) *and* putting *something* inside *it*, *of* assault and wounds, *of* wealth which they squander (nikizend) and a righteous gift, *of* a damaged and sequestered *thing*; and *of* rubbing up (pâdô-mâlisnô) and buying *it* strengthened¹, and *at* a price. 59. On litigation about the ownership of a wife, cattle, trees, *and* land; and whatever is on the same subject. 60. About the certainty *of* the statement of several leaders of an affair, as to that on which their affair

¹ Pâz. aôganghen for Av. aoganghem=aoganghem (see also Chap. XLI, 17, 18).

depends, and of the supreme priest, or three witnesses, in every legal proceeding. 61. About in-crimination (aṭrikhtakīh) of several kinds as to statements in legal proceedings, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 62. About the modes of action for eradicating the deceptions (frēvōānō-fitâr) of apostates, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

63. About *cases* where the virtuousness of the thoughts, words, *and* deeds of mankind is all *derived* from the virtuousness of the beneficent spirit, and mankind themselves shall render *it* their own, and, in that way, *its* reward reaches them; and *their* viciousness is all *derived* from the viciousness of the evil spirit, *and* mankind themselves shall render *it* their own, and, in that way, *its* bridge *penalty*¹ reaches them.

64. About the injuriousness due to unrenounced sinfulness, that is, what is injured by the first, second, third, fourth, *or* fifth unrenounced Aredûs *sin*². 65. About where *and* which is the speaking with threats of danger³, *and* which is the taking up of a *weapon* (âgêreptō), not the turning *it* down, that becomes a Tanâpûhar *sin*⁴; *also* the sin which is owing to such sin.

¹ The decision announced at the K'invad bridge (see Chap. XIV, 8), as to the fate of the soul until the renovation of the universe, after the account of its good works and sins has been accurately balanced.

² Farh. Oīm, p. 36, ll. 6, 7, has 'when through sinfulness one lays a weapon upon a sinner, the name is Aredûs.'

³ See Chaps. XVII, 6, XIX, 1.

⁴ Whereby a person becomes an outcast and worthy of death. According to Vend. IV, 67-72, 75-78, 81-84, this occurs on the eighth committal of an Âgêreptō, on the seventh of an Avôristō, and on the sixth of an Aredûs; or on the first committal of any of the three, if the criminal refuses to atone for it.

66. About *the case* where *one has* to atone, *and* who *does it*; *he* who undergoes the sacred-twig ordeal *has* atoned best; and which is the least heat ordeal. 67. About two men *having* seized property together, and *having* together, at the time, demanded a judge and ordeal about it; and when one seizes the property some time earlier, and the *other* one demands the judge and ordeal earlier; and whatever is on the same subject. 68. About some one carrying *off* the property *of* a person from the custody of *another* person in sight of the same, and he who kept it before is, within a Hâsar¹, a witness before the judge as to *its* custody or possession; and also when the witness of it has not come within the Hâsar; and whatever is on the same subject.

69. About *cases* where the decision of the judge is to be made from the Avesta and Zand², or from the common consent of the good³, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 70. About the justifiable selling of a man, a sheep, *or* a beast *of burden*, as free from defect when its defect is not obvious; also about the symptoms of their defects. 71. About *the case* where *and* how far a decision, about which *one* is in dispute, is a solitary statement, *or* more.

72. About the object of the appointment of a judge, the eminence of an appointed judge, and whatever is on the same subject. 73. About the reasonableness of the severity and want of severity

¹ Eighty minutes on the average (see Chap. XIX, 54 n), but varying from one hour to two, according to the duration of daylight.

² That is, from the scriptural law and its commentary.

³ That is, according to precedents recorded by the priesthood.

of judges. 74. And this, too, that the judgeship is to be given to him *who* is acquainted with the law (âkâs-dâd)¹; and the object of acquaintance with the law. 75. About *the case* where *there* are a supreme judge of the law, a plaint, a defence, an arrangement of legal proceedings, *and* an award; *and* through what sin it becomes injustice. 76. And this, too, that the justice of him who may therein commit falsehood, as regards so many essential decisions, is injustice.

77. About the many who may seize wealth, which is the property of some one, with their own hands; *and*, when they litigate about it, he says *it is* his own property, whereby *they* are convicted. 78. About incrimination of five kinds as to whatever property is on the spot, *or* at a distance (pavan hâsar); *and* whatever is on the same subject. 79. About putting apart, keeping apart², and two apart before *being* put away; *also* about litigation as to keeping apart, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 80. And when some one *has* to deliver property *which* is a person's own to some one else, in the

¹ This term is explained in an extract from some Nask (compare Chap. XLIII, 9) quoted in Farh. Oîm, pp. 17, l. 9-18, l. 5, as follows:—'*Av. kô asti dkaêshô vivisdâtô*, which is the judge who is acquainted with the law? *Av. yô aêta pairi arethra frazânaiti*, *he* who thoroughly understands the adjudication from the statements [even though he does not easily understand many of the statements, and though *it be* not easy as regards the statements which are not numerous, is an official who is acquainted with the law (*kardâr-i âkâs-dâd*); *and he* who does not thoroughly understand the adjudication from the statements, even though the statements are not numerous, and *it be* not easy *for him* as regards *them*, is to be still considered as unacquainted with the law (*anâkâs-dâd*)].'

² Compare § 115.

sight of him whose own *it is*, and he who is seizing upon *it* disputes about *it* as his own property; and whatever is on the same subject.

81. About disputing the debts of fathers when one of *their* associates is confessing *them*, and the rest have come, and it is possible for them to dispute *them*, *but* they do not dispute. 82. *And* about the progress of a dispute of one of the associates as to the whole debt of *one's* fathers. 83. About the possibility of children *being* worthy of death, for wizard's spells, when with their guardian; and *of* a woman *being so* when guardian of herself. 84. About *a case* where the amount of a lamb (mîdat-î asperenô) is the lowest, and the amount of a human being (vîrôk mozd) is the highest¹. 85. About theft and plunder as regards one's own property, when *one* brings *it* away from the possession of some one without dispute. 86. About the triumph *of* him who, falsely investigating, may act judicially by illegally-issued incentives, when he institutes legal proceedings for the sake of appearances²; *as distinguished* from him who is truly seeking and truly investigating.

87. About the statements of a litigation of man *and* wife, which is justifiably brought *on*³. 88. And also this, namely, when she sees *herself* injured, or defence is possible by means of that which

¹ The minimum and maximum grades of value mentioned in Chap. XIX, 47. Here it is evident that mîdat and mozd are synonyms, the former being, no doubt, the Zvâris, or Semitic, equivalent of the latter, compare Chald. מִדָּה.

² Pahl. khâkûnfâ, literally 'through making a dust.'

³ Or it may be 'of a man *and* a woman who is domineeringly plundered.'

is discharged by two fingers ¹, *it* is justifiable when they shall institute no litigation but seizing. 89. About *the person* who *has* become privileged to give away a daughter to a husband, *her* father *having* passed *away*. 90. About the sin of making a damsel (kanġk) weary of *her* husband. 91. About the sin as regards property in this action, either produced where the action for this purpose is really devoid of illiberality (adahisnġh), or to commit in order that they shall give me a wife even when they do not give her on that account. 92. About the sin of *giving* a girl (kanġk) for a girl, or other living thing, or of speaking thus : ' Do thou go in unto my sister, *or* daughter, while I, too, *will* go in unto thine.' 93. And the sin as regards the person of my wife, too, which is owing to that sin. 94. About *one* obtaining back the value which he gives away for a girl, when the girl is not that value in wedlock. 95. About a girl who, after fifteen years *of age*, is not given to a husband ; and her father, to satisfy *her* menstrual excitement (dashtân-mêyah vigârdanö), and to sustain it, becomes sinful *and* harbours a paramour ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

96. About *having* given food, *and* anything except a wife, to any one who praises the Mazda-worshippers' religion of another, even though *it be* through fear ; also this, that *it is* only *he*, when *he has* thereby become quite of the same tenets with the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, to whom the gift of a wife worthy of a man (vîr masâġ) is then to be pre-

¹ That is, in some very easy way. The intention was probably to discourage petty disputes between man and wife, by not interfering with the stronger party when aggrieved.

sented. 97. About committing the sin of giving no food¹, which is *one* of those worthy of death. 98. About the duty imposed of chastising a wizard for the Tanâpûhar *sin*² of assisting a demon³, so that one's duty is manifold, and to be accomplished during several years.

99. About the day and night which are longest, medium, and shortest; that is, how many Hâsars⁴ *they are*, each separately; and, *as to* their occurrence, in what control is the appointed *time* which is really theirs, each one, *as to* period. 100. About the Parasang⁵ which is the longest, medium, and shortest; and whatever is owing to *their* subdivision.

101. About the work *and* fodder (vâsân)⁶ of an injured beast *of burden*, by day and night. 102. About a sheep which kills a person, and *whether* its owner *be* innocent, or sinful, through not putting a tether (band) upon *it*; and the reason of the sinfulness and innocence therein. 103. About the period that *extends* from certainty to dubiousness, even though *it be* for the supreme priest, or *one* provides three witnesses; and how long it is. 104. About the multitude of witnesses who give no evidence, *together* with the judge *who is* unjustly deciding.

105. About the injuriousness (âzârîkîh), for the

¹ See Chap. XVII, 6.

² See § 65.

³ Reading dêv-vigîr which is miswritten *by* *the* *man*.

⁴ See Chap. XIX, 54 n.

⁵ A distance of four Hâsars (Bd. XVI, 7), or as far as a far-seeing man can distinguish a black ox from a white one (Bd. XXVI, 2). It is usually from 3½ to 4 English miles, but in Pahlavi texts it often stands for a Hâsar, or Roman mile, both being measures for long distances.

⁶ Or 'rations' (vâyagân).

priestly authorities, *of* anything *that* is given to the unworthy. 106. About what kind of gift, that is given, was accepted; that is, how, when given by one when *another* claims *it*, it returns to him; how, *and* in what proportion, when *the other* does not claim *it*, its expediency does not arise; and whatever is on the same subject. 107. About *a case* where there is property of several kinds which a man *has* given away as a righteous gift, *and it* is allowable. 108. About *the case* where whatever is given *and* reaches *some one*, when he gives it and does not say how *it was* given, it becomes a righteous gift. 109. And about *its* not *having* become a gift, through fear of whatever is its danger.

110. About the theft and extortion *of* him who does not maintain the wives and children of persons in *his* control, to preserve and nourish *them*, through fear. 111. About the allotment of punishment for the limbs of sinners, *and* upon which limbs is the allotment. 112. About the atonement for sin where *it is* most irksome. 113. About the amount of retribution for an assault (*zatam*) which may be committed upon *one* worthy of death who is preserved through great judiciousness.

114. About Aôharmazd *having* given all prosperity to Zaratôst and the disciples of Zaratôst; the theft and extortion which have arisen *in* a man when *he has* not given to a worthy *person any* of the prosperity that has befallen him; and whatever is on the same subject. 115. About how an animate *being* is situated who is in *a place* apart (*aham*), and when he dies in innocence and keeping apart¹, his

¹ Compare § 79.

wound *being* also through duty; and whatever is on the same subject. 116. About the advantage and pleasure of keeping a promise (*mitro-dârih*), and the gravity, harm, and vexation owing to various degrees of promise-breaking (*mitrôk-drûgth*); *also* how a promise is kept. 117. About the grievous sinfulness of strife, insincerity (*avâkhîh*), and slander, and the harm that proceeds therefrom; *also* the frost (*pazd*) and punishment provided for them¹, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

118. About *having* given frontier people² *as* hostages (*garôbô*) to foreigners *who have* demanded a ransom (*navisnô*). 119. About taking up (*lâlâ gêrefstanô*) anything whatever that is precious to a foreigner, and *has* become of exceeding value, when they give *it* up as a ransom³ to Irân; the extreme value of a youth (*tigil*) when they shall carry *him* off as a hostage from the foreigners, in place of ransom; *and* how *they* are to keep both. 120. About the grievous sinfulness of a man stealing back *his* ransom from foreigners, though *it be* his own son. 121. About the sinfulness of the governor (*sardâr*) of a province through *any* harm that occurs in the province owing to his elevation and evil commands.

122. About the existence of so many thieves assisting a thief with special ransom, *and* what kind of reward (*navisnô*) *one* is to use with thieves, to

¹ In hell (compare AV. XL, 7).

² Pahl. *mar'sânân*, which might be supposed to be a defective writing of *margar'gânân*, 'those worthy of death' (the two letters equivalent to *rga* being omitted), but see Chap. XXI, 13.

³ The MS. *pâk* is evidently a defective writing for *navâk* which is written correctly in the next clause of this section.

deceive with great judiciousness. 123. About attaching to the neck of a thief the *thing* which *was* stolen by him, for his personal identification, *and* conducting *him* to the judges. 124. About the non-atonement of thieves, by any amount of anything whatever, without confession as regards their own sin. 125. About the assistance *to* possession which is claimed by any one from the authorities (*padân*), when his property is stolen or extorted.

126. About the grievous sinfulness *and* deceitfulness of many kinds which *occur* when a woman who is given away with *her* concurrence, *and her* acceptance is announced, is given to another man; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 127. About the unjustifiableness of the wisdom of a man, through which he took away property in dispute, from him who *was* ignorant, before *there was* certainty *about it*. 128. About making intercession in a dispute, for him who is ignorant, *with* the judge *and* other authorities *and* chiefs, even including the king of kings¹, when there is no intercessor for him. 129. About the reason of the fitness *of* a man for sovereignty, and the lodgment *of* Aôharmazd upon the limited (*tang*) person of him who is a good ruler.

130. About the five special ordinances (*dâdîstân*) that are certain; these are without ordeal, because *they* are to be considered as certain, *and* the penalties thereof are to be fully inflicted. 131. About investigation after confession. 132. About squandering (*nikizand*) wealth of which the custom (*dastôbar*) of maintaining is begging for *it*. 133. About the progress (*sakîsnö*) of legal proceedings not *having*

¹ The Persian monarch.

occurred, *which* is not demanded on account of the existence of want of power, *and* the number of kinds *of* that want of power. 134. About a woman without a guardian, when she takes a paramour, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

135. About bringing a written statement into judicial proceedings, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 136. About the sin of frightening any one from his place, when he shall move on account of that fright, and the amount of movement and harm which will come upon him therefrom. 137. The delivery back of that which is extorted from *one's* hands or keeping; that is, how *it* is to be considered as delivered.

138. About the obviousness of a minor adjudication from that which is greater. 139. About the extreme benefit *and* peace, even in *this* world, through a wife and children *and* grandchildren, and also the prosperity, as regards produce and even wealth thereby, taking away the disputes that arise. 140. About the grievous sinfulness of wealth *acquired* through unnatural intercourse¹, the annihilation of the spiritual faculties (ma'nôgânö). 141. About a decree in which the decision is of three descriptions, about three persons. 142. About a tree which, when stolen away, is the death-blow (mât) of a hundred pure birds (vâê), *and* a thousand birds arise.

143. About a sin which, owing to deceiving previously, *has* to increase (frâz mastanö) *its* extent, and to fully taste the extremest crime of a dagger

¹ Vâm-kûnîh, compare Pers. bâmûn. It cannot be 'making loans, or money-lending,' because that would be spelt dvâm-kûnîh.

(dahrakō) of several *of* the smallest finger-*'readths*.
 144. About the sin of defiling four-footed females.
 145. About keeping back one of the combatants from fighting, *and* whatever is on the same subject.
 146. About counter-assaults of eight kinds, assault when an infidel shall commit *it* upon *one* of the good religion, and whatever is on the same subject. 147. About a counter-assault of a heretic (dūs-dēnō) when an arch-heretic (sarītar-dēnō) is slain.

148. About not leaving any property in the keeping of *one* worthy of death. 149. About such numbers of abettors of sin *being* with the sinner, and whatever is on the same subjects. 150. About the injury of a plaint and defence, and the dwelling, property, and feast *of* the good, *by* that person who extols the presidentship which is given him, *but* who is not fit for the presidentship. 151. About the sinfulness of a judge when he shall make a decision for any one according to his origin. 152. About the grievous sinfulness of delivering the person of an Irānian to a foreigner, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

153. About the greatness of the gift of a righteous man, as compared with (min) the gift of another, for Rashnū¹, the just, to proclaim among the creatures *and* to accept. 154. This, too, that, when they encounter an apostate *and* it is necessary to hold a controversy, though *there be* danger for the hands or feet, *or* though even for the head, *there is to be* no refraining from asserting that which is true.

¹ The angel of justice who weighs the good works of the departed soul against its sins, in order to decide its fate till the end of time.

155. This, too, that he who does not assert, on account of fondness for wealth, or dislike for his own *people*, vexes water and fire and the righteous man, and disturbs even the reposing archangels from *their* thrones.

156. About the grievous sinfulness of making the righteous dissevered (aûskâftakö). 157. About the bad properties produced by the evil spirit, adjudication attentive to lying evidence and false, in opposition *to* Rashnû, the just, *and* through discontent *at* the advantage due to Rashnû, owing to the impossibility of the occurrence of those mischiefs *being* produced at Rashnû's *judgment* seat, there where they do not give decisions for the wretched for the sake of the aristocratic multitude (âzâd hâvandîh râi). 158. And about the aristocratic multitude which comes *to* Rashnû owing to taking bribes, and went with a complaint to Aûhar mazd, and whatever is on the same subject. 159. About a just judge who is appointed *one* of an assembly for the opposition of thieves, oppressors, *and* destroyers of the righteous.

160. About the possibility of the coming of every one, through diligence, to the best existence. 161. About the superiority (masîh) of true justice over (min) other good works, *and* the grievous sinfulness owing to false justice, and when they shall not deliver a sentence *with* a full understanding of the true from the false.

162. About solemnizing *and* learning by heart (narm kardano) the Gâthas, the Hâdokht¹, and

¹ Here written Hâdôitô; the name of the twentieth Nask (see Chap. XLV).

the Vastag¹, through knowing the foundations (pâyakân) thereof; the sin owing to not knowing *them*, and whatever proceeds therefrom. 163. About the greatness of the law through decrees and judgments from other discourses (srôbân).

164. About property of seven kinds, of which *one* says that *it* is not allowable to take *it* as security for other property. 165. About ten friends with different assertions on the same subject.

166. And about the apportionment of this discourse *there are* complete decisions of several other kinds, and into those, too, it advances *and* thereby introduces much adjudication which takes heed, in every one, of words and deeds of many kinds, *and* is specifically *and* also intelligibly apportioned.

167. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The first of eighteen sections of the Ganabâ-sar-nigad² contains particulars about the thief, with his arrest as the special thief of that which is seized (tereftö) by him; the premeditated sin, the imprisonment and fettering, the punishment appointed for atonement of the sin, the execution of the duty,

¹ The name of the eleventh Nask (see Chap. XII).

² Corresponding to the sixteenth word, ahurâi, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the eighteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. Ganabâ-sar-nigad means 'the thief's head downstricken;' but it is misread Dvâsrûgad, Dvâsrûngad, Dvâsrûgîd, or Dvâsrôb, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained sixty-five kardah, or subdivisions, which agree with the numbers of sections mentioned in Chaps. XXI, XXIII, XXIV. This Nask is evidently named from the contents of its first section, and possibly from its initial words.

and the amount of the reward (*navisn*); the amount of speciality in the ransom (*navâk*) of every one, each separately; the act *and* place of punishment, what is the person who is strangling and the mode, how those who are therein strangling are drawn forth (*nazî-âltô*) successively, *and* which is set to work first.

2. About a person whose offending limbs *are* bound, the degree of tightness of the binding and fettering, and the formula (*nîrang*) of *being* bound for the sin of theft. 3. About imprisonment, and the imprisonment which accusers *have* to provide, *at* their own expense, *if* they are those who are privileged; and whatever is on the same subject. 4. The number of places for fetters, and those which the thief, whoever *he is*, possesses, each separately. 5. How far, how, *and* for what putting on of fetters (*garov-dahisnîh*) those accusers *have* to provide a thief's fetters, too, *at* their own expense, *if* they are those who are privileged; the place for the requisite privileged putting on of fetters, the sin owing to putting on more fetters of a different kind, and that which is owing to neglecting the putting on of the fetters which *they have* to provide; the limit as regards the deserving of more fettering, the number of grades of theft beyond the limit of deserving fettering, and those which are below the limit of deserving fettering.

6. About the kinds of theft, and the excessive sinfulness of a thief through cutting¹ and wounding the body; the undiscoverableness which is specially as regards a thief at a distance (*pavan hâsar*), he

¹ Assuming that *gûdanô* stands for *khûdanô*.

who is on the spot *being* he who is within one step ; theft, with plunder, injuring the existence¹, minor injury, and other sins, *may be* in confederacy² beforehand *or* afterwards. 7. About the thievish design of a theft which is not abetted (lâ ham), a theft with equal shares, and a theft with different shares.

8. About the sin of assisting a thief (dûg alyyâ-rak), *of* making investigation and releasing, *of* a sentence of acquittal, and *of* a listener to a thief ; he who is a giver of assistance to a thief is carried off for theft ; also decisions about theft by a child, *by* a childless woman, *and by* her who is pregnant ; likewise their maintenance *and* earnings (vindisnō) in retributive work, and the work of a pregnant thief.

9. About the accumulated property *of* the innumerable which they would keep away from thieves, *both* the thief by means of *his* hands, and him who is a thief not by means of *his* hands. 10. About the testimony *of* a thief, that is, for what *it* is admissible when³ he advances as a thief ; how at the *time* when *it is necessary* to seize *and* bind *him*, and how at the *time* when it is necessary to flatter (nivâkhtanō) and deceive *him* until *one* attains to absolute power (kâm-kârth) thereby. 11. About rewards (navisnō) with thieves. 12. About the difference of theft from plunder.

13. About property which *any one*, carrying *it* off,

¹ See Chap. XIX, 1.

² Pâz. hidhih, probably for a Pahl. adjective haḍak from Av. hadha, and referring to accomplices before and after the fact (see Chap. XVIII, 5).

³ Assuming that mûn stands for amat, their Irânian equivalents being nearly alike, and the latter word being used in the succeeding clauses.

has to bring back to *its* owners ; such as that which the frontier people *may take away* from foreigners, that which the judge *may take away* from thieves, and the share which he may take away from *any one* not interfering¹ with thieves. 14. And about protectors *and* defenders of a thief, and also many other legal decisions as regards theft.

CHAPTER XXII.

Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.

1. The second section is miscellaneous (ham-dâdākō): about the authority for the enquiry (khvâst-radākîh) of a father into the sin of a grown-up son, when unaware of the sin of his son at the time it is committed ; that *of* a son into that of a father, *and of* others grown-up, as to one another, when they are not abettors of the sin ; and that of a husband into the sin of a wife, when not *and* when² co-operating and unrestraining. 2. About arrival *at* the period for the teaching of children by a guardian *or* father, and the mode of his teaching ; the period at which the sin of a child *has* reached a beginning, the extent of the sin of childhood, the retribution in childhood, and that also at maturity ; the sin due to not teaching a child who is to be taught, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

3. About the freedom from slaughter which is to

¹ Av. asterethwân. The share being a bribe for purchasing non-interference. In each case the property is to be restored to its original owner who had been robbed by the foreigners or thieves.

² Perhaps the repetition of the word amat, '*and when*' is a blunder of the copyist.

keep away the destruction *of* the world; and what is the mode of distributing the property of a man of the valiant after *his* slaughter. 4. About the sin of *having* given implements of slaughter to a woman, a child, *or* a foreigner. 5. About a woman who, as regards two men worthy of death, demands the head of the one, *and* is seeking a son in the *other* one.

6. About a warrior, without provisions (atûsakô), who, on the march, *has* come upon pasture, corn, and sheep whose shepherd¹ is a stranger to him, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 7. About considering property inexpedient, and the decision thereon.

8. About the amount of delay of a judge on *becoming* aware that the plaintiff is falsely petitioning *and* the defendant is falsely confessing. 9. About the amount of delay of the judge, and in the court of justice (dâd gâs); and whatever is on the same

¹ The Pahlavi word is written 𐭥𐭥 twenty-four times, and 𐭥𐭥 once, in this Book, but its reading is not quite certain. It means 'shepherd' throughout Chaps. XXIII, XXXIX, and in XXXI, 17, 31, XL, 3; but is used for 'herdsman' in XXXIX, 3, and for 'follower' in XXXI, 2. This last meaning is strongly in favour of the reading pasîg, for pasîk, 'following,' an adjectival form derived from pas, 'after,' which, when used as a noun, would imply 'one who follows,' as drovers and shepherds are accustomed to do, with a few local exceptions. The Pahlavi spelling of the word is uniformly inconsistent with the reading pâs, 'guard, protector;' and it seems hazardous to trace it to a possible Avesta adjective pasvya, from pasu, 'a sheep,' because the latter word becomes pâh in Pahlavi. The word also occurs in Pahl. Vend. XV, 116; it is a transcript of Av. fshenghî and fshenghyô in Yas. XXXI, 10 b, XLIX, 9 a, and of fshê in Vend. XIII, 10, 11; so that it may perhaps be read fsheg, or fshê, as a mere transcript from the Avesta.

subject. 10. About a decision regarding a judge who explained a doubtful opinion as a certainty, *and* that *which* is certain as a doubtful decision, *and* would make an undecided *matter* decided. 11. About the opinion as to certainty *and* that as to doubtfulness, making a decision, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

12. About the business *of* commissioned judges, from him who is lowest *to* him who is highest, one above the *other* one. 13. Decisions about adjudication; that which is legal *when* two *judges* are together, that which is legal with *either one* judge *or* two judges together, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 14. About the statements of a decision regarding interpretations (pâdō-khânânō)¹, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 15. About the proportion of the time of judges for decision, that for summoning witnesses to the judges, *and* that for the proceedings (sakisnō). 16. About the judge who is doubly satisfied², *and* him who is not doubly satisfied; *also* the time from a judge's not *being* doubly satisfied till his *being* doubly satisfied. 17. About a judge of four customs, and *his* decision thereon; one who knows the decree *and* would act to effect *it*, and one who knows *it* and would not act. 18. About the supremacy of a judge as to adjudication so far as *there* is a false decision therein; how it is when *he is* at a distance (pavan hâsar), and how it is when he is on the spot; he who is at a

¹ Pahl. pâdō-khân = Pers. pâf'khân.

² Pâz. vayôzust, Av. vayôzustô=dvayôzustô. Farh. Ôim, p. 43, ll. 10-12, has 'the Vayôzustô, who is a judge, explains this, so that the petitioner who is doubtful is a hearer of certainty; it is, as *one* says, deliberately weighed.'

distance becomes a superior therein, when he comes back to the *place of* justice before the end of a Hâsar¹. 19. About other false teaching of a judge which is manifest therefrom, *and* the retribution for the false teaching; the false summoning, false investigation, and false evidence *of* the complainant (mûst-hômônd) *having* been his own, and a separate atonement unto the afflicted *one has* to atone for the affair; *it having* been mitigated by no good work. 20. About the trouble of adjudication to the priestly authorities (radân). 21. About the proficiency *of* a woman *or* child who is acquainted with the law², for a judgeship, *being* above *that of* a full-grown man unacquainted with the law.

22. About assisting the want of one's own disciple for a master for the recited law, *and* the sin due to not assisting, such as that when, wanting assistance, *it* is allowable *for* the afflicted *one* to beg an assistant from foreigners, and according to his petition is the bringing *of* a foreigner for assistance; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 23. About the supremacy of Rashnû³ the righteous.

24. About several persons who are *engaged* in legal proceedings about the keeping *and* non-division of property not their own, and the decision as regards for whom *one* has in keeping that property which is not his own. 25. About actions which are not inconsistent and those which are inconsistent. 26. About the decision *of* a judge of congregational actions.

27. About the offence which accusers would commit, as regards the law, by means of the law, *it being*

¹ See Chap. XX, 68.

² See Chap. XX, 74.

³ See Chap. XX, 153.

not allowable to commit *it* with their own hands; also *as regards* any one's property, about which *there* is a dispute, even though with a certainty as to its ownership.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.

1. One section of *the next* twelve is the Pasûs-haûrvastân ('*shepherd's-dog code*'), about the shepherd who is selecting a shepherd's dog for the sheep, and the shepherd with various shepherd's dogs; about the shepherd's comprehension of their serviceableness, one with the other, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 2. The extent of authorised efficiency (salit-gârîkîh) accomplished by the shepherd's-dog nature of a shepherd's dog, after his *being* appointed by the shepherd.

3. About the shepherd's preparing the means of bedding¹ for the shepherd's dog, giving the amount of the price of the daily *food* of a shepherd's dog, provisions for the dog in the winter, and the preparation of a fire beforehand which it is necessary to make in the sheepfold (pâh-hastö). 4. About the mode of preparing the appointed *fireplace* of the sheepfold, the position of the shepherd's dog and the dog's fire, the means of lodging *and* provisioning the shepherd's dog in the sheepfold, the sin owing to *the occasions* when *one* proceeds to provide *another* mode, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

5. About the diligence of the shepherd's dog, and about *his* being guardian *of* the sheep asleep at night

¹ Or 'covering,' gâmakö.

in flocks¹ dreading distress; the dog, *their* protection, is not provided with bedding, *nor* with pillow, and they are happy; every night *he has* to come out, through the whole flock, three times, besides when one of the guards (paḍānō), who is apprehensive, counts *them, who*, every day *at* dawn, *has* to walk out among the sheep, with good words, to inspect *them*, to apply remedies properly *to* the sheep that are sick, wounded, bruised, *or* defective, *and* to be *their* guardian; *also* the sin owing to worrying *them*, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. About that which is to be done by him as regards the breeding of the sheep, *and* likewise for the sake of the young ones; *and* the sin when *he does not do it*, or shall act otherwise. 7. About his fully understanding where *and* which is the sheep for *each* young one. 8. About his habit and means of keeping away the thief *and* the wolf from the sheep, *and* the preservation of the sheep thereby when an awful cloud and wind and rain arise, *or* when the position of those distressed ones, at the fords of rivers, comes opposite a locality (nisisno) of bad footing; when *it* is not possible for him *to save* all, *he has* to save the greater in value, or the more in number.

9. About his *having* guarded a sheep from the pasture *of* others *and* the retribution for the sin of not *having* guarded as to the eating *and* damaging of the corn and pasture of others by the sheep. 10. About the extent of preservation by the shepherd's dog's driving the sheep from the corn *and* pasture of others *of* various species, such as that which *one* calls the very stupid (gōltar) pig; there is, more-

¹ Pâz. paṣṭvān for paṣṭvān (pl. of pasu).

over, the specified pasture as regards those sheep, *but* the pig, which feeds upon its own predecessors, is also that *which* may commit another sin, for it feeds upon even *its* progeny at birth.

11. About the indication of an assembly place (garang) for the sheep, in a warm *or* cool locality, by the shepherd's dog. 12. About the characteristics of sheep from one to four years *of age*. 13. About the village (vîs) of the shepherd, where the shepherd's dog is known when he arrives; how it is when a sheep *has* to be kept out of the sheepfold *by* the shepherd's dog, *and* how it is when *it has* to be driven by him to the village of the heedful shepherd. 14. About the coming of the shepherd unto a sheep, *and* the path from the village which the shepherd *has* provided for ¹ the flock.

15. About a shepherd when he withholds the daily *food* of a shepherd's dog, and the exhaustion of life thereby; after the fourth deprivation of food (atapak-dâdö) ² *it* is allowable for the shepherd's dog to kill a sheep for nourishment. 16. About a sheep, *which* comes astray into the flock to be slaughtered, *being* the perquisite of the butcher (bâhar-i kûstâr), and that of the shepherd's dog *being* its dog ³ and the appointed number of one sheep. 17. About *their* extent of movement, and their pregnancy and growing old (bâr va-khasân). 18. About the sin of the shepherd, as regards the shepherd's dog, through injustice as to work,

¹ Assuming that *val* *man* stands for *va* *l*.

² See Chap. XVII, 6.

³ The dog who allowed the sheep to stray being thus punished, by becoming the prey of the dog into whose flock the sheep strayed, who also receives a sheep as his share of the butchering.

reward, *and* chastisement; *and* of the shepherd's dog, as regards the shepherd, through improperly tending a sheep, *or* worrying *it* by exertion; also his chastisement, and the payment that occurs for the incompetence *and* unworthiness therein; *besides* adjudications between the shepherd *and* shepherd's dog.

19. About the instruction which the shepherd *gives* to the shepherd's dog, through reminders (pavan ayâdihâ), to control a sheep, when, the shepherd's dog *having* heard *some musical* notes (srûdô gâsânô), the instruction took place in the form of words; and, when the notes *were* not heard, even by a blow (zata m), the means of that instructor *being* a blow. 20. About the peculiarity of the shepherd's dog as regards *its* employment (rôgkâr) at the periods of satisfying menstrual excitement, solemnizing the season-festivals, *and* other important good works.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.

1. The first section of the *last* thirty-five is the Stôristân ('*beast-of-burden code*'), particulars about the sin, affecting the soul, due to unlawfully striking and wounding as regards beasts *of burden and* cattle; *and* the retribution and compensation for it to one's own cattle, that in case of a *beast of burden and* that in case of a sheep (anûmâê), during life.
2. That which *arises* when *one smites* them with a brand (dakhshak); that when *one smites* them on the flank, *and* that when *it is* in front of them; that

when their flanks are so smitten is complete smiting. 3. Of the smiting, too, *of* other members, the smiting in front, though the smiting *be* such as when *one* so smites for smiting on the flank, is not complete smiting. 4. And that which amounts to as much as a complete smiting, when *one* so smites as for smiting on the flank, is such as that when *one* casts *off* the skin, and that when *one* casts off the flesh, thereby, that when *one* is cutting it, *or* that when wounds (khîmân) or serpent-scourging (mârvanô)¹ are *upon* it.

5. It is also about making the dog which drives the sheep (pasûs-haûrvô) dumb. 6. About bruising the limbs and plucking the feathers of birds, such as the *case* when *it is* complete smiting, and such as that when *it is* not complete smiting. 7. And unlawfully destroying as regards fish, such as when it would make their flesh uneatable. 8. An account as to noticeably and worryingly beating cattle, about decrees of whatever kinds as to each separate beating worryingly that is to be considered as noticeable beating, *and* many decrees as to whatever is on the same subject. 9. About the retribution for making clothing of skins and woven *wool* (taḍakô), *and* the sin of any one owing to kindling a fire therewith, *or* roasting flesh which is stolen *or* plundered.

10. About the good work *of* all that is wise activity, and the reward of the happy place²; the sin of *everything* that is ignorant activity, and the

¹ See Chap. XVIII, 2, 6; or it may be muharvanô, 'cauterizing.'

² Heaven.

bridge *penalty* of the evil place¹; connected therewith, to make him who is righteous develope in wisdom, and to make him who is wicked diminish in ignorance, is the world.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.

1. The second section is the Ar'gistân ('*value code*'), particulars about the value of small consumption of animate, and also that of inanimate, property; *with* the desirableness of information thereon, each separately. 2. The value of not destroying a righteous man even for a decree and justice, *and* of atonement for injuring the existence² of the fire of Varahrân³.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Ganabâ-sar-nigad Nask.

1. The third section is the Aratêstâristân ('*warrior code*'), particulars about the worthiness of destroying a wolf; *and*, among wolves, the greater need of destroying (zanisntarîh) those with two legs than those with four legs.

2. About selecting the daily *supplies* of warriors, the beasts *of burden*, clothing, and equipment of warriors, and other appurtenances (*avârtgânakîh*) which are to be given to them; *also* selecting a horse *and* accoutrements (*zênö-afzâr*) *for* each one.

¹ Falling into hell owing to the narrowness of the *Kînvad* bridge to the other world, occasioned by an excess of sin over good works (see Dd. XXI, 5-7).

² See Chap. XIX, 1.

³ The sacred Bahirâm fire.

3. About having a man's horse trained before *one* sends *him* to smite enemies. 4. About the efficacy of the resources *and* care of a warrior in the destruction which enemies occasion ; *also* the army and the slaughter of war. 5. About the sin of the village and abode of the warriors on the occurrence of a battle, and what is the retribution for wounds and damage ; what is that which is disfiguring (*apîrâyak*) therein, and what is that which is worthy of death therein.

6. About the characteristics of the wearing of armour (*zênâvandîh*) and not wearing of armour *by* warriors. 7. About the rank of the general (*sipâh-padô*), *and* other officers (*padân*) over the troops, as to daily *supplies*, pay, and dignity ; also their subordinates (*azîrag*), and the number of troopers (*gûrd*) to each one of the officers. 8. About the anxieties of a trooper for the protection of person and family. 9. About the number of troopers when the king of kings goes to battle. 10. About the proportion of daily provision for two warriors, the meat and milk and bread thereof, which are for the sake of providing guidance *and* causing contests of the warriors in that good eating ; also the reason *of* certifying (*gôvâik*) its distribution and weighing, the beast *of burden* of the original village (*bûn kôkîh*)¹, and *its* means of *being* sent unto the troops. 11. About cutting the herbs for the veterinary surgeon (*stôr bezashkô*), the store of accoutrements, *and* other things which are necessary with an army. 12. About the feeding of warriors *on* the day of battle, the meat and whatsoever are their eatables ; even so the food of the horses.

¹ Whence the supplies come.

13. About the wealth which foreigners bring away, and this which is declared thereof, that is, 'I, too, *am* assisting even the wolf.' 14. About the display of esteem by warriors together, the union of friendship one with the other, obedient unto their commander of the troops, and mindfully resigning *themselves* to death, *there* being seen a spiritual reward, without doubt, in the future existence.

15. About the choice of a commander over the troops; also as to *his* coming *and* understanding the habits of his troops, each separately, through the capability of skill which is theirs. 16. About estimating the strength *and* resources of the troops, with those of *their* enemies; that is, how the battle is to be engaged in, *or* how the *case* is when it is to be avoided. 17. About the provision of anything requisite¹ which warriors shall leave for safety when *there is* danger in the neighbourhood from a distant stronghold, or danger *to* a neighbouring stronghold from afar. 18. About *the case* where, when it is necessary to engage in battle, the horse of a warrior has not arrived, *and it* is allowable to seize upon several horses from a herd of horses. 19. About the watchful sentinel (nigâhakō pâspânō), *and* of what kind is the information from which this is manifest, to the army and commander of the troops, that the enemy is well dead, or fled.

20. About a demonstration whereby they produce terror *and* apprehension in the enemy. 21. About an altercation of the commander of the troops with foreigners before a battle; altercation also through an envoy, and calling them into subjection to the

¹ Or 'of value;' khvâstakō having both meanings.

king of kings and the religion of the sacred beings. 22. About admonition to the troops, and declaring the share and arrangement of special duty of each one in the fight; announcing to the troops the recompense of the active, telling *and* informing the troops *of* the reason of being worthy of death, *of* the worthiness of destroying foreigners, *of* the command of the sacred beings as to their destruction when they shall not accept the Irânian nationality (Aîrîh), and the equally great reward *and* recompense for their destruction announced by revelation, the legal code (dâdîstânîkîh) *of* Irân.

23. About not uttering words of irritation on the day of battle, *and* not mentioning, among the troops, any intelligence which gives the troops apprehension, but *only* that which is agreeable and pleasing, through giving heartiness and increasing the strength. 24. About the *sacred* ceremonial on the day of battle *and* evil deeds of war;—a twig of the sacred twigs of that ceremonial, and the Avesta as regards fighting, *being* the first arrow well delivered into the mark shot *at*;—the consecration of the water which is nearest to the place of battle, even by bringing holy-water; and the sequence of the fight, that is, with which arms *and* appliances *it* is first to be fought, *and* successively unto those which *are* the last.

25. About the proportion of those who keep the arms (zâê) for the combatants, and, after a victory over foreigners, are taking away the hostages and captives, out of the foreigners, from the combatants; *also their* return from them. 26. At what degree of distance from them *they have* to carry the arms *and* appliances and the restoratives for the unfatigued

and the fatigued; and, the accoutrements *being* deposited, a warm bath prepared, and relaxation of the body effected, the reward of merit is given. 27. *One has* to search offenders, to bring restoratives for the unfatigued and the fatigued, to deliver the accoutrements back to the arsenal (*gangō*), to allot the share of the hostage brought back to his own *people*, and also much else on the same subject.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Ganabā-sar-nigad Nask.

1. The fourth section is miscellaneous: about a warm bath *being* in a house of what kind, the position of security of the fireplace, the watchfulness to be upheld there, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 2. About the strength that a horse *has* to exert for the sake of the earth, and that which is to be exerted in that mode for the sake of fire. 3. About food *and* other matters which may be prepared with fire, *and* the security of the fire in like manner. 4. About fire which, even on the road, is *free* from throwing away, bodily refuse¹, and dead matter², and *from* the injury and harm owing thereto; the various safeguards of fire from *being* given to an infidel (*ag-dênô*) *or* a child; the distance of the fire from a rivulet³; the penalty for throwing *it* away, *or* other sin as regards it; *and* the

¹ See Chap. XIX, 3.

² Any solid portion of a corpse, or carcase, of a human being, dog, or other animal.

³ Which might extinguish it and, thereby, render the person who had charge of the fire grievously sinful.

proportion of nourishment and preparation for the fire in summer, *and* also in winter.

5. About picketing (*barâ nisâstanö*) a horse, that is, how *it is* justifiable when *it is* in water and dust, how it is *so* when really in very distressing bodily refuse, and how it is *so* when even in bodily refuse *that is* tolerable. 6. About the proportion of nourishment for mankind, fire, and cattle. 7. About receiving a guest, the praise of liberality, and the grandeur of the liberal, the contempt for stinginess, and the want of the wanderer.

8. About the mode of wearing garments in a dwelling of Mazda-worshippers, even so far as a bandage of four rags for protection¹; the care of them each separately, the wages of the makers *and* ornamenters of each one, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 9. About *having* procured a street-keeper (*kûgpânö*) for the Mazda-worshippers, the business of the street-keeper thereof, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

10. About preparing in the summer a store for the winter. 11. About reaping a field of corn, the Avesta² for the first reaping, and *having* consecrated the first sheaf with the dedication (*shnûman*) to Aûharmazd the lord. 12. About the union of those of the good religion together, both in removing want and *in* union even with infidels in that which

¹ Reading *vad-iê vand-i-î 4 lôttö-î pânakîh*, and taking *lôtô* as equivalent to Pers. *latah*. We might suppose that the phrase meant 'a belt of the four strings (*rûdö*) of protection,' but the number would not correspond to the three times the sacred thread-girdle passes round the waist, nor would the material of *rûdö*, 'catgut,' be appropriate for the girdle.

² The scriptural formula to be recited in its original language.

is not detrimental to the religion, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 13. About duty as regards the produce of plants *and* animals; first, suitable eating; *and* secondly, moderate eating and avoidance of profusion.

14. About possessions which belong to the nobles, *and* those which belong to the multitude; *in* what manner that which belongs to the multitude *has* to come into the possession of the nobles; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 15. About the enviousness (zigûrih) of the beast *of burden*, ox, and sheep, and also *of* people; that is, in how many of the multitudes, each separately, it is produced; and whatever is on the same subject. 16. And also much other adjudication and information on similar intelligence.

17. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

I. One section of the *first* thirty of the Hûspâram¹ is the Âêrpatistân² ('*priest code*'), particulars about *a case* where *one has* to provide for a priestly assembly (aêrpatistân), which is a birth; how the *case* is when *it* is important to go, how it is when *one*

¹ Corresponding to the seventeenth word, â, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; and it is the seventeenth Nask in all Rivâyats. This name should probably be Avisp-kharam, meaning 'free from all defect;' but it is called Hûspârâm, Aspâram, or Aspârûm in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained sixty-four, or sixty, kardah or subdivisions. The former number agrees with the total of the sections mentioned in Chaps. XXVIII, XXXII, XXXVI.

² A considerable portion of this section is still extant, combined with a larger portion of the next section, the Nîrangistân, whose name is applied to the whole text.

stays at his own *house*, and how it is when *it* is not allowable to go ; also deciding about the *chief* priest (aêrpatō), and the proportion of priests (âsrûkō) who are superior, *of* those who are intermediate, and *of* those who are inferior in the estimation of the wisdom of the righteous. 2. About the priest whom *one* is sending, and the wayfaring garments *and* appliances which are to be given to him.

3. About the disciple, as reverent towards the *chief* priest ; the labour in receiving the *sacred* words *and* teaching *them* to the disciple ; the advice of the *chief* priest to the priests ; *and* the muttered phrases at the time of contamination *by dead matter*. 4. About what priest—on the arrival of a priest back at the district from which *one* sends *him*—is to be appointed, as priest for the district from which *he came*, *by* the district governor and those of the district, for teaching *and* instruction in the district.

5. About which are *those* reckoned as the five dispositions¹ of a priest that are the glorification of the priest's statements of the law, *from* the first of *his* statements in succession unto the last, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

6. About the subjects regarding which a priest of concealed parentage is to be asked, *with* the prelude and sequel of the same subject. 7. About the bridge *penalty*² of a priest through sinfulness, *in* a separate fargard³. 8. About a priest they may carry away from a district, owing to anxiety for forming a priestly assembly, *who* becomes worried in forming *it*.

¹ See Bd. XIX, 36 n.

² See Chap. XX, 63.

³ See Chap. I, 20.

9. About the superiority of priests in means of knowledge, one as regards another; the extent of superiority through which the greater suitability for authority, of one as regards another¹, arises; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section is the Ntrangistân ('*ritual code*'), particulars about the ritual of the ceremonial of the sacred beings, that which is important *and* goes to the bridge of judgment²; the exceeding meritoriousness owing to an ample number of Râspîs³ in the ceremonial; and, as to the Avesta, the Zôti and Râspî are both for various phrases, those which are for the speaking of the one are for the hearing of the other. 2. About the sacred cake⁴, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 3. About abstaining from the drinking of wines at the same time as the ceremonial. 4. About the quality (sâmân) of the voice in reciting the Avesta in a ceremonial, and the

¹ Reading *sagâktarîh-î aêvakö min tanê pavan patîh*, but there are only faint traces of the third, fourth, and fifth words, as the decayed folio of the manuscript has been patched, and the repairer forgot to record the missing words at the time he did his work. His marginal note refers to a defect in the next line of the manuscript.

² The *Kînvad* bridge, at which the departed soul is believed to give a full account of its actions during life (see Chap. XIV, 8).

³ See Chap. VII, 5.

⁴ The *drôn*, or sacred cake, is a small pancake which is consecrated in the ceremonies, and dedicated to some particular spirit by means of a *shnûman*, or propitiatory dedication (see Sls. III, 32). It is tasted by the priests and by the participators in certain ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 396, 404, 408).

Avesta which is twice recited and thrice *or* four times recited. 5. About the ceremonial, and the conducting of that ceremonial whose Zôti, or Râspt, is a Tanâpûhar *sinner*¹. 6. About the Zôti duty of a woman² *or* child. 7. About a decision as regards him who is cursed by the Mazda-worshipping religion.

8. About the sin of him who does not solemnize a season-festival³, and how the *case* is when it is solemnized by him. 9. About the limits of the five periods⁴ of the day and night, and the ceremonies of the same periods. 10. About the kinds of peculiarity of the things for the season-festivals *and* other good works produced authorisedly.

11. About the quantity of holy-water which is due to one sheep⁵, the inspection *and* consideration in providing the sheep, the freedom from sickness due to contamination and other defects even in a lawful place, and the exemption from the appliances and attacks of noxious creatures; the ritual for making *it*⁶, and deciding about the maker, producer, and carrier, the taster *and* the giver to him. 12. The reason of the slaughter, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

13. About the position and duty of the Zôti *and* Râspts in the ceremonial. 14. About the perfect ceremonial, the gift to a righteous man who *has*

¹ See Chap. XX, 65.

² See Sls. X, 35.

³ See Chap. VII, 1.

⁴ These periods, or watches, are from dawn till noon, noon till 3 P.M., 3 P.M. till dusk, dusk till midnight, and midnight till dawn.

⁵ When slaughtered to provide the necessary meat-offerings (see Sls. XI, 4-6).

⁶ The holy-water apparently.

become a teacher *and* examiner *of* the wisdom of the righteous, *and* whatever is on the same subjects.

15. About the *sacred* shirt and *thread-girdle*, that is, from what it is proper *to make them*, *and* whatever is on the same subjects. 16. About gathering *and* tying the sacred twigs, *and* on the same subject. 17. About the proportion of firewood in various parts of the ceremonial, *and* the mode of bringing it forward ; that for the household fire, *and* the priestly fire of Bahirâm (Varahrân).

18. About a ceremonial amid great *opulence*, that which is amid medium *opulence*, that which is amid little opulence, and a decision as regards want of opulence. 19. About always celebrating the ceremonies of the sacred beings for that which has occurred, and not neglecting *them* in any way. 20. About *the cases* where mankind observantly, and also unobservantly, celebrate the ceremonies of the sacred beings ; that is, which is he who observantly and he who unobservantly *does so* ; *with* advice about observantly celebrating the ceremonies of the sacred beings.

21. About the cleanliness of the body *and* clothing of the celebrator of the ceremony, the assurance of his mind from sin, the ablution of the apparatus of the place of the exalted (vulandânih), the cleanliness of the place of the ceremonial, the distance therefrom for *any* degree of manifest pollution and stench, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

22. About the ceremonial of the waters and their creatures, the vigour¹ of healthfulness, the possession of the brilliancy *of* heaven, the bountifulness of

¹ Or it may be 'holy-water.'

the spirit of the waters, and whatever is on the same subject. 23. About the celebration of a ceremonial, which is an ordinance of duties for the sake of a happy state of gladness (*kḥûp parkânîh*) and happy consequences; and also many other statements on the same subject. 24. *About* the ceremonial as proper *and* improper, beneficial *and* not beneficial.

25. About the families of Zaratûst, Hvôv¹, and Vistâsp, as regards the account (*aûshmûrisnô*) *and* ceremonial of the religion and their nature.

CHAPTER XXX.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section is the Gôharîkistân ('*quality code*'), particulars about natural superiority; not the modified (*gastakô*), but the lawful, approved², and specific *state* of superiority; not acquired by the slender power³ of the world, but *by* seeking virtuous living through causing the prosperity *of* every person; *also* the authorisation of superiority, *and* the proportion of advantage therein. 2. About a superiority unimpoverished (*anyûrûzd*), with *one* unimpoverished with a nature unspent (*an-aûrûzd*), with *one* unspent with an impoverished (*nyûrûzd*), and *one* impoverished with an impoverished; also the extent of impoverishment and non-impoverishment, that is, with whom *it is* not customarily of much

¹ An ancestor of several persons mentioned in the Avesta, including the two brothers, Gâmâsp the prime minister of king Vistâsp, and Frashôstar the father-in-law of Zaratûst.

² Assuming that *pasandak* stands for *pasandak*; otherwise, we may read *pishonîk*, 'provided.'

³ Reading *tang-karîh*, but it may be *tund-karîh*, 'the severe labour.'

consequence (pavan freh-ar'gō), with whom *it is so* customarily, *and* with whom, owing to an exception, *it is not* customarily of much consequence on account of *its* much consequence for an uninformed *person*, that is, with whom *it is* as *it were* proper with a servant of sin. 3. And superiority is a furtherance of living beings, and pervades the natural extent thereof.

4. About him who would sell property not his own, *and* him who would buy *it*. 5. About selling a sheep frequenting the house, *and one* not frequenting the house. 6. About various precautions *as to* samples of various things. 7. About selling beasts *of burden*, cattle, slaves, servants, *and* other property, of the nature of whose species *one is* aware through speaking about the nature of different species; *and* the retribution for the sin of whatever is on the same subject. 8. That which is an obvious agreement for selling with defects¹, when it is declared of beasts *of burden*; and that which is ever defective on selling.

9. About a house in which a person, *or* dog, *has* passed away through contagious sickness, *and* the clothing which the man wore owing to that sickness; that is, how it is when spoiled for selling *for* three years, how it is when *it is so for* two years, *and* how it is *when it is so for* one year. 10. About a house in which a person, *or* dog, *has* reposed in a contagious sickness, *and* not passed *away* after *his* descent therefrom; *and* the clothing which the man wore in that sickness; that is, how it is when spoiled for selling *for* two years, how it is when *it is so for* one year, *and* how it is when *it is so for* thirty nights; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

¹ That is, without a warranty.

11. About forming a family (*gôharîk kardânō*) with foreigners, that is, how it is when allowable.
 12. About a sheep of *good* breed for the three nights¹, *and its* slaughter after the three nights; likewise many other decisions as regards superiority and sheep of a *good* breed.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. A miscellaneous section is about taking anything which is not one's own at the *time* when he does not think that they see him and they do see him, at the *time* when he thinks that they see him and they do not see him, *and* at the *time* when he thinks that they see him and they do see him. 2. About giving righteous instruction, that is, what happens, *and* how, at the *time* when the follower² asks again. 3. About the sin of imprisoning the needy, exalting falsehood, and approving deceit.

4. About the action and command which diminish, *or* alter, a liberal gift to any one. 5. About the limit of the open-handedness *of* a wife who should be privileged, *and* who is reverent towards *her* husband, out of anything *that* has not reached the husband; how it is when the husband is foolish, how it is when *it is* legally, how *when* derived from *what is* legally property, *and* how *about* that which is unspent savings (*anyûrûzd kabun*); *also* the limit of the reverence of a wife for a husband, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

¹ The three nights after a death; the sheep is to be slaughtered on the fourth day, including the day of death (see Sls. XVII, 2-5).

² See Chap. XXII, 6 n.

6. About causing the conveyance of a maiden from the house of *her* fathers, *or* guardians, to the village of *her* husband, to hold the position of house-mistress of the husband; *of* the wife when she becomes reverent and propitiatory towards him, *and* admonishing *her* when she speaks thus: 'I am thy wife, *but* I *will* not perform a wife's duties *for* thee;' *also* the quarrelling of a husband with *his* wife, and carrying *it* on *to* the bridge *of judgment*.

7. About the blood on a woman who wants washing, and the bridge *penalty* upon him who has sexual intercourse with a woman who wants washing, *with* her who is a foreigner, *or any* other of *those* not authorisedly *for* intercourse; the confusion of germs by the woman who grants intercourse to foreigners, *and* other sin which they may commit about like matters. 8. About a wife claimed from foreigners; that is, how it is when allowable.

9. About the preparation of a wife for the control of a son, the period *for it* and *for* suckling, and the wish for a son which is *present* with a husband. 10. About the sin of a man owing to rejecting the controlling of *his* son by a sister *or* grown-up daughter. 11. About three things through which mankind become sinful and injuring their own property, and the possession of them is not to be taken away. 12. About *those* who may not inflict lawful chastisement with oppressive demeanour.

13. About that which a man is to be made to provide in feasting and gifts, for *his* store of good works, on his wife bringing forth. 14. How it is when he is a man *of* wisdom, *and* how it is when *he* is a disciple; how it is *when it is* a male birth, and how it is when *it is* a female. 15. The advantage

and benefit therefrom; the religious announcement of a name for the *new-born*, should it be a male, *or* should it be a female; the good work owing to the decision of a religious appointment of a name for the progeny, [and the sin]¹ owing to giving again to it a name of the idolators (*dêvtyastân*).

16. About the ritual and usage in admitting the male to a sheep, owing to which the male is a gratifier *of* the impregnated female nature, and a protection *of* the female nature; and the want of training *and* freedom from defect of the progeny; a proper condition of the flock, too, arises likewise through worshipping the sacred beings *and* providing the sacred feast; also *about* the shepherd's dog and the blessing for him. 17. About the regard of the shepherd for the breeding *of* the sheep. 18. About the work of the ceremonial *and* of providing the sacred feast, and the advantage for the sheep from the same cause. 19. About the Mazda-worshipping district-breeding *of* the dogs in a district, through providing careful nurture *for* the dogs, which is a good work owing to the same cause.

20. About the object of payment *for* teaching the Zôti duty, *for* the guardianship of the fire, *for* the publication and watching of worship, *and for* other labour, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

21. About the lawful guardianship of a child, the child who is lamp-light and the father who is the fire, and whatever is on the same subject. 22. About sickness owing to the look of an evil eye, *or* the vicinity of a menstruous woman, because those

¹ Here, again, the repairer of the manuscript has forgotten to note the words in brackets which he had cut out of the folio before patching it.

with an evil eye, *or* menstruous, are thereby harmful. 23. About what is the kind of watching for the admitters of fear; the fearful and whatever is on the same subject. 24. And that in case of descending from a house on the outside.

25. About lawful arrangements for supplies, in union and assistance one towards the other; about payment for the labour in the lawful arrangement; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 26. About the produce of property for the multitude, *and* that also for one's own association; that is, how it is when taking *it* authorisedly, and how it is when not *doing so*; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

27. The special generosity of judges in conveying property back to *its* owners; the advantage from just judges, *and* the harm from unjust sentencing *and* false decisions. 28. So, also, the advantage from truly demanding, truly answering, *and* assisting the just; the enmity and harm from falsely demanding, falsely investigating, and assisting a false demander and false investigation; *but* not the enmity and secret harm of a complaint of the wretched. 29. Advice to judges about just decision and abstinence from false decision; and, secondly, the reward of their just decision, *and* the awful bridge *judgment* of false decision; the accountability in the spiritual *existence* in the case of judges, the praise of truth and contempt of falsity, the gratification of the sacred beings *and* vexation of the demons from just judgment and turning away from false decision, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

30. About what place the appointment by Aûhar-mazd in the original creation brought the corn *to* ¹,

¹ According to Bd. X, I, XIV, I, XXVII, 2, fifty-five species of

which arrived for use in the nourishment *and* assistance of mankind and animals ; the sowing of corn from the bodies of Mashya *and* Mashyôl¹ ; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 31. About the labour in sowing *and* cultivating corn, *and* whatever is in the business *of* agriculturists ; perseverance in agriculture, and the limit of its allotment, owing to suitable participation and inevitable participation *in* agriculture ; whatever is about the shepherd *and* whatever is about the agriculturist, and the adjudication between them. 32. About the corn which is sown, that which is reaped, that which is for an increase (pavan nad-aê), and that which is *for* other things.

33. About the excitement of any one, owing to his blood. 34. About those kinds of ownership of land *and* other things that are best. 35. About him who sees *some one* conducting water for cultivation, when *the person* unauthorisedly sows the land of the *observer who* does not dispute about it with fearlessness and effectual resistance. 36. About the selling of supplies granted, which may be done in hunger, nakedness, and fear ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

37. About the supremacy *of* sin, both that which arises on the spot, and that at a distance (pavan hâsar) ; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 38. About the atonableness of every sin, and the bridge *judgment* for destroying a righteous *man*, *for* witchcraft, and *for* carrying evil (agîh) to fire and water. 39. About atonement for the sin of Yât, Bâzât,

grain sprang up originally where the primeval ox passed away ; a statement which does not agree with that hinted at in this section.

¹ See Chap. XIII, 1.

Khôr, Aredûs, Avôtrist, Âgêrept¹, and giving no food, through giving of scars (*pisang-das*)², labour, and punishment; the kinds of horse-whip and scourge, and how the penitential effect of both *arises*.
 40. When a sinner dies outright on account of the penalty of giving of scars, or the performance of the labour, or the exertion *of* effecting the penance of punishment, *and* when a man has died penitent, *but* incapable of a desire³ for the retribution of sin, *and* has not atoned in the worldly *existence*, what the nature *of* his soul's helplessness is, owing to sin.
 41. About those for whom there is no retribution for sin.

¹ These six names are applied to the various grades of assault and wounding, for which a special scale of punishment is appointed (see Sls. I, 1, 2, XI, 1, 2, XVI, 1, 5). Here the list begins at the most heinous end of the scale, and the last three names, which refer to the lightest offences, have been already explained in Chaps. XIX, 1 n, XX, 64 n. The first three names are explained in Farh. Oîm, pp. 36, l. 7-37, l. 2, as follows:—'For whatever reaches the source of life the name is Khôr; *one* explains Bâzâf as "smiting," and Yât as "going to," *though* it be possible *for* the soul of man to be withstanding; *and* a counterstroke is the penalty for a Yât when it *has* been so much *away* from the abode of life.' These six gradations of crime, therefore, range from the infliction of the nearest possible approximation to a fatal wound, down to the merely constructive assault of seizing a weapon. All authorities agree in estimating the relative heinousness of the first four crimes by the following numbers: 180, 90, 60, and 30; but regarding the amounts for the two lighter offences there is much difference of statement. In the old law of the Vendîdâd there are seven gradations of such crime, the lowest four corresponding in name with the lowest four here, and all punishable by lashes, with a horse-whip, or scourge, varying from five to two hundred in number, according to the heinousness of the offence and the number of times it has been committed.

² By scourging, as prescribed in the Vendîdâd.

³ Owing to sickness, or any other disabling cause.

42. About what is the kind *of* contest of a poor *man*, plundered of his property; first, as regards the oppressor who *was* the plunderer, and, afterwards, *having* petitioned for criminal proceedings, through the judges, as regards his oppressor, until their repayment of the property. 43. About *being* delivered into distress *and* disaster¹, and the decision thereon. 44. About the oppressiveness *of* the much pollution of greediness (*âzö*) which is owing to all its fiendishness, *and* the arrangement of the creator about it for restraining the same fiend² from destroying the whole worldly creation. 45. About the great judiciousness of a man in want of power *being* good, for preserving his own life and making *it* nurturable.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section of the *next* twenty *contains* particulars about the rite of an ordeal accomplished, also the modes of one's preservation *or* incrimination therein, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section is about the mode and object *of* confinement as regards a beast *of burden*, sheep, and dog that are mad (*dêvânakö*), and the operation of the affliction (*vakhsisnö*); also to what extent is their restoration; *and* when not restored, *but* come for slaughter, the care of them even in confinement,

¹ Pâz. vôighn.

² The fiend of greediness, *Âzö*.

and whatever is on the same subject. 2. About the harm (vinâs) which the beast *of burden*, sheep, *and* dog shall commit. 3. About the sin which killed *one who is* no offender¹. 4. About the care *and* remedy *for* a sick dog, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section is miscellaneous : about the object of amassing property lawfully produced, *or* derived from (frôdô min) *what is* legally property; the production authorisedly of *what is* derived from *that which is* legally property, *and* the production unauthorisedly of that which is legally property thereby become one, at first, as regards the very virtuous *or* vicious legal proceedings therein.

2. About the lawful time for giving up a maiden to *her* husband, the completion of *her* possessions, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 3. About the impoverishment owing to the completion of the possessions given, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 4. About a father who *has* sons, and *for* which of *them* a wife is to be earlier sought. 5. *Also* about which of *his* daughters is to be given away to a husband, and whatever is on the same subject.

6. About the progressive meritoriousness of a righteous gift for a woman, *and* the grievous sinfulness owing to *its being* dissipated. 7. About wealth through a righteous gift, the announcement of *its* manifest acceptance, *and* the acknowledgment of *its* acceptance in words, as a completed act that is so far exhausted.

¹ Whether the sick animal, or a man attacked by it, is uncertain.

8. About a foreigner when an Irânian asks *him* for a reward for assistance in battle with his fellow-tribesmen, *and* the foreigner does not become generous, though the recompense is for the generosity of the Irânians.

9. About the offering up (madam dahisnō) of water; that which is an appointed indicator (numû-dâr), and that which is no indicator; that which is an indicator of complete presentation, *and* that of partial presentation; that water which is continually producing the offering up (ûzdahînak), in like manner, of something of the things of a righteous gift, through the moistened peculiarity and distinction¹ of an offering-producing gift of a male from *that* of a female; and that which is an indicator both male and female, and a voice producing offerings, is animate, *or* inanimate, *or derived* from the inanimate; that which is an indicator is a germ (tôkhmakō-1), that which is in a germ is of one species, that which is in a species is of one form, *and* the proportion that is appointed is completed, *though* the purpose for which *it* is appointed *has* not arisen; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

10. About the five best and five worst actions, the seven² heinous sins, *and* the three sins that are very ill-atoned for. 11. About the sin of staining with bodily refuse, injuring the existence³, *and* of a

¹ The Pahl. text is pavan mamanîh va-kadâmîh-i namîdō. Possibly namîdō, 'moistened,' may stand for numûdō, 'indicated;' but the whole sentence is more or less obscure.

² Written 4 + 2 (= six) in the MS., but this is a most unusual way of writing 'six;' it is more probable that we ought to read 4 + 3, the usual mode of writing 'seven.' 'Seven evil-doers of sin of a heinous kind' are detailed in Dd. LXXII, 2-9.

³ Pahl. bâfôdôk-zêdō, see Chap. XIX, 1 n.

death-producing formation *as to* clothing. 12. About the sin owing to idleness when, moreover, that which they might do is good. 13. About a decision as to the justifiableness *of* clothing, arms, equipments, and *other* things *being* given to foreigners, besides promoting their service and business, and *giving them* any assistance whatever, *or* listening to that which relates to assistance; likewise listening to drunkards. 14. About unlawfully destroying *and* cutting plants, *with* a decision about it.

15. About the sin of digging a grave¹ for burying a corpse, *whether* of the idolators (dēvtyastān) *or* non-idolators, and *of supplying* clothing for the corpse of a dead *one* of the idolators. 16. About him who threw bodily refuse² *on* to fire *or* water, *or any place or garment on which it* is not authorisedly *cast*, to make Mazda-worshippers polluted; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

17. An account of water as regards the description *and* extent of moisture of the land. 18. About the sin owing to rendering anything useless through water *or* fire. 19. About carrying off two-thirds *of* the misery from the world, by eradicating *it* from the creatures through all the illumination of fires; *and* carrying off all adversity from the period of the creatures, through the freedom from malice of mankind, one as regards the other, *and* through *their* perfect sympathy together.

¹ Assuming that gôbar khekîrûntanô stands for gôbar (Pers. gôr) khefrûntanô.

² See Chap. XIX, 3.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section *contains* particulars about the science (dânisnô) of seeking a son, advice about it from revelation (dênô), the advantage of offspring for the admonitory explanation of revelation within *one's* self, *and* the harm owing to neglecting the advice of the same.

2. About what *happens* in the begetting of a son ; the first sexual excitement it should produce for the female, the second, third, fourth, *and* fifth ; the arising of a son in the world, *and* also the milk, owing to *her* impregnation. 3. And, when *it is* so that it amounts to a son, which of the *two*, male *or* female, is sooner emitting the germs at the time *of* occurrence ; *and* how *and* how long both *have* remained, at the time, in semination, how long in connection, and how long in bleeding. 4. When *and* wherefrom various expectations are produced to contend *about*, and when and by what signs the male sex, or female sex, of the offspring *has* become manifest.

5. When the localization¹ regarding *it* is arranged, and, *as to* the members, which is the first member therein, and *their* being produced, each consecutively, till the bodily form is complete ; which, *and* in what position, is the localization of the members after the complete production of the form of the body, *and* the purpose as regards the position *and* localization of the members after the complete production *of* the

¹ Assuming that gêsî-hastanô stands for gâsî-hastanô in all three occurrences of the word. This is rather doubtful, because the noun gâs, 'position,' occurs twice in close connection with the uncertain word, and is correctly spelt.

form of the body. 6. The effect upon the offspring which is *furnished* with subjection to the male, so far as the complete effecting of it is within the limit for its authorisation¹; the time (*vidanâânag*²) of the offspring with the female, the period of its turning downwards for birth, *and* the occurrence of birth *at* the same time.

7. About the growth of life, too, with the bodily organs (*tanûgân*); *and* which is the first bone become possessed of marrow, *apart* from the other bones, as it is reported. 8. About the admissibility of the elaboration *of* the male sex, *or* female sex, within it, *by* the guardian spirit of the righteous, at the fifth month; and the ceremony for the guardian spirit of the righteous for the sake of the arrival of a male child.

9. About the act of childbirth by a pregnant woman before *recourse to* midwifery (*dâigânih*), except that relating to the navel string of the child; also its first and second food, and when the midwifery is *that* of her mother; what is the kind of milk, *and* the care of the child at the time, *its* bandaging, sleeping, nourishment, and protection; *and* the sin owing to acting unlawfully in such matters. 10. About how many months is the bearing of the offspring in the womb *of* the camel, horse, ass,

¹ The Pahl. text is as follows:—‘Kâr-î madam zâkô-î levatman dên kurn spar, vad spôr kârîh zyas dên sâman padas radâkîh.’

² This unusual hybrid word is evidently intended as a Zvâris equivalent of the Irânian zamânah, and is composed of vidanâ (= Ch. 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥, which is the usual Zvâris for zamân) + ânag (= ânah, the final syllables of zamânah). The central syllable of zamânah is, therefore, twice represented in the Zvâris vidanâânag. The hybrid occurs again, in Bk. IX, Chap. XVII, 3, in a phrase where it can only mean ‘time, period.’ If it were not for this after-occurrence, the word here might be read va-dô-ahûg, ‘and the dual existence,’ with some degree of probability.

cow, and woman ; and whatever is on the same subject. 11. About the spiritual perception *of* a newborn child, *and its* coming into the boundaries of worldly comprehension on the same subjects.

12. About the habits through which multitudes *of* mankind *attain* to the acme of beautiful form : that of desire for women, that of swiftness which is owing to the strength of the leg, and that of powerfulness which is owing to the vigour of the body, that of desire for wealth, that of speaking in an assembly, and that of speaking at a distance, that through which *any one* uncontrolled comes to a downfall, that through which *there is* more knowledge of obedience, *and* that through which a counteraction of the affliction of the race arises.

13. About the vicious desire of the performer *and* permitter of unnatural intercourse ; also their violent lustfulness, heinous practice, and corrupt, polluted bodies, blighted in destiny ; great through their destruction of life in the things which they see, and every greatness inevitably provides *them* a merited death ; *as* great in sinfulness as *Az-i Dahâk*¹ in oppression, *as* the serpent *Srôbar*² in witchcraft, *as* *Tûr-i Brâdrô-rêsh*³, the *Karap*⁴, in destroying the

¹ See Chap. XIII, 8 n, and compare the account of the seven special evil-doers in Dd. LXXII, 3-9.

² The Av. *azi srvara* of Yas. IX, 11 (W.), Yt. XIX, 40 ; a terrible serpent slain by Keresâspa the Sâman, as mentioned again in Bk. IX, Chap. XV, 2.

³ Also written *Brâdrôk-rêsh* ; he was one of the Tûrânian priesthood who persecuted Zaratûst in his youth, and probably the same as Pers. *Bartarûsh* (the *Brâdar-vakhsh* of Sd. IX, 5) who is said to have killed Zaratûst in the end. But, as he was one of five brothers, three of whose names were much alike (see Byt. II, 3 n), his identification is rather uncertain.

⁴ Av. *karapan*. In Dk. Bk. VII the *Karaps* are often men-

righteous, *and as* a deceiving apostate in falsehood.
 14. About the grievous sinfulness of a woman, just delivered and giving milk, whose progeny is the offspring from intercourse with divers males, and whatever is on the same subject.

15. About the increasing vigour *of* the female from the mounting of the male, and the diminished vigour of the male from mounting *on* to the female.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Hūspāram Nask.

1. Six ¹ Fargards of one section of the *last* fourteen contain particulars about the enumeration of species of ownership, their precedence one over the other, *and* their good report in conducting legal proceedings. 2. About property that is brought up to the judges, which, owing to an accuser, becomes *a source of* litigation for a judge. 3. About a decree as to restoring possession, *or* as to keeping possession, of whatever is among such matters. 4. About property

tioned as enemies of Zaratūst, both before and after his birth. Some are named, such as Dūrāsrōb, Brādrōk-rēsh, Vaēdvōist, and Gēshmak. The Karap of the district where the mother of Zaratūst was born banishes her for witchcraft, and must, therefore, have been the official head of the district. Dūrāsrōb, the Karap, travels sometimes with a disciple (hāvist), so his title was probably a priestly one. The Karap is also often mentioned with the Kaī, or Kik (Av. kavan or kavi), the title of an equally obnoxious class; both Kīks and Karaps being termed 'demon-worshippers,' or idolators; and the Pahlavi translators of the Avesta speak of them, metaphorically, as 'blind and deaf' to the sacred beings.

¹ These are called 'five Fargards' in Dd. LXI, 3 which appears to refer to §§ 7, 13. Or it may be 'seven,' if we consider the 'seven' of the next chapter as completing the last fourteen sections of this Nask.

which is, *or* is brought, out of the possession of a defendant, *and* property which is extorted from a man by worrying, or by a noticeable crime upon him ; *with* a statement about it.

5. About the earnings (*vindisnō*) of fellow-combatants *and* fellow-subordinates, *with* a statement about them. 6. About the coming of land, property, *or* anything, held by foreigners, into the princely possession of one from Irān.

7. About the guardianship of a family (*dāḍakō*) ; likewise the varieties of it, *and* the fitness of a man for it. 8. About one's own family, and whatever is on the same subject. 9. About the income (*vindisnō*) of wife *and* child.

10. About the trouble *of* the business *of* obtaining (*vindisnō*) a wife, and also her marriage, owing to the urgency of the husband, after the trouble. 11. About *her* guardian and paramour, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 12. About the proportion who *have* to keep a wife to seek *for* offspring, *and* the proportion who *have* to satisfy menstrual excitement.

13. About adoption ; likewise the varieties of it, *and* fitness for it ; the violation of adoption, the sin of the son who is accepted, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 14. About the partnership of brothers *that has* existed, is formed, *or* is designed ; *its* abandonment (*a-bûkhtîkîh*), the surplus property, the wealth that becomes quite sacrificed (*zadākō*), *and* whatever is on the same subject. 15. About property that comes to next of kin through relationship, and that through adoption. 16. About the residue that lapses into ways of righteousness.

17. About where *and* in whom, after the father, is

the prerogative as to a daughter *being* given away to a husband.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Hûspâram Nask.

1. One section *of* the seven¹ at the end *contains* particulars about the daily *food* of a grown-up man, a pregnant woman, her who is childless, *and* a child, as provided by law ; *also* that of a shepherd's dog, a village dog, and a blood-hound ; and the characteristics of these three kinds of dog.

2. About the sign of a person's conversion to the religion. 3. About association of several kinds, and one of them is that of the keepers (*padân*) with the flocks (*ramân*), and the flocks in connection with the keepers ; and of what kind is the meritoriousness of the keepers *of* those flocks, as to guardianship of every description ; the happy effects of the flock, *and* those of the keeper, of every description ; the advantage from this association, and whatever is on the same subject. 4. One is the association of priestly instructor (*radô*) and pupil², *and their* meritoriousness together ; the fame of the priestly instructor for priestly instruction, *and* that of the disciple (*hâvistô*) for every kind of *learning derived* from the priestly instructor, and every kind that the priestly instructor *imparts* to the pupil ; *and* the happy effects of the priestly instructor, of every kind, in similar matters. 5. One is the association

¹ It is doubtful whether seven sections are meant, or whether we should read 'the seven *Fargards* at the end of one section.' See, however, Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

² Pahl. *radûnê* (Av. *ratunaya*).

of ceremonial priests (*rad-pīsa kânō*), the worthiness of a man for the sacerdotal leadership, supplies for the whole of the ceremonial priests, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. About the highest of all associations¹, and about the lawful and virtuous existence of this same association, when *there are* two men in *a case* where he who is opulent is always necessary for him who is in innocence, and *has* given *him* the wealth that he asks for ; or where, when the one shall commit sin, wealth is an affliction to the other ; or the ownership, as to that which the one obtains, is as much even that of the other ; or, on the passing away *of the one*, it is mingled with the wealth of the other ; and whatever is on the same subject.

7. About the punishment of the sin of him for whom *one* lies² to him by whom provision is made, by thought or by word, *and* given to him who is worthy. 8. About a father's making a child aware of the sin at the time of the sin. 9. About the sin of taking the course of a false guide and exalting falsehood, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 10. The sin of extorting supplies for a beast *of burden* from a lonely labouring person.

11. About important gifts to the worthy, atonement for deprival of food (*atapdâdō-vigârisnīh*)³, and disbursements (*aûrûzdân*) *of* that which is legally, and also *of* that which is derived from *what* is legally, property among impoverished (*nyûrûzd*) supplicants. 12. The depriver of food is he who is *for* early atonement, and *they* who severally *exist*,

¹ That of disinterested and devoted friendship, as appears from the examples given.

² By falsely recommending him as a worthy object of charity.

³ See Chap. XVII, 6 n.

through grazing¹ *and* bringing forth, are *they* who severally are also in loss of vitality, through deprival of the food of strength *and* intellect; *even* a powerful man is prostrated thereby; the food which is suitable as atonement for deprival of food, *and* that which is not suitable.

13. About that through which the indispensable creation *of* a debt arises, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 14. Where *it is* the healing *of* the sick, the spiritual *debt* is unto the archangel Ashavahist², *and* that which is worldly unto the physician's anteroom (dâlanakō).

15. About the worthiness *of* a good physician for every benefit, *and* the unworthiness *of* a bad physician for any benefit. 16. About each one of the plants *being* produced by Aûharmazd for the subjugation of one disease at least. 17. About the protectiveness *and* preciousness of the profession of medicine; the advantage and reasoning thought of a physician due to the carrying on of *his* medical practice; the pleasant food, the handsome clothing, and the swift steed for a physician; and *his* wealth *being* as much as that of an average man in a house, village, community, *or* province. 18. About the diligently

¹ Reading *karisnō*, but part of the first letter has been cut off by the repairer of the MS. The semi-starvation of cattle is being referred to.

² The personification of 'perfect righteousness' (Av. *ashavahista*) whose special duty is stated to be the care of fire (see Sls. XV, 5, 12, 13), and whose name, often written *Ardavahist* or *Ardavahist* in Pahlavi, is applied to the second month and third day of the month in the Parsi year (see Chap. XX, 22). He is here connected with the healing of the sick, because of his association with Airyaman, the smiter of diseases (see Vend. XXII, Yt. III, Sîr. I, II, 3).

remedial hand *of* the physician for the sick, opportunely mindful, yet without chastisement.

19. About the sin of a physician through handling (sûdakîh) and *having* spread a disease by walking up to the sick, because that is when *he would have been* innocent through not *having* gone. 20. About a great pestilence (sêgô), and that which is trivial.

21. About the fee¹ of a physician for curing a sick *person* of disease of the whole body, and of each one of the members; even of him who *has* cured chieftains, both those of the lower grades and him who is the supreme king of kings, and so also various destitute people. 22. About the mode and extent of delivering up fees to a physician, after the declaration of the sick *person being* well; that is, from whom *comes* the physician's fee which is announced for the cure, and also that which is not announced; from whom that only which is announced for it, from whom a meal (pishôn-1), and from whom nothing whatever *of* worldly reward comes.

23. About the physician whom *one* hears² and asks for medical treatment. 24. About a test as to the competency of a physician; that is, how *it is* to be made, how it is when it is possible to test *it*, and how it is when it is not possible to test *it*. 25.

¹ In Vend. VII, 36-44 (W.) we have some of the old Avesta laws regarding medical men and their fees. How far the Avesta text of this section of the Hûspâram Nask corresponded with that of the Vendîdâd on the same subject it is impossible to determine, because we have always to recollect that this summary of the contents of the Nasks was compiled from their Pahlavi versions (see Chap. I, 3) which included extensive commentaries, adapting the original Avesta statements to the altered circumstances of Sasanian times.

² Or 'satisfies' (shnâyêdô).

About the sin of a physician who is not tested, *and* also *of* him whom it is not possible to test, when he shall undertake the medical treatment of others, *and*, as regards a limb of any one, there is not anything which is another's test of him, *nor* even that which is not another's test of him, *nor* that which is a trial of him.

26. About how long is the duration of *having* sought a physician in Irân whereafter *it* is allowable, through not obtaining *one*, to seek *him* even from foreigners. 27. The sin of *having* sought *one* from foreigners, when *one can* obtain a physician in Irân. 28. About the fee for a foreign physician, and much else on the same subject. 29. The medical treatment of mankind, and also about the medical treatment of beasts *of burden and* cattle.

30. About the sin owing to intrusting him who is unfit for a duty. 31. About the greater suitability of a priest than *of* a disciple for duty and position; a trusty *person* is also obtaining the important *rather* than obtaining a desire for the important, and even so far as *being* a potter *rather* than an astrologer, and being careful *rather* than a potter; and the reason of it.

32. About preparing an unauthorised (*a-dastôbar*) dwelling in the locality of other persons, *and* whatever is on the same subject. 33. About boundaries where *there* is a place of residence for people, and whatever is on the same subject. 34. About what description of testimony of *one of* the good religion is *received* as evidence regarding an infidel, *and* of an infidel as regards *one of* the good religion.

35. About the greatness of eminence *of* the abode of priestly authorities (*radânö*), *both* for procedure

and for petitions¹; the openness of the doors of a priestly authority; the want of eminence of any one through every kind of offence to others, which is owing to his closed doors and evil eminence in every mode; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 36. About the extent of splendour (lîyânö) and pomp-diffusing (vafsh-afgânö) tokens from the abode of fires, *and* the arrangement as regards him who casts the allotted twigs *and* charcoal (khâr akhgar) into *them*. 37. About conveying prosperity (padîkhûth)² to the abode of fires appropriately *to* the capability of every one.

38. About the quality (sâmân) of water oozing out (atrîdö) and that which is flowing in a channel (nâêv-tâk). 39. About the characteristics of specified works which are contiguous in a place between two frontiers (mar'zö).

40. About a decision as to a sheep *free* from unlawful influence—and so also *as to one under* unlawful influence—which goes to the pasture of others with thievish intention, neglecting its own; and *as to* that which *does so* not with thievish intention. 41. About the quantity which *one has* to provide, in the duration of a day and night, on admitting to pasture *and* corn, in the case of an ox without defect (anâ-gânö), or *of* another kind, or a horse, or a sheep, or a goat, or a pig, or an animal of any other kind.

42. About the distance of a residence of mankind from a river flowing in a channel. 43. About the period for letting a sheep graze at pleasure in a pasture, *and* that for restraining *it*; the time for not

¹ These six words should, perhaps, be appended to the next clause of the sentence.

² By providing fuel and other necessities.

cutting trees, *and* that for little slaughter of sheep.
 44. About an article of clothing which is associated with defence, for fear of enemies, *and* becomes quite a good omen (sukûn) *among* mankind, *being* imperceptible *and* appropriate. 45. About a tree with stem uprooted, where *and* how *it is* allowable.

46. About a leader's causing a march of whatever kind, the people *being* in motion through fear, and they drive the sheep which are with the army on account of molestation; *also* making the sheep decide as to the pasture near to the road within reach, the pasturing *of* the first of the species of sheep, *and* letting *them* forth to pasture in succession unto the last, and the reason of it.

47. About a person who is of note¹ on account of wealth, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

48. About this intermixture *of* with-the-stream *and* against-the-stream, with banks and without banks, and waters running *and* down-pouring (nīyâpân), on the road; that is, which of the waters, running *or* down-pouring, is to be earlier revered *by him* who is returning from the road, and the reason of it.

49. About the subordination of the disciple unto the priest, as to eating, drinking, and plenty, goodness and preciousness; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

50. About that which *occurs* when foreigners come to the frontier of Irân, *and* shall do damage to Irân; *and* the frontier governors *and* fellow-champions *have* to repel the foreigners by fighting, to save the Irânian people and property which *were*

¹ Reading mûn sakhûnag. Another guess would be min nîsôn-î (for nîsân-î), in which case the translation would be 'a person *free* from indications relating to wealth.'

to be made foreign ; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

51. About the advantage of punishing a violent thief by the members of the assembly, that owing to reliance upon the actions *and* convictions of the ancients, that owing to forming many priestly assemblies, that owing to providing a disciple for a priest, that through passing away after *being* high-priest, that through *doing so* without *being* high-priest, *and* that of much information on similar statements prior to any other resources.

52. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. One section of the *first* thirty of the Sakâdûm¹ contains particulars about reward *by* command of the religion, the bridge *judgment* of the destroyers of the well-commanding, *and* the provision for their destruction. 2. About the importance of a man, after fifteen years of age *and* when he has heard that there is a law² which is good, *having* sought that law² by *having* enquired *about it*. 3. About a man's scrutinizing an action before *doing it*, when he does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work,

¹ Corresponding to the eighteenth word, yim, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the nineteenth Nask in other Rivâyats. This name, which is here written like Zaki-hat-min, should probably be Zik-ast-tûm, meaning 'the most intimate concerns,' as the Nask refers chiefly to personal and family law; but it is called Askâram, or Sakadâm, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained fifty-two kardah, fargards, or vêcast; thus agreeing with the total of the sections mentioned in Chaps. XXXVIII, XLI.

² It is possible to read yêdatô, 'sacred being,' instead of dâdô, 'law.'

and when *it* is possible for him to set *it* aside *and* not to do *it*.

4. About advice as to *having* entered into a house in the night by the light *of* a fire, or when *one* has noticed it in this place, though he goes elsewhere; *also* the watchful destruction of an injured person, or animal, or garment, *and* the retribution for the injury. 5. About the extent of any glitter of the sparks (*zakhsh-1-1 parkân*), *and* the width *and* height of the doors of the constructed work of that appointed place *of the fire*.

6. About a new-born child, as to how *one* has to provide its place, connected lawfully *with* illumination¹, more particularly *for* the first three nights.

7. About bringing a fire to *drive* away the overpowering fiend, and making the child taste first the Hô-m-juice, so far as collected within its precincts (*varân*), and, secondly, the butter of *Maldôk-zarem*² which is to be brought forward for it; *also* the watchfulness of the father and mother over the child, and the extent of their retiring (*navistanô*) from the two sides of the *new-born*. 8. About lawfully-made places of several kinds for the child, the limits *and* manner of the mother's giving milk to the child, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

9. About carrying forth holy-water, *or* even a cooking-pot, to a fire, where the hands are purified *and* thoroughly washed; *and* the sin owing to an un-

¹ To protect it from the demons who are supposed to be specially dangerous during the first three nights.

² Equivalent to 'mid-spring butter,' the *Av. maidhyô-zare-maya*, 'mid-verdure,' being the season corresponding to the middle of the second Parsi month, which was early in May when the year commenced at the vernal equinox (see *Bd. XXV*, 6, 21).

purified hand, not thoroughly washed, carrying *them* forth. 10. About the preservation of the cooking-pot, and the rest of one's operations with the fire, from defilement; *but* when, through want of care, defilement occurs, *by* the inexperience of any one bringing *it* to the fire, he who is careless is thereby contaminated, *and* the cooking-pot is properly placed in its position.

11. Arranging about properly-made bed-places (gâsvâarakô) in a house, those for children and those for adults; also a decision about *a case* when a carpenter (dûrgar) shall make a bed-place properly which one's own judgment considers improperly *made*, and when both *consider it* improperly, *or* when both *consider it* properly *made*; *and* more of whatever is on the same subject.

12. About what is the mode *of* producing seeing properly; *and*, when not seeing properly, the oculist (dîdpân) to intrust with it is *he* who informs people, who wish for it, *how* to extract the defect of sight; if not, the people go on and hurt; *also* the penalty for hurting, and whatever is on the same subject.

13. About the insubordination of those accustomed to work (kâr-khûgarân) to women and children; also that of a grown-up man who *has* been giving no food¹ three *times* in succession; he, too, it is who advanced the fourth *time*², because, owing to giving no food a fourth *time*, the man is he who *has* to accomplish work unrestrictedly; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

¹ See Chap. XVII, 6.

² This passage appears to refer to that quoted in Farh. Ôim, p. 38, ll. 8, 9; though the latter part of Chap. XLI, 19 is more applicable to ll. 4-8 of the same page.

14. About the care of a pointed thing, that is, how *it* is to be carried to a dwelling in the world, how *it* is to be deposited, *and* the sin owing to keeping and depositing *it* otherwise. 15. And about every garment¹ and utensil, even including such as a scum-pot, an hour-glass, and a dining-tray; that is, how *they are* to be deposited in the dwelling, *and* the sin owing to variously² placing *and* taking care of *them*. 16. About a door which is properly made; how it is when it falls down, and a wound arises from it, the carpenter *being* innocent regarding it; *and* how it is when *he is* guilty.

17. About washing the head, the care of the water and the religious ritual therein, and whatever is on the same subject. 18. About the period *for* arranging the hair, in which they shave the hair. 19. About the shaving of a child the first time, and the ritual which is taught for it; the performance of shaving *by* an instructed barber and with a sharp razor, which is the appointed practice as regards the razor of adults, *and* that also for children *with* the children's razor, because *it is* settled healthfulness; his whetstone (*sôn*), and also the care of the razor. 20. About the number of the positions of a man, in which a barber can perform shaving, and that of the positions of the barber; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

21. About each one of those who are custodians (*kîrûk-kârânö*), and the rules of the market; also their abstaining from wounding each other with a pike (*têkh*), *or* other implement, with which they

¹ Or *gâmak* may mean 'a cup.'

² Reading *min gûnagîhâ*.

shall perform *their* duty; *likewise* the sin owing to heedlessness. 22. About giving forth a pointed thing lawfully, and a wound owing to not giving *it* forth lawfully; lawfully taking *and* giving away a plate of broken victuals (*paḍ'khûr*), and a wound owing to *doing it* unlawfully; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 23. About the appointed place (*dâd-gâh*) of a horse-course *and its* distance from the middle of a town, the nature of the horse-course, the training (*farhâng*) *and* masters of manœuvres (*paḍân-t farhângânö*) when in *it*, the shooting of arrows on the horse-course, *and* the wound which occurs to man *or* animal, how it is when culpable, and how it is when not culpable. 24. About admitting a listener; where, why, *and* how *he is* to be admitted; *and* the guilt *or* innocence as regards a wound owing to him.

25. About the mode of making a *sacred thread-girdle*¹, *and* the harm from an unusual formation of it. 26. About lawfully tying *it*, without the culpability (*vazagth*) of unauthorised action; *also* when they do not tie *it* lawfully, *but* the girdling is knotted (*viragt-altö*) *and* twisted owing to culpability (*vazagânth*); and whatever is on the same subject.

27. About lawfully scratching *with* the nails, and the harm from unlawfully scratching. 28. About lawfully attending to a fire on the road; and, when *one* arrives at a ford *through* water, the sin which arises, as to fire, from not lawfully caring about the fire.

29. About warriors who mingle together in panic (*mazangth*) and darkness; injury happens *to* one

¹ See Dd. XXXIX, 1 n.

from the other, and the statement of the account published is *that there was* a state of terror; also whatever is on the same subject. 30. About the march of an army which is in fear, *and* that which is in *a state of* fearlessness which is the distinction of the army of Irân from those of foreigners. 31. About lawfully and habitually requiring a share, and the harm from unlawfully and unhabitually requiring *it*.

32. About carrying firewood, brought away from the hills, into the house; depositing *it* at first by the tongs (dast-pânakö); watching, turning, and inspecting *it*, *and* carrying *it* away to the fire; that is, how *to do it* lawfully, the sin owing to unlawfully performing *it*, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

33. About lawfully warming bull's urine¹ by the fire, *and* the sin when *it is* not lawfully *done*.

34. About selecting a pasture, one ranked above the others; that is, how *to do it* lawfully, the sin when *one* shall do *it* otherwise, *and*, owing to that, he is really injured, *or* occasions injury. 35. About what is the mode *of* construction of a lawfully-formed farm-house (dast-kadakö), the dwelling of the people, *and* the place of the beasts *of burden and* cattle; *also* the sin when *one* shall construct *it* otherwise, *and*, owing to that, he is really injured, *or* occasions injury.

36. A decision about *a case* when one *person has* lawfully to force *away* a beast *of burden* from a control unlawfully *exercised*, *and* another person intrudes unauthorisedly, *and* vexes the district authorities (pad-dihânân). 37. Also when *being* done un-

¹ Intended for ceremonial purification.

lawfully, and the beast *being away* from its control unlawfully *exercised*, the *other* person intrudes lawfully; and when both *persons act* unlawfully, or when both *act* lawfully. 38. About lawfully tying, whereby things are hung up; *and* the sin when, *through* an unlawfully-tied fastening, anything is injured, *or* occasions injury. 39. About unlawfully keeping horses in a stable (âkhûr), *and* the sin owing to the unlawfulness. 40. And, as regards the cutting of trees and shrubs, where *and* how *it is* lawfully *done*, and the harm *and* sin owing to not lawfully cutting. 41. About the mode of washing clothing, *and* the sin owing to different modes. 42. About the mode of walking in, *and* the sin owing to unusual walking in. 43. About the custom of a man of the sagacious (dânâkvarân) on passing through water, and the harm *and* sin owing to acting otherwise.

44. About the kinds of canals (nâi)¹ and fords, from those for two men passing, up to those for many; the dimensions of those *which are* large, and how much *they are* each separately *sunk* into the ground, without collecting water, when the ground is hard, and how much when *it is* soft. 45. The extent of their outer² banks, *and* the inspection as to the banks when the water is brackish, warm, *and* flowing; how far when outside of the water, and how far when in the water. 46. When *it is* brackish, cold, *and* flowing; or brackish, warm, *and* stagnant; or sweet, warm, *and* flowing; how far when in the water, and how far when outside. 47. And, when

¹ For irrigation.

² Reading vîrûnag, but the word is miswritten nîrang-î.

brackish, cold, *and* stagnant; or sweet, cold, *and* flowing; or sweet, warm, and stagnant; how far when in the water, and how far when outside of the water. 48. What is the customary operation as regards the inspection of the banks; how is the stagnation (*astîntădanǎ*) within a pool dammed up (*zarêh-stânǎ-aê*), and the stone-work inside, from the canal which is for ten men passing, up to that for many; *and* how is the damming up inside of the canal, the stagnation within the pool dammed up, or the reedy jungle (*vêsakǎ*) when distributed and it becomes tall.

49. What are the mode *and* means of maintaining the supervision of a canal; which is that *which one* should maintain over the water of the canal when half is distributed, *or*, when not, one-third; and which is that when one-third is distributed, *or*, when not, one-fourth; *a supervision* which is animate *or* inanimate, *and* after those which are inanimate *means are provided*¹, the former animate *ones* are then at rest; *and* the harm *and* sin when they shall act otherwise. 50. And, as regards the same, what is the mode *of* passage of animals of various species, by swimming across the water; *and* the sin, owing to acting otherwise, when harm occurs. 51. About the trampling down at a ford *through* water, when *one* is newly completing *it*, and when *the water is* brackish *and* flowing, when *it is* brackish *and* stagnant, when *it is* sweet *and* flowing, and when *it is* sweet *and* stagnant; the reason of passing through on it, *and* such *and* such ways for proceeding at

¹ In the shape of sluices for regulating the supply of water for irrigation.

will thereon; so, also, observation as to the water which *has* remained behind for flowing, and the harm *and* sin when *one* does not properly observe *it*, *but* walks on.

52. About two of the warriors who meet together on the road, which *of them* was *busy* about the protection *of his* horse, *and* which about the preparation of food; *also* the usage *and* other *things* in similar matters. 53. The sin of *having* eaten food for refreshment on the road, that is, how the custom is a sin when they can act otherwise.

54. About the remedies for sheep and beasts *of burden* which reinfuse fresh life; and the extent of keeping the sheep, goat, cow, mare, ass, pig¹, and woman with the male. 55. About beasts *of burden*, sheep (anûmâânö), and women, for whom, on account of contraction of orifice, *there is* a use of means for making *it* not painful (atûtakö). 56. About the extent of the distance of a male beast from the female when it is necessary to be watchful. 57. About the distance that a man *has* to remove an ox that *has* destroyed *some* concealed hay (barkasag giyah) which is the hay of others, when they quarrel with him; how it is when *it is* allowable to bring *the ox* back to *his* home; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

58. About the security of a man from the death (aôsh) of *his* fathers, and danger *having* arisen for him from a mouth *of* bad omen. 59. About the sin of a father owing to a child, when, *being* given by him to an ill-behaved *person*², he calls *it and*, when

¹ Instead of khar va-khazûrâ, the MS. has khôr va-zak-î ras.

² Assuming that minênamakö-1 stands for apênamakö-1;

it comes, *there* may occur the sin of unlawfully terrifying sheep, and the beast *of burden* is beaten; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 60. About bringing¹ a plant which is a medicinal herb, *and* whatever is on the same subject.

61. About a sociable feast (ham-myâzdîh) with idolators, that is, how it is *when held* authorisedly, and how it is when *it is* not; *and*, when *one* gives the sociable feast, how it is *when they are to be considered* unhonoured, and how it is when they are to be considered more honoured even than the Irânians. 62. And about the broken victuals which the idolators *have eaten and* drunk therein.

63. About the proportion of meat with the bread in atonement for deprival of food². 64. About an ordeal which is severe, and *one which is* not severe; *and* the evidence of acquittal from the achievement thereof. 65. About the secrets of the religion, *and* the sin owing to *their being* disclosed (gushûftö). 66. About the sin of speaking evil words to the wives of others. 67. About the extent of the most inferior house, village, community, *and* province; *and* that of the most superior. 68. And about what *was* the mode *of* residence of Frashôstar and Gâmâsp³ in a plundering (lâtskar) army, and their habits.

the copyist having mistaken *ap* for *az*, and substituted the Zvâris equivalent *min* for the latter which he supposed was a separate word.

¹ Or 'abstracting.'

² See Chaps. XVII, 6, XXXVII, 11.

³ Two brothers who were contemporaries of Zaratûst. Frashôstar was his father-in-law, and Gâmâsp was prime minister of king Vîrtâsp.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Sakâdûm Nask.

1. One section is the *Hakîdakânistân* ('code of sequestrations'), particulars about a statement of seized property, the retention thereof, *and* how was the confinement *of* that *which was* animate; how it is when *one* keeps *it* in a shepherd's-dog's care, and how it is when in the sequestrator's care (*hakîdaködârth*). 2. And when *it is* a seized horse of the warriors, how to keep *it* when it is not possible to retain *it* in confinement *of* any kind, and the damage which *has* arisen therefrom; what is the danger to occasion by it, how it is when the shelter (*srâyisnö*)¹ is on all sides, *and* how it is when on one side; while the trust, when *there is* shelter, is in the extent of the shelter, how much *and of* what kind is the shelter. 3. When *it is* a seized beast *of burden*, after *its* coming into the possession of the sequestrator (*hakîdak-dâr*), for how long *he has* to order work for the reasoning thought of the herdsman, *and* how is that of the sequestrator, *in* like manner, before he quite attains to his share; even through his own reasoning thought the work is authorisedly ordered, *and* how *and in* what manner is the ordering of his work. 4. And when the seized *animal* has offspring, *in* what mode *he has* to milk *it*, as well as the nourishment of the young, and whatever is on the same subject; *also* the sin owing to doing *it* unlawfully. 5. About the sequestrator when the beast *of burden* seized comes into his possession, how it is

¹ Av. thrâ.

when its special reputation is altered, *and* how it is when it comes with utility and advantage for him. 6. About the seizer's keeping a sheep, which is seized, in *his* flock; that is, how the custom is produced, owing to its milk *being* for the *sacred* feast, and the notification of the feasts is owing to the seized¹ sheep; when, too, it is not possible to keep *it* in the flock, what is the mode of confining *it*; and when it is not possible to keep *it* in confinement, what *he has* to do with it. 7. About the wool of a sheep which is seized; that is, how it is when the shearing is even before the various times specified, *and* the sin of shearing when *it is* before the time specified, *or one* shears when there is no reason for shearing. 8. About the lambing (gurûstāḍō) of the sheep seized, and the sin owing to *its* not lambing.

9. About sheltering (srudanō)² the seized *animal* in the most public place in a house, village, community, *or* province. 10. About the sin of the shepherd when, without saving *it* for the sequestrator, *and* through the guilelessness of the sequestrator, he shall carry away a female; *and* the sin which is owing to the offence as regards unlawfully beating *and* wounding *it*, before *it is* seized for the buyers of meat (khûr-kharânō), *and* other offences regarding it. 11. About the time appointed, between the shepherd and the sequestrator, for leading *and* bringing the female, *belonging to* the sequestrator, to the place for which the time is appointed; *in the case* when the shepherd arrives *and* the sequestrator *does*

¹ Instead of *hakīdakō*, 'seized,' the MS. has the very similarly written word *avēzakō*, 'pure.'

² Compare *srāyisnō* in § 2, and *srūdan* in § 11.

not, how that which *belongs to* the sequestrator is to come into the possession of the sequestrator, and when; when *it is* the sheep *or* beast *of burden* of a sequestrator¹, how *it is* to come into the possession of that sequestrator; when the sheep *or* beast *of burden* which is seized dies in the possession of the sequestrator, how *and* how long *he has* to shelter (srûdan) the young ones (gurûs) and wool of the same several sheep; *and* the sin when he does not shelter *them*, or *does it* otherwise.

12. About a sheep² which is mingled among the flock of any one that is in sequestration, how it is when the shepherd, *and* how it is when the shepherd's dog, is its own; and when it is mingled among any flock owing to sequestration, how it is when the shepherd, *and* how it is when the shepherd's dog, [who is its own]³ goes to another flock; how it is when the first flock-owner, *and* how it is when the second, is its own. 13. About the killing of a seized sheep *by* a shepherd's dog for necessary provisions; that is, how *it is* allowable, and *in* what mode *it is* to be done.

14. About him unto whom the sheep *or* beast *of burden* which is seized *is delivered* when it comes into a district; *and* the sequestrator's informing the governor of the district, in whose herd the sheep *or* beast *of burden* which is seized *remains*, as to the species, colour, and form of it⁴. 15. Watching over

¹ Perhaps another sequestrator is meant.

² The first case seems to be that of an unseized sheep in a seized flock, and the second that of a seized sheep in an unseized flock.

³ The words in brackets are supplied by guess, to fill up a blank space left by the repairer of the MS. on one of his patches.

⁴ Reading va-darand-î denman.

a man with sheep, who is in a disabled state of illness owing to a wound *received* in his duty as regards slaughtering; the case when *he is* concealed from a passer-by (amat nīhān min vidār) and there is protection, when *he is* an eater *and* there is no protection, when *he is* not eating and there is protection, and when *he is* not eating *and* there is no protection.

16. About the distraction¹ of a sequestrator as regards a sheep *or* beast *of burden* which is seized, when *it is* one *out* of four varieties², and when one *out* of three; when he nourishes *it for* half a year, *and* when *for* the duration of a year; when that which he obtains is a young *one*, and when that which he obtains is large, where *and* what is a shelter for it, and, *as to* the care of it, how it is when *in* a grain vault (kīgārakō-1), *and* when it is *under* a tree; how it is when *in* a damaged cellar (varkhō-1-1 kûstakō), and how it is when *in* a cage (pangar-1) which is not incomplete, *but is* broken, or *is* not incomplete and *is* sound, or *is* complete and sound.

17. About treasure which *they find* in the surroundings of a dwelling, *and* that which they find within the limits of the dwelling of any one. 18. About buried treasure when it is found by the side of a

¹ Reading hāzakō, but it is possibly a contracted form of ayāvakō, 'gain.'

² If it were allowable to omit this word, âyûînakō, 'variety,' and to substitute 'gain' for 'distraction,' the sentence would stand as follows:—'About the gain of a sequestrator as regards a sheep *or* beast *of burden* which is seized, when he nourishes *it for* one-fourth, when *for* one-third, when *for* half a year, *and* when *for* the duration of a *whole* year.' This seems more intelligible than the text as it stands in the MS.

road, *and* the ground is hard, how it is when it is one finger-breadth below, *and* how it is when *it is* two finger-breadths; as well as (ham-gûn) when the ground is soft, how it is when it is two finger-breadths below, *and* how it is when *it is* three finger-breadths. 19. When it is found within the road, and the ground is hard, how it is when it is two finger-breadths below, and how it is when *it is* three finger-breadths; *and* when the ground is soft, how it is when it is three finger-breadths below, and how it is when *it is* four finger-breadths. 20. When *it is* in an ascent *or* descent, there where *one* turns out from the road, and the ground is hard, how it is when it is below *up* to the instep¹, and how it is when *it is* up to the middle of the leg (patistân)²; *and if* soft, how it is when it is below up to the middle of the leg, and how it is when *it is* up to the knee. 21. When *it is* in a stream of water, *and* the ground is hard, how it is when it is below up to the knee, and how it is when *it is* up to mid-thigh; and when the ground is soft, how it is when it is below up to mid-thigh, *and* how it is when *it is* up to the testicles. 22. When *it is* in a ford *through* the water, and the ground is hard, how it is when it is below up to the testicles, *and* how it is when *it is* up to the navel; and when the ground is soft, how it is when it is below *up* to the navel, and how it is when *it is* up to the mouth. 23. And when *it is* in a kitchen (âs-khânö), the middle of a garden (van), *or* a sheep-fold (pâh-hastö); that is, how it is when *it is* not a permanent residence (afraz-mânisnö) of *any*-

¹ Supposing that Pâz. âavad is intended for âfrapad.

² That is, up to the shin.

body, *and* how it is when *it is* a permanent residence¹.

24. About *him* who nourishes a sheep which is seized; that is, how it is when *it is* out of his store, *and* how it is when he nourishes it *as* it arrives.

25. About a dispute as regards a sheep that is seized, when one *person* says *it was* born of the colour of the mother, *and another* one says *it was* of her form², both *being* true; or one *person* mentions a single characteristic truly, *and another* one mentions many characteristics of it untruly; the *cases* when they mention *its* peculiarities otherwise, *and* in what manner; and whatever is on the same subject.

26. About a sheep³ seized, which *has* to pass on through the loftiest places in which *there* is lawfully shelter; *and* how *there* are three years, three existences (ah vôn), three places, nine occasions, and also many other regulations on the same subject.

CHAPTER XL.

Sakâdûm Nask.

1. One section is the Zîyânakistân ('*code of the injured*'), about *anything* which is animate—and that *which* is inanimate—injured through lawfully living, giving, receiving, *or* delivering back; the duty of protection and care for both kinds; the nourish-

¹ The utility of these minute details was probably to determine how long the treasure had been buried, and for what purpose, and whether there was any possibility of the rightful owner being still alive.

² Reading darand-î denman.

³ Supposing that pês stands for pâh.

ment, extension, sustentation, stimulation, establishment, consolation, and also gratification of an animate *being*; and the retribution for sin due to unlawfulness as regards the same matters.

2. About an example of a damaged gift, *in the case* when *one* gives the thing *to* a poor (*gadâk*) person at an appointed time, *and* when at *one* unappointed; *and in the case* when *one* gives him an increase, where *and* what is the increase. 3. A decision about a shepherd when they shall bring *him* back *an animal*¹, when damaged, before *its* subdivision; what he obtains for the damaged *animal* when not delivered back at the time of subdivision; when the duty about it is dictated by a religious *man*, and when he keeps *it* in *his own* possession.

4. About property which is inanimate, whose subdivisions, each separately, when *one* keeps *them* in use², and when in reserve (*armêstô*), are greater and less in value; that is, through so much effecting of penance (*avâkangisnô*) worthily, *or* through so much bringing of interest; and the capital is the same *in* value, the increase *being* the growth of dividends.

5. About the reason why the sin of an injured *person* becomes innocent through not delivering back a damaged *article*³; *and* many opinions, on the same subject, are provided for *our* benefit.

¹ Probably one sold by him to a butcher.

² For trading, or pious purposes.

³ Suffering wrongs without complaint being meritorious.

CHAPTER XLI.

Sakâdûm Nask.

1. One section of the *last* twenty-two is the Vakhshistân ('*increase code*'), particulars about the progress of increase. 2. About atonement, surrender, and compensation *for* anything, through dispelling *it* by compensating, atoning, *and* surrendering to *him* whose own *it is*; the period thereof not *being* appointed. 3. When he, whose origination of compensation, atonement, *and* surrender is his own, has appointed the period thereof, the growing of the sin actively, after the appointed time, is increase.

4. About increase¹ which is active (*kardakö*), and that which is existent (*zlstakö*); how it is when the existent becomes quite active, and how it is when both are suppressed (*armêstl-aît*). 5. About the extraction of increase upon increases which they may occasion *up* to an equality; where *and* which *it is*. 6. About a righteous gift; that is, how it is when overwhelmed by impoverishment, *and* how it is when its increase still proceeds.

7. About the progress of interest (*vakhsh*) upon effective wealth, when there is interest for it, and the interest thereon accumulates; also that which does not progress; how it is when the debtor (*âvâm-hômônd*), even on bringing back the wealth, is opulent, *and* the lender (*âvâm nafsman*) is opulent on asking for *it*; how it is when each is not opulent, *and* the debtor *was* not opulent on asking for *it*; *and* how it is when the lender (*âvâm khvêš*)

¹ As this word is written *vakhs* (= *nâs*) it is doubtful whether *vakhsh*, 'increase,' or *vinâs*, 'sin,' is intended; and the context is insufficient to solve the doubt.

is opulent on asking for *it*, *and* the debtor is not opulent through the wealth.

8. About where *and* when the life (*zīstanō*) of the lender has once passed *away*, how *it is* when *the loan* is to be issued anew at the end of the issue (*zihīsnō*), and how it is when *it has* existed in force, through the one issue *by* the deceased, *and* the interest accrues. 9. When the debtor passes away, how it is when he puts the interest into the property of any one through adoption, *and* how it is when *it is* the interest of the possessor of the wealth in both worlds.

10. About the peculiarity *of* retribution, the self-retribution of *one* liable to retribution for others, *and* the limit of one's own retribution. 11. About the penalty (*tāvān*) of him who, purchasing *animals* for impregnation, gives each a bad male; when *they are* not pregnant, *and* when they may produce; and whatever is on the same subject. 12. About the time of allowing the admission of the male *to* the beast *of* burden, sheep, and camel, and the time of consignment *to* each separate male for whom reception remains; the *case* when *it is* the time for admission of the male (*gūs-n-hilīh*), *and* the *case* when *it is* such a consignment as when the period, which is really originating with the admission of the male, has continued. 13. When, on account of no consignment *to* the male at the *proper* time, the female goes on unimpregnated, *and there* is no pregnancy of the cow, mare, camel, sheep, goat, *or* pig, each separately, how much the penalty is; *also* the sin they commit.

14. About the camel, mare, cow, *or* sheep, unto whom *there* is damaged milk, void of butter (*akaraḡ*), owing to the appointed time *one* postpones; *also* the

average *and* least milk of the mare, cow, goat, and sheep, that is, the measure of their one milking, each separately. 15. About the camel, that is, how much is its production of hair in a year, *and* the extent that the camel is surpassing therein among cattle; of them is also the ass that they allow to be seized upon for as much value as that *of* the oxen, and the mode of beating them up. 16. Where *and* how it is when the females of the camel and horse are a multiplying (*afzûnō*) *tending* to dissatisfaction; the increase even of increases of the ox, sheep, and goat progresses, *and* of them how much less is the multiplying of the female—which is an increase of increases *tending* to dissatisfaction, where *it is* extending over them—to be produced than that of the male.

17. The camel which is injured *on* the road, beyond the end of the appointed time, when they keep it *at* work unlawfully and the road is bad, when *at* work unlawfully *and* the road is good, *and* when comfortable at pasture, where seizing upon it becomes *tending* to dissatisfaction in several *ways*, and they are severally buying *it* when really invigorated¹, or *at* a price.

18. For how much increase of increases he stands up who is buying also an invigorated dog, *or* pig, at a price; and when *it is that* the increase and increase of increases remain undeveloped in them, as it *does* whenever property, *on* which the interest of the residue and income accumulates, is still for the children *of* the well-destined.

¹ Pâz. aôsanghen, both here and in § 18, no doubt for Av. aoganghem, as in Chap. XX, 58, the Av. *u* g and *u* s being much alike.

19. About *him* whose supplies some one is silently (agôpö) buying up, and the seller and important holder is quite bereaved, so that the bereaver *has* plenty for *one* deprived of food *on* a summer's day, and plenty for him who is *so* also *on* a winter's *day* (dim-ikik); *also* the supplying of mankind and fire lawfully, in the beginning, for a summer's day and night, *and* that for a winter's one¹. 20. About clothing when *it* is *that* which *one* strips off for donation. 21. About the penalty for a first deprivation of food, *and* the sin of it; *also* the penalty of the second and third, up to the tenth.

22. About a plaint and defence as regards a debt and its interest, and the decision thereon; also how *it is* when, for keeping up the repayment, debts upon debts are cancelled so far as the continuance of interest; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 23. About the uselessness of supplies which are not authorised *by* the religion. 24. About buying a slaughtered² sheep when the seller is bereaved by the delivery; *also* to how many sheep, in the two previous years, the increase and increase of increases thereof *had* specially to attain. 25. About where *and* what is that which would not conduce to increase, *and* what is that which *would*. 26. About the special sin and offence, the use of the milk, heart³, and wool, the spreading about *which tends* to dissatisfaction, the increase of increases, and the good

¹ See Farh. Oim, p. 38, ll. 4-8, and compare Chap. XXXVIII, 13.

² Reading *barâ-zegtalûntakö*, which word has been corrupted by the repairer of the MS.

³ Reading *dîl*, but the word can also be read *sar*, 'head.'

figure of any one sheep, and the regulation of every one.

27. About how the debtor *has* to announce the nature of the loan, *which* the lender, through irritation, does not approve; and, when the debtor has provided for a triple issue, when for a double issue, *and* even when he has for a single issue, the first year is *free* from begging his own time. 28. About the debtor *and* what ¹ he repays, when each year is announced *and* he does not assent; *and* how it happens, as regards the debtor, through many repayments, and all the postponements of the lender ².

29. About causing the confiscation (pādīrāngarth) of a human being (gerpīh)³, and *its* cessation ⁴ owing to worldly work, where *it is* for one month, *or*, thence onwards, for a second, a third, a sixth, a ninth, *or* a year at worldly work, *and* where *it is* regarding several human beings; the production of gain which accrues upon that single human being; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 30. About the confiscation of a cloak (gudād) in the winter, *and* of a skin-bag for holding water (maskō-ī āvdānō) in the summer; about whom *they are* appertaining to, on the passing by of the first ten nights, where *it is* after the bringing out of the cloak at the beginning of winter, *and* of the water-skin at the beginning of summer; *or* prior to the length of a month previous,

¹ Supposing that madam stands for maman; the two words being sometimes confounded.

² Who allows the debtor a longer time for repayment.

³ Literally 'bodily form.' The seizure of a slave of the debtor to work off the amount of the debt is evidently meant.

⁴ Reading *va-sakisnō* instead of the very similarly-written *nikēsisnō*, 'explanation,' of the MS.

severally, *to* the end of the winter *as regards* the cloak, *and to* the end of the summer *as regards* the water-skin; that is, *for* how much gain upon that one cloak, *or* water-skin, is the retribution of the confiscator to whom *it is* appertaining¹; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

31. About the increase of grains, *and* that of sheep *with* the progeny, milk, and wool that they may severally produce. 32. About the confiscation of clothes and implements by delivering *them* back to *him* who specially reckons many *as* his own²; that is, how the produce (vakhsh) increases when he orders *their* use imperfectly, how it *does* when *he does so* not imperfectly, *and* how it *does* when he keeps *them* in inactivity. 33. About the produce of land on which grain is cast, and *of* that on which *it is* not cast (va-zak-t an-madam ramituntô)³, when by delivery thereof *it is* self-exhausted. 34. And so also the produce *of* ornaments of gold and silver, and of red-coloured things, with many regulations on the same subject *and* what is connected therewith.

¹ This seems the more probable meaning if we are to understand that the confiscation has been actually carried out at an improper season; but, if we suppose that it is avoided on account of the season, it would be better to translate as follows:—'*For* how much gain upon that one cloak, *or* water-skin, is the confiscator, to whom *it is* appertaining, to be compensated.'

² Possibly referring to the seizure of articles sold by a dealer, but not paid for.

³ The form an of the negative prefix is here used because the Zvâris an-madam is replaced by the Pâz. an-avar in pronunciation.

CHAPTER XLII.

Sakâdām Nask.

1. One section, the Varistân ('*ordeal code*'), contains particulars of that *which*, when it becomes manifest in any one, is indicative as to witchcraft; the bringing of remedies *for* the person who is rendered sickly by a wizard; the execution of the wizard, what the religious rite is in the legal proceedings, *and* the *case* when *there is* a religious rite in the legal proceedings. 2. About the *case* when, for want of legal proceedings, he is executed without the religious rite; and what it is when¹ he dies through his own destruction of some one.

3. About the accomplishment of an ordeal by which, through the power of the spirit, *there* arises a manifestation of acquittal *or* incrimination of those maintaining inconsistencies as to witchcraft, destroying a righteous *man*, *or* other concealed instigations of sin²; the time of its performance, and the place of hurtfulness of its continuance. 4. About the place of accomplishment; *in* what manner is the selection (fragârdanō), limitation, *and* preparation, of the abode *in* which the ordeal is performed; that which is to be carried forth to that abode, *and* that of which the carrying thereto is to be avoided; who is to be admitted to that abode, *and* who is not to be admitted; *and* that which, when it occurs there,

¹ We should probably read 'and about the *case* when,' supposing that maman stands for madam, the reverse of what occurs in Chap. XLI, 28.

² That is, when there is no evidence of the crime beyond the suspicions, real or assumed, of the accusers.

is a disturbance of the work, they separate (*vangend*) therefrom.

5. About those belonging to the place of ordeal (*varistânîkân*) and other officials there, the rites and customs therein, the ceremonial to be celebrated in the abode, *and* the invocation of the sacred beings for assistance. 6. What is the mode *of* performing the hot and cold ordeal; how is the leading forth *of* the accomplishers thereto, and of what Avesta is their uplifted recitation; how is the accomplishment of the hot and cold ordeal, *and* the manifestation *of* the acquitted and incriminated thereby; *and* many statements (*gôkân*) on the same subject.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Sakâdâm Nask.

1. One section is miscellaneous: about *having* sought an assistant who is brought, that is, in what mode *it* is proper; *and* the payment of an assistant who is a member of the community (*dâhm*)¹, and also that of a foreigner (*an-Aîr*), in the same affair. 2. About how the coming of a man to confinement and fettering is through his own wealth, and whatever is on the same subject. 3. About confession through one, two, and three statements; *and* whatever is about it. 4. About the contempt *of* a disciple for a *priestly* master, which is an annoyance to him; the property *belonging* to the master, and the squandering that occurs in *it*.

¹ The contradistinction here indicated between *dâhm* and *an-Aîr* is an important confirmation of Geldner's definition of *Av. dahma* as 'Vollbürger oder Mitglieder' (see *Studien zum Avesta*, 1882, p. 14).

5. The sin that is its own penalty through *being* liable to penalty, *and* the transgressor whose penalty is owing thereto; when they would unlawfully bring a penalty upon *one* liable to penalty, or *one* thereby inflicts a penalty *upon* him, of which *one* is aware that *he* is not capable (patûkō); and the time which *one* liable to penalty *has* for the payment of that penalty of his is until *his* attaining to opulence, when, after the appointment about the penalty, he becomes capable of an atonement. 6. About the accumulation (gangīh) of sin through the expedients of the wrathful (garmakân), which are connected with much destruction of the righteous. 7. About the sin owing to which, among those that are wrathful, *he* who *has* drunk from a well on a road, *or* path, conceals the water for the sake of concealment.

8. About the sin of a judge who pronounces the sinner *to be* in innocence, and the innocent *to be* in some sinfulness. 9. About a judge acquainted with the law¹ *for* ten years, him who is *for* eleven, him who is *for* twelve, him who is *for* thirteen, him who is *for* fourteen, *and* him who is *for* fifteen; that is, their decisions, each separately, on several specially prominent objects of acquaintance with the law, as regards decision and judgment.

10. About a daughter whose religious control, during the life of her father, *resides* in *her* mother for the joint life of the mother, but for ² the authorised giving *her away there* is the father. 11. About a daughter who is unprovided with a husband, *and*

¹ See Chaps. XX, 74, XXII, 21.

² Reading râf instead of lâ, 'not.'

who *has* no father and no mother, nor yet any of the brothers of the departed parents, *and it* is not even allowable to give herself away into guardianship by a husband.

12. About property which is *bequeathed* by will *on* passing away; that is, how it is when given, *and* how it is when it does not exist. 13. About the privilege of a father in giving property to *his* children according to his wish, and a son who is irreverent towards *his* father, so that¹ *some* of the property of the father *goes* to the worthy mother; also when they would make irreverence towards the father the imputed characteristic (bākht nīśānō), where a decree about the property of the father is decided upon; *and* whatever is on the same subject, as regards the extent of irreverence *of* the son towards the father, and the sin of it.

14. About the sin of a son² who is accepted, when he recoils from that acceptance; the acceptor of a living, *or* even a departed, father is *so* because *it is* the will *of* the people, and also *for* the worldly fame of a soul of the departed; and the ceremonial *and* obeisance are, moreover, for those of them within their own dwelling, owing to letting forth their generosity, and they shall provide *them*.

15. About the production *and* arising of even that property which a liberal person *has* not seen, *if* there be any one who³ *has* not lived liberally.

¹ As aêgh also means 'where,' it is rather uncertain whether the irreverence is supposed to be the cause, or the effect, of the special provision for the mother which afterwards becomes a source of litigation.

² An adopted son must be meant.

³ Supposing that mīn stands for mūn.

16. About the production *and* arising of something of the property of a damsel, even when she gives *it* by design only to him *who is* worthy.

17. About a damsel whom an idolator (dēvtyast) carries off from her own master, *and* would give to a Mazda-worshipper; that is, how *it is* justifiable for the Mazda-worshipper, *having* had that damsel in *his* possession, to seek a son by *her*, so long as the guardianship *of* the woman is with that man. 18. About a mother *being* guardian over a living father, owing to *their having* a son. 19. About the proper completion of a provision—that was for the decision *of* the supreme judge, *on* various statements, and was never otherwise—which is the provision *of him* who is a high-priest of the religion.

20. About the sin of a father through not satisfying the menstrual excitement of a daughter who *has* attained the capability of *having* a son (berman radīh); what it is when, through not satisfying the menstrual excitement of the daughter, *he is* sinful; and how it is when the daughter herself is sinful; also the symptoms of attaining the capability of *having* a son.

21. About where *and* which is that sin on the committal of which inadvertently *one* attains to deliverance thus, when it comes to his knowledge *it is* through a determined renunciation it goes away from *its* source; *also* which is that committal inadvertently which does not occur through him who is intelligent. 22. About the four more heinous *forms* of demon-service (sêdâ-yazakīh), and the three worst sins wherein they shall perform *them*; the ten *existences* that are furtherances, and the nine that are destroyers, *of* the world.

23. About a true *statement* through which, when *one utters it, he is wicked and worthy of death.* 24. About driving the bestowable benefit of the spiritual *existence* away from the world, when he who is destroying a righteous *man* walks openly in the world; how one section *of* the spirit's earth is that of a people¹ destroying the righteous *man*, and the complaint of the spirits of fire, water, and plants, owing thereto; *also* how the bestowal of the allotment of a leading man is upon *his* inferiors. 25. About the three kinds *of* righteous men; one that is greater than water *and* earth, animals *and* plants, one that is equal *to them*, and one that is less; and what is the arrangement of—as *it were*—the conjoined formation of those who are somewhat outside of the three kinds.

26. About the grievous bridge-judgment for carrying forth dead matter to water, or to fire, with which *there* is evidence; and the heaviness of the spirit due to dead matter in the water. 27. The good work of him who brings the dead matter² *of man or dog*,

¹ Some neighbouring nation of unbelievers is probably meant, such as the Byzantines; as we must always recollect that the compiler is summarizing the contents of the Pahlavi commentary written in Sasanian times (see Chap. I, 3).

² See Chap. XXVII, 4. It appears from this section that the dead matter of an evil creature, such as a snake or frog, was considered to pollute the water as much as that of a good creature. § 28, however, admits the expediency of killing noxious creatures in the water when it is impossible to take them out beforehand; and this is in accordance with Vend. V, 35-38 (W.) which teaches that an apostate defiles no one when dead (any more than a dried-up frog that has been dead a year), because he defiles while living. This rule was evidently intended to remove all scruples as to killing such creatures, but it applies to them only when recently killed; hence the necessity of removing them, from any place liable to

or that of the serpent *or* frog, out of the water. 28. About the destruction of the serpent and frog, and other aquatic noxious creatures, in the water when it is *only* thus possible, *and* carrying *them* out from it when it is possible. 29. About the gratification of the spirit of the world, *and* the vexation of the demons, owing to the destruction of them.

30. Where *and* what are the tokens of the good¹ management and well-operating drinking-party (tôstih) of a neighbour not of the same district (ahamshatrô nazd). 31. About the sin of him who, after joining a drinking-party from sunset (hû-frâshmôkdâdö), pulverizes the road (râh tekhnunêdö), keeps the door opened, *and* would unlawfully make an uproar.

32. About Aûharmazd *having* produced the bodies *and* members of animals—through *having* created the body of the sole-created ox with satisfaction, as assistance for mankind—because *they* are repeated for protection, and also *for* the ceremonial for sacred beings specially declared. 33. About the reason of making offerings (aûstôfrîdö) to the sacred beings, for the increase of power of the allotters of destiny in the allotment of destiny; the connection of that acknowledgement (padîrisnö) and *of* the benefit *and* advantage of the recompense thereof; the proper maintenance *of* that acknowledgement, through the means *and* efficacy *of* the spiritual bridge-judgment of sin, and the fear of worldly disaster and harm from not properly maintaining the perpetual acknowledgement in force

pollution, as soon as possible after death, common sense being preferable to logical consistency.

¹ Supposing that vûp stands for khûp.

(dên patûkîh), *and from* the setting up even of ruin thereby; the reasonable control of the offering to each one of the sacred beings therein is for the skilful member of the community (hûnarîk dâhm) of whatever kind, *and* is not produced by intrusting the consecration to the violent, more particularly to those whom *one* specially enumerates; the sin and retribution owing to *having* given *it* to those who are of that class; *and* more upon the same subject.

34. About the damage and injury of the world owing to greed (âzð) and its fellow-miscreations, *and* him who is their supporter and abettor, the idolator (dêvtyastô), also the wolf of many kinds and noxious creatures of various species; because the occurrence of their fiendishness is due to the original fiend, *and* the means for strengthening their fiendishness are *derived* from the destruction of all mankind *and* the other primary worldly creations which are aiding mankind. 35. Advice to mankind about smiting and destroying the evil domination (dûs-khshasarîndânö) of the world *by* those *injurers*, and the merit manifest for *themselves* therein; the object *and* spiritual reward for smiting *and* killing each one of the wolves *and* noxious creatures, *and*, as regards the same reward, the perfection of that for destroying a two-legged wolf¹; *and* whatever is on the same subject.

36. About advice as to not reverencing the evil spirit and demons, whereby the observing (var'zð) of the several ceremonies and gratifications of the sacred beings *would be* more particularly irregular in *any* manner whatever, and the damage and

¹ A term applied to an idolator.

harm owing to those *who are* irregular *and* ill-observant, through being inclined for that irregularity *and* ill-observance, *would* become an oppressive presidency (padgah¹) of the demons over the creatures; also the vice of clamorous talking (drâyân gôg¹)¹ and the damage owing thereto, *and* the pleasure of the demons due to the same *and* other *things* which are irregular. 37. Advice about the reason, habit, *and* primitive practice of not chattering, and other good customs, during eating *and* drinking; the gratification of the sacred beings owing to that primitive practice of good customs *by* mankind, and the unself-devoting (a-khvêš-dâk) is he who is not maintaining *it*.

38. Through the ceremonial of which sacred being is the greater welcome (mâhmânötar¹) of a high-priest *and of* any good work *of* each one of the five periods of the day and night; the reward and advantage owing to celebrating the ceremony of each of them separately in its own period, and also other means *and* regulations in the same statement.

39. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

CHAPTER XLIV.

I. The Vendîdâd² *contains* particulars of Aôhar-mazd *having* produced the pleasure of mankind by

¹ Whereby the devotions are disturbed, or rendered ineffectual.

² Corresponding to the nineteenth word, drigubyô, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the twentieth Nask in other Rivâyats. In the Dînkard its name is semi-Zvâris, either Gvîd-shêdâ-dâd or Vîk-shêdâ-dâd, the Av. dâta vîdâêva, 'law opposed to the demons.' In the Rivâyats it is called Gud-dêv-dâd, Vendîdâd, or Vîndâd, and is stated to consist of twenty-two kardah, or fargard, the number it still contains. It is generally considered that the Vendîdâd now extant is a collection of frag-

that place where they specially make a residence, and the advantage from the same production¹. 2. About the formation of sixteen perfect places specially enumerated, *and* also the adversity which has happened to each separately².

3. About Aûharmazd's disclosing the religion first *among* mankind to Yim³; *its* non-acceptance by Yim owing to attachment (asrûnôih) *to* the religion of the ancients; *and* the acceptance *of* other *things* to develope, extend, and improve the world thereby⁴. 4. About the reason of the needfulness *of* making the enclosure that Yim made (var-t Yim kard), the command *and* instruction by Aûharmazd to Yim, the making by Yim just as Aûharmazd commanded *and* instructed, *and* whatever is on the same subject⁵.

5. About what the comfort of the spirit of the earth is most owing to, what *its* discomfort is more particularly owing to, and from what *its* greatest gratification *has* arisen⁶.

6. About the sin of pollution owing to carrying a corpse by a single person, *relating*, however, to that which a dog *has* not seen⁷. 7. About the food,

ments, but it is evident, from the close correspondence between the author's description and the present contents, that this fragmentary state of the text existed in his time; and there is every probability that any mutilation that exists in the text occurred before Sasanian times. The author, however, sometimes omits to mention subjects that are repeated, so it is just possible that some of these repetitions are of later date. He also makes no allusion to the twelfth fargard (see § 51 n).

¹ Vend. I, 1, 2 (W.).

² Vend. I, 3-20.

³ See Chap. XIII, 6-8.

⁴ Vend. II, 1-19.

⁵ Vend. II, 22-43.

⁶ Vend. III, 1-13, 22, 23, 34.

⁷ Vend. III, 14; the latter clause referring to the commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 48 (Sp.).

clothing, and place of *him* who becomes polluted and worthy of death through a corpse, on account of carrying *it* alone (aêvakö-barîh râi)¹. 8. About how the several precautions of mankind *and* other pure creatures are *taken*, as regards a corpse² which has become polluted by another corpse³.

9. About the pleasure of the spirit of the earth owing to sowing *and* tilling, *and its* vexation owing to not sowing *and* not tilling; the blessing upon the sowers, *and* the advantage *and* merit owing to sowing, on account of particulars about the nourishment and protection *of* the religion thereby⁴. 10. About the destruction of the demons *which* arises from the sprouting, growing, *and* ripening of corn; *and* the good success of mankind from the eating *of it*⁵.

11. About the sin of burying a corpse through sinfulness, *and for* how much time is the uselessness *of* the ground in which the burial may be performed⁶.

12. About the power of the good religion for wiping away sin from human beings⁷.

13. About the sin of deceiving *by* an avaricious *person* (pastö) as regards *what he has* consumed and given, and the grievousness of other breaches of promise; the danger, even in the worldly *existence*, from maintaining him, *and* the retribution *it is* important for him to make⁸.

¹ Vend. III, 15-19.

² The person polluted in this manner being considered as unclean as the corpse itself.

³ Vend. III, 20, 21 and perhaps some commentary on Pahl. Vend. III, 71 (Sp.) now lost.

⁴ Vend. III, 23-31.

⁵ Vend. III, 32, 33.

⁶ Vend. III, 36-40.

⁷ Vend. III, 41, 42.

⁸ Vend. IV, 1-16.

14. About where *there is* steadfastness in the religion *there is* also a manifestation of this: when *one* becomes liberal—as to every benefit that exists for him—towards those of the same religion who come forward with a request¹. 15. About the extent of sleeping in the day and night, *and* other *matters* as to occupation *which* occurs daily².

16. About the grievous sinfulness of *having* taken a false oath, so that, apart even from the testifying retribution of the property, the oath taken thereon *has* also an efficacy very much for the accusers, which, on account of Mitrô³, Srôsh, and Rashnû, is an awful destroyer *and* adversary for one's own person, wife, child, and property; *also* the grievous bridge-judgment which is an appendage to one's own soul⁴.

17. About the sin of bringing firewood, with *which* dead matter⁵ is mingled, to a fire; *and* this too, that is, how *and* when one is innocent therein⁶.

18. About a ditch (*gôî*), which is not always a stream (*nâvô*), when the water *has* to pass through it, and also that which is always a stream, when *one* wants to increase the water therein, how often *and* how *one*

¹ Vend. IV, 44.

² Vend. IV, 45.

³ Av. Mithrô, the angel of the sun's light, friendly to man, and, hence, insisting upon the fulfilment of every promise (mithrô). He is supposed to keep an account of all breaches of promise (see Dd. XIV, 3), and to mediate between the departed soul and its accusers (see Mkh. II, 118), in doing which he co-operates with the angels of obedience (Srôsh, see Chap. IX, 3 n) and justice (Rashnû, see Chap. XX, 153 n) who estimate and weigh its good works and sins, and decide upon its fate at the bridge of judgment.

⁴ Vend. IV, 46, 50-55.

⁵ See Chap. XXVII, 4 n.

⁶ Vend. V, 1-4.

*has to inspect them for fear of dead matter having been there*¹.

19. About death which is by reason of water *or* fire, *and* does not occur through the supremacy of water *or* fire, but is owing to the demons². 20. About the great advantage owing to rain, *and connected* with raining on dead matter and the bodily refuse³ of depositories *for the dead*⁴. 21. About the greatness and goodness of 'the law opposed to the demons'⁵ for cleansing, as compared with other utterances⁶.

22. About pollution owing to bodily contact (*ham-kerpakth*) with a corpse, and *to* bodily contact with him who is in bodily contact with a corpse⁷. 23. About the wicked villain *who is* an unrighteous apostate alive, and abstaining from association (*avâkth*) *with him*⁸. 24. About how long is the time *of* pollution *of* a house in which a dog or human being passes away, the carrying away theretofore of anything going thereto, *and* the avoidance of *it*; the place into which any one goes out, the feeding, *and* other things in that house within three steps, *and* whatever is on the same subject⁹. 25. About a woman *whose* child dies in the womb, *and* which becomes dead matter; *and* whatever is on the same subject¹⁰.

¹ Vend. V, 5-7; but the last clause refers to a Pahlavi commentary found only in the manuscripts.

² Vend. V, 8, 9.

³ See Chap. XIX, 3.

⁴ Vend. V, 15-20.

⁵ The Vendidad itself, see § 1 n.

⁶ Vend. V, 22-25.

⁷ Vend. V, 27-34.

⁸ Vend. V, 35-38.

⁹ Vend. V, 39-44 (W.), and commentary on Pahl. Vend. V, 134 (Sp.).

¹⁰ Vend. V, 45-56.

26. About useless and polluted clothing, that which is cleansed for six months¹. 27. About the grievous sinfulness of irregularly letting forth clothing, as much as a single double hem², upon a corpse³.

28. About how long is the time *of* the uncultivated state of the land—*free* from admitting water and *being* sown—on which a human being or a dog passes away; the inspection of the whole land on account of the risk of dead matter *having* been there, *and* afterwards admitting water upon *it*; the sin when, *through* not exploring, dead matter is *in* that place, and the water comes on to it; *and* whatever is on the same subject⁴.

29. About how to bring a corpse out of the water, the extent of the pollution of the water around the corpse, the purity after bringing away the corpse from it, *and* whatever is on the same subject⁵. 30. About where the bodies and bones of the departed are deposited, *and* whatever is on the same subject⁶.

31. About how soon is the rushing of the fiend of corruption (nasûs drûgô) upon a human being *or* dog that has passed away at the appointed *time*, and *upon* one who *has done so* before the appointed *time* through the defectiveness (âhûgagîh) of the worldly *existence*; where the clothing of this one is which is useless, *and* which *and* how is the washing

¹ Av. khshvas maunghô; Vend. V, 57-59 (W.), and commentary on Pahl. Vend. V, 167 (Sp.).

² Pâz. dhôvana which is here assumed to be equivalent to Pers. dô bun. It is probably a reading of the Pahlavi word 𐭪𐭫 or 𐭪𐭫𐭮 in Pahl. Vend. V, 169, 172, which has been variously read as gûgan, 'a dirham,' dûkô, 'a spindle,' or yûkô, 'a rag;' the last of which would best suit the context here.

³ Vend. V, 60-62.

⁴ Vend. VI, 1-9.

⁵ Vend. VI, 26-41.

⁶ Vend. VI, 44-51.

of that which is for washing¹. 32. About the heinous pollution and grievous sinfulness *of* devouring dead matter, *or of* bringing it to fire *or* water through sinfulness². 33. About the winter, the demon-produced terror, the spider and locust³, sickness of many kinds, *and* much other evil, *which* become threatening in the world owing to the formation of dead matter⁴. 34. About how to cleanse wood, corn, *and* fodder from the dead matter *which* comes upon it⁵.

35. About medical treatment with spells, the knife, and herbs; how to test a medical man, the fee *for* curing, *and* whatever is on the same sub-

¹ Vend. VII, 1-5, 10-16. Nothing is said about VII, 6-9, 17-22 (which passages are merely a repetition of V, 27-30, 57-62), but this omission may be owing to the fact that these passages are so abbreviated in the MSS. as to be easily overlooked, especially by a reader of the Pahlavi version only.

² Vend. VII, 23-26.

³ Pahl. tanand va-mâk (=mêg), evidently equivalent to the Av. sînô madhakhayauska of Vend. VII, 26, which are rendered by tûn mêgō-k in the Pahlavi version. The identity of Av. madhakha with Pahl. madag, or mêg, Pers. maîg, mala'k 'a locust,' has long been recognised (see Darmesteter's Études Iranniennes, II, p. 199). But the meaning of Av. sîn = Pâz. tûn has been merely guessed to be 'a mosquito;' the Avesta word having been transcribed as sîn, or sin, in the prose Sad-dar, LXXII, 2, and explained by the Persian gloss pasah, 'a gnat or fly,' by some copyists, while others have read san (for sin) and have substituted its synonym sâl, 'a year,' or have read bîs, 'a poisonous herb,' instead of pasah. With regard to the word 𐭠𐭣𐭥 tanand, 'spider,' in our text, it may be observed that it has descended from a much older copy of the Pahlavi Vendîdâd than any that could have been consulted by the author of the Sad-dar, and it is easy to see how an original Pahl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 could have been read 𐭠𐭣𐭥 in Pâzand by later copyists of the Vendîdâd.

⁴ Vend. VII, 26, 27.

⁵ Vend. VII, 28-35.

ject¹. 36. About the place on which a corpse is fettered (*garovī-aitō*), *and* also that in which it is buried through sinfulness; *and* in how much time it becomes pure, *in each case separately*². 37. About the much lodgment *of* the demons there where a corpse is buried (*nikân*), *and* the merit of laying open (*âskârinīdanō*) the *place of burial* (*nikânth*) of a corpse³.

38. About the duration of not drinking *by* a woman who *has* miscarried (*visistakō*); also *her* not feeding on the liquid of that which is watery food⁴. 39. About the washing of a metallic, stony, *or* any other cup-like article, upon which dead matter *has* come, *and which* is not pronounced useless⁵. 40. About the animal (*gôspend*) that *has* eaten dead matter, *and* the plant with which dead matter is mingled⁶. 41. About the sin of holy water *being* brought to water *which is tainted* with dead matter⁷.

42. About the house (*khânō*) in which a dog or a human being passes away⁸. 43. About how large *and* how *one has* to make the vault (*kaḍakō*) for the sake of a corpse in a dwelling (*mân*), carrying the corpse to it, when the time comes to expose *and* avoid it, *and* whatever is on the same subject⁹.

¹ Vend. VII, 36-44.

² Vend. VII, 45-50.

³ Vend. VII, 51, 52, 55-59, which refers to tombs and mausoleums (*uzdaêza uzdistā*) and not to the legal dakhmas, or depositories for the dead. §§ 51, 52 are described after the others.

⁴ Vend. VII, 60, 67-71. The contents of VII, 61-66 are not mentioned, being abbreviated in the MSS. as a repetition of V, 46-51.

⁵ Vend. VII, 73-75.

⁶ Vend. VII, 76, 77, where, however, plants are not mentioned.

⁷ Vend. VII, 78, 79.

⁸ Vend. VIII, 1-3.

⁹ Vend. VIII, 4-25.

44. About the baseness (*garas*)¹ and grievous sinfulness of the decree (*vigtrih*)¹ of death, unnatural intercourse². 45. About a dry corpse which *has been* dead throughout a year³. 46. About the merit of *having* brought unto purity a corpse-burning fire, a fire burning bodily refuse, *or* of an encampment (*sarây-îkô*)⁴; also those *which* artificers, each separately, keep in use *one has* to secure, *when* the work is done, for the appointed fireplace (*dâd-gâs*)⁵.

47. About washing the polluted who *have been* in bodily contact with a corpse, *or* moving *it*; divers preferences *as to* the purifier, the rite of washing, *and* the reward of purifiers, worldly and also spiritual⁶. 48. About the shining of the sun, moon, and stars alike discontentedly upon the polluted⁷. 49. About the gratification of all the creatures of Aûharmazd *by* the purifier, when he produces purification for the polluted *and* suchlike beings (*ângunî-attôân*); also his reward⁸. 50. About the strength *and* aid which are given to the fiend of corruption (*nasûs drûgô*) *by* him who does not understand purifying, *and yet* would accomplish *it*; *also* the sin thereof *at* the bridge *of judgment*⁹. 51. About the triumph of the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô¹⁰ in smiting the fiend and *in* healing¹¹.

¹ Both these words are blotted and doubtful in the original MS.

² Vend. VIII, 31, 32.

³ Vend. VIII, 33, 34.

⁴ Or it may be *sar aspô*, 'a troop of horse.'

⁵ Vend. VIII, 73-96.

⁶ Vend. VIII, 35-72, 97-107, IX, 1-39.

⁷ Vend. IX, 41.

⁸ Vend. IX, 42-44.

⁹ Vend. IX, 47-57.

¹⁰ The Ahunavair formula is so called from its first three words (see Chap. I, 7 n).

¹¹ Vend. IX, 45, 46, X, 1-20, XI, 1-20 may probably be all alluded to in these few words; but nothing is said about the twelfth fargard. This omission is singularly in accordance with the fact

52. About the species of dogs; the worthiness of the shepherd's dog, the village dog, and others also; how to maintain *and* nourish (srâyīnidanō) *them with* nourishment, *and* the sin owing to killing *or* even improperly maintaining them, each separately; *and* whatever is on the same subject¹. 53. And this, too, when a dog becomes useless (abōn) *or* hurtful, what is to be done with *it*, *and* how *it is* to be kept². 54. About authorisedly killing the dog-wolf³. 55. About the thirty-one dispositions among dogs, which are just as among the three special professions *and* divers others *of* five descriptions⁴. 56. About the grievous sinfulness of killing a water beaver, and statements (gōkân) of the penalty⁵.

57. About the sin which gave an Irānian to foreigners (an-Aīrānō)⁶. 58. About the sin for those three⁷ males *who have* debauched a woman

that the same fargard is omitted in all very old copies of the Vendīdād with Pahlavi version, in which, although the fargards are numbered, the thirteenth immediately follows the eleventh. The Copenhagen MS. No. 2, in which the twelfth fargard occurs with a Pahlavi version, is said to be a revision of the Vendīdād text compiled in the last century, and other copies of the Pahlavi twelfth fargard have been derived from this revised text. The omission of this fargard in all the old MSS. cannot be satisfactorily attributed to the loss of some folios in an older copy, because no fargard is likely to fill exactly a certain number of folios; the loss must also have occurred very shortly after the last revision of the Pahlavi text, to account for the author of the Dinkard not finding the Pahlavi of this fargard in the ninth century.

¹ Vend. XIII, 1-28.

² Vend. XIII, 29-38.

³ Vend. XIII, 41-43.

⁴ Vend. XIII, 44-48 which detail the thirty-one particulars in which dogs resemble people of eight avocations, three of which are the professions of priests, warriors, and husbandmen.

⁵ Vend. XIII, 50-56, XIV, 1-18.

⁶ Vend. XV, 2.

⁷ Reading *va/ zak* 3, but it may be *va/ zak-aê*, 'for the other.'

who is pregnant, *or* the wife *with* a child at the breast, *or* a daughter *of* others; *and* the sin owing to similar sin¹. 59. About the guardianship and nourishment which *it* is important to provide *for* a child that is seen *to be* improperly protected, *or for* a dog when it is born without a guardian; *and* whatever is on the same subject².

60. About menstruation, the heinousness of its pollution, and how much *one has* to abstain from it³.

61. The cleansing from the menses, the time *of* the cleansing, *and* the nature of the cleansing of any person *or* thing polluted by the menses, *or* that which becomes inefficient *thereby*; *and* whatever is on the same subject⁴. 62. And about the grievous sinfulness of having sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman⁵.

63. About the deadly bridge *penalty* of those *who have* not sustained the judges⁶. 64. About the care of the hair and nails, *and* the sin owing to want of care⁷.

65. About the apostasy of *him* who is bringing a mouth-veil⁸, a vermin-killer⁹, various sacred twigs¹⁰,

¹ Vend. XV, 8-16.

² Vend. XV, 17-45, though the last clause may include the remainder of this fargard.

³ Vend. XVI, 1-7, 13-16, also XV, 7. ⁴ Vend. XVI, 7-12.

⁵ Vend. XVI, 17. ⁶ Vend. XVI, 18 = XVII, 11.

⁷ Vend. XVII, 1-10.

⁸ Pahl. padâm (Av. paitidâna, Pâz. penôm). It 'consists of two pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to at least two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head. It must be worn by a priest whenever he approaches the sacred fire, so as to prevent his breath from contaminating the fire.' (Haug's Essays, p. 243, note 1.)

⁹ Av. khrafstraghna, an implement for killing snakes and other noxious creatures; it may be made of any material, but a leathern whip is recommended.

¹⁰ Av. baresman, a bundle of slender rods, formerly twigs of

or a goad or scourge¹ *which is* exceptional, and maintains that *it* is that which is necessary². 66. About the disapproved *one*, and the bridge-judgment upon him, who sleeps on *through* the whole night, *so as* not to accomplish *his* proper duty³. 67. And the approval *and* reward of him who does not sleep over religious *observances*, *so as* to accomplish *his* proper duty⁴. 68. About the progress of secretly-advancing ruin (sêgǝ) through that exhibitor of evil religion who wears no *sacred thread-girdle*, and his not wearing *it* as *it were* by law⁵.

69. About the proper duty and great value of the Parôdarsh⁶ bird, and the great good work *that* gives *it* a morsel of meat which is the size of its body, the liberalization of the primitive temperament⁷ through righteousness for the righteous man⁸. 70. About the hurry of the fire for kindling for the untroubled watching of the night, and the merit owing to law-

particular trees, but now thin metal wires, usually from five to thirty-three in number according to the nature of the ceremony. These rods are tied together by a central girdle, passing three times round them and knotted just like the sacred thread-girdle round the waist of a Parsi; but this girdle is formed of six thread-like ribbons split out of a leaflet of the date-palm and twisted together. The bundle, when properly purified, is laid upon the crescent-shaped tops of two adjacent metal stands, whence it is taken up by the officiating priest, to hold in his left hand during certain recitations.

¹ Av. astra and sraosha-karana, implements for scourging and punishing sinners and criminals.

² Vend. XVIII, 1-4.

³ Vend. XVIII, 5.

⁴ Vend. XVIII, 6.

⁵ Vend. XVIII, 8-10.

⁶ 'The foreseer' of the dawn, an epithet of the domestic cock.

⁷ Pahl. rādīnīdanō-ī mūnak-ī kâdmon.

⁸ Vend. XVIII, 13-17, 23-26, 28, 29.

fully kindling *it*; *also* the blessing of the fire on mankind, when pleased *and* untroubled¹.

71. About the four special sins by which the fiend² receives vigorous pregnancy, *and* the atonement for each separately³. 72. About the grievous sinfulness, trouble, lamentation (*navīkīh*), and harm *that* proceed from a courtesan; *also* the advantageousness of *her* destruction⁴. 73. About the retribution for the sin of having sexual intercourse with a menstruous woman⁵.

74. About the combat (*kūshisnō*) of the evil spirit with Zaratūst, the victory of Zaratūst therein, *and* whatever is on the same subject⁶. 75. About Zaratūst *having* enquired of Aūharmazd how, *and* by what means, *one has* to confound the evil spirit *and* other demons, and his reply⁷. 76. About the gratification of Vohūman, the archangel, owing to the washing *and* bringing back to use of polluted clothing; *also* praise unto Aūharmazd for his narrating the care of the clothing⁸.

77. About the reward which they give up to a human soul for the sake of kindness, *and* whereto *and* how is the attainment to exaltation of him who is given *it*⁹. 78. About the going of Vohūman to meet the souls of the righteous, the notification of their position, *their* announcement for reward, and the contented progress of the souls of the righteous to their [home]¹⁰, to the throne of Aūharmazd *and*

¹ Vend. XVIII, 18-22, 26, 27.

² The Av. drug is feminine.

⁴ Vend. XVIII, 60-65.

⁶ Vend. XIX, 1-10.

⁸ Vend. XIX, 20-25.

³ Vend. XVIII, 30-59.

⁵ Vend. XVIII, 66-76.

⁷ Vend. XIX, 11-14.

⁹ Vend. XIX, 27-30.

¹⁰ This word, *mêhan* (Av. *maêthana*), has been omitted by the

the archangels, which is made of gold¹. 79. About the terror of the demons owing to the scent of the righteous, and the fear that arose *among* them owing to the birth of Zarātūst².

80. About the great powerfulness of plants of a poisonous character³ for the forcible⁴ keeping away of much adversity; the production of entire species (pûr sarâdakö) of plants by Aûharmazd for the curing of the creatures from disease (ayôyakîh); the success of the Gôkerenô⁵ plant—which is the white Hôm—in curing, as compared with other plants; and the diligence of Aîrmân⁶ in the medical treatment of the world⁷.

81. Information about the ritual (nîrang) through which the violence of the fiend *was* minimized at the original creation; and the great powerfulness of the Aîrmân supplication⁸, the Ahunavair⁹, and other

repairer of the manuscript, when noting, on his patch, the words he had cut out.

¹ Vend. XIX, 31, 32.

² Vend. XIX, 33, 43-47; no notice being taken of the invocatory passage 34-42.

³ Pahl. bîs'êîhar, Av. viskithra.

⁴ Reading nîrûgîk which suits the context better than nîrangîk, 'ritualistic.'

⁵ Av. gaokerena, a mythical tree, or plant, supposed to grow in the ocean, where it is guarded by ten enormous fish, and, at the time of the renovation of the universe, the elixir of immortality is expected to be prepared from its twigs mingled with the fat of a mythical ox (see Bd. IX, 6, XVII, 1-6, XXVII, 4, XXX, 25).

⁶ Av. Airyaman, a spirit whose powers of healing, chiefly by spells, are celebrated in Vend. XXII; and who is invoked in Yas. LIV, a spell that concludes the recitation of the Gâthas.

⁷ Vend. XX, 1-12.

⁸ The Airyama-isîyô (Yas. LIV), or invocation of Airyaman, quoted in Vend. XX, 11, XXI, 20, XXII, 23.

⁹ See Chap. I, 7 n.

Gāthic Avesta¹, for restraining the demons from destroying the world of righteousness².

82. It is righteousness *that* is perfect excellence. It is the excellence *of* righteousness *that* is perfect.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. Of the three divisions of the Hâdôkht³, as it exists in its 133 sections, the first is *of* thirteen⁴ sections, *and contains* particulars about the nature of the recital of the Ahunavair⁵, which is the spiritual benefit from chanting it aloud, and whatever is on the same subject⁶. 2. Advice about selecting *and*

¹ Yas. XLVI, 7 and XLIV, 16 b-e which are quoted after the other spells in each of the last three fargard's of the Vendîdâd.

² Vend. XXII, 1-25, XX, 13-15, XXI, 18-23, and probably the rest of XXI.

³ Corresponding to the twentieth word, *dadađ*, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the twenty-first, and last, Nask in other Rivâyats. Its name occurs in the Avesta, in the form *hadhaokhta*, and it is called *Hâdukht* in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contained thirty *kardah*, or *fargard's*, which differs considerably from the number stated in this chapter. Yts. XXI, XXII are traditionally supposed to belong to the Hâdôkht, but there is hardly a trace of either of them in this chapter. Yt. XI is also distinguished by the same title.

⁴ As the total of the 13 + 102 + 19 sections (mentioned in §§ 1, 11, 13) is 134, instead of 133, there must be an error in one of the four numbers given in the MS. This clerical error can hardly have been made in writing 19, and is unlikely in 102; but 133 may possibly stand for an original 134, though the writing of 13 instead of 12 is more probable. The Rivâyats give no assistance in settling this question, as they all divide this Nask into 30 *kardah*. On the whole, it will be safest to read 'twelve,' instead of 'thirteen,' until some better authority becomes available.

⁵ Compare Yt. XI, 3.

⁶ It is just possible that this may refer to Yt. XXI which, though specially alluding to the recitation of the Ashem-vohû, or praise of

keeping a spiritual and worldly high-priest, performing every duty as to the high-priest, *and* maintaining even those of various high-priests.

3. About the twenty-one chieftainships, spiritually through Aûharmazd and materially through Zaratušt, through which the ceremonial of the sacred beings *and* the government of the members of the community (dâhmânö râyiniđârîh) exist. 4. About the duties in the five periods¹ of the day and night, each separately, and the bridge-judgment of him who shouts out² in the ceremony of a season-festival³; *likewise* of him who does not provide the preparations for the feast of a season-festival, and who also becomes worried (sûdakö) in other ceremonials of the sacred beings.

5. About how to consider *and* what to do with a sacerdotal leader *and* a man of the superior classes (pîsakîkânö), him who atones for unimportant sin, and him who does not atone even for *that which* is important; *and* whatever is on the same subject. 6. About the means through which membership of the community (dâhmîh) is prepared. 7. About the manifestation of virtuous manhood, and the merit and advantage from well uttering the words of blessing at eating *and* drinking food *and* drink, and *from* despising the inward talk of the demons.

righteousness, also mentions that of the Ahunavair in its § 4. With regard, however, to Yt. XXII, there seems no possibility of identifying its text with any portion of the Hâdökht Nask as described in this chapter.

¹ See Chap. XXIX, 9.

² Reading barâ drâyêdö, but it may be barâ girâyêdö, 'is zealous.'

³ See Chap. VII, 1.

8. About the recitations at the five periods *of the day*, the ceremonial invocation by name of many angels in each separately, *and* great information on the same subject.

9. The worthiness *of* a man restrained (vandak) by authority, the devotion of life and body to the sacred beings, the good rulers, and their examination and satisfaction; *also* the blessing and winning words which are most successful in carrying off the affliction that is owing to the fiend. 10. About all-pleasing creativeness and omniscience, every precedence¹, leadership, foresight², worthy liberality, perspicacity (vênâkîh), and all proper cause *and* effect of righteousness; the individuality (khûdîh) of righteousness, the opposition to the demons of Aûharmazd's law, and also much other information in the same section.

11. The middle *division* is *of* 102 sections *containing* particulars about spiritual and worldly diligence, the leadership *of* the diligent and their mighty means, all the former deeds of righteousness. 12. Righteousness kindling the resolution is the reward of merit, each for each, and is provided by it for that which *one* mentions thus:—'*It is* the Hâdôkht which is the maintenance of righteousness, so that it may make righteousness more abiding in the body of a man.'

13. The last *division* is *of* nineteen sections *containing* a trusty remedy, that is, a remedy whose utterance aloud by the faithful is a chief resource (afzârtûm) for the creatures of the sacred beings.

¹ Assuming that pesâgîh stands for pêsagîh.

² Assuming that pes vônâkîh stands for pês vênâkîh.

14. Also the nature of sayings full of humility (pûr-pâsth), well-favoured, most select, *and* adapted *for* that which *one* mentions thus :—‘I reverence that chief, the beneficent *and* eminent Hâdôkht, out of which is the sustainment of the strength of every word of Zaratûst they trust in.’

15. It is perfect excellence *that* is righteousness.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The Gâthas of the Yast¹, as the first offspring of the Ahunavair, are a recitation of the source of sources of the religion, and in the compass (parvastârîh)² of the Gâthas, every word (mârik)

¹ Corresponding to the twenty-first word, vâstârem, in the Ahunavair, according to B. P. Riv.; but it is the first Nask in other Rivâyats. In Chap. I, 9, 12 it is called Stôd-yast, ‘praise-ritual,’ (Av. staota yêsnya); and Stûd-yast, or Yast, in the Rivâyats, which also state that it contains thirty-three kardah, or jûrat. In Sls. XIII, 1 we are told that Visâi-ve-ameshâ-spentâ (Yas. XIV, 1) is the beginning of the Stôtân-yasnô; and, if we look for its end, we find Yas. LVIII, LIX both ending with special reverence of ‘the whole collection of the Stôtân-yasnân.’ We may therefore conclude that Yas. XIV–LIX, with its supplementary passages in Vîsp. V–XXIV, contains the whole of the Stôd-yast. But from this we must deduct Yas. XIX–XXI which are the first three fargards of the Bakô Nask, Yas. LII which is an interpolation, and Yas. LVI, LVII which are the Srôsh Yasts, lesser and greater; we must also consider the Yasna Haptanghâiti as a single section, in accordance with its treatment in Bk. IX, Chaps. XII, XXXV, LVII; and much of the Vîspêrad may not belong to the primitive text mentioned in § 3. Making these necessary deductions we have exactly thirty-three hâs of the Yasna left for the Stôd-yast, as stated in the Rivâyats.

² This word can also be read fravistârîh (Av. fra+vid), ‘interpretation,’ or frôstârîh, ‘handing down.’

in it is the origin of a word. 2. The word ahû¹ of the beginning² is *of* a like kind with ahyâ³, the beginning of the Gâthas; the end word, which is vâstârem⁴, is *of a like kind* with vahyô⁵, the end of the Gâthas; and the whole—which, though *its* nature is *of* one kind, is distributed (vakhtô) in *what* is selected therefrom—is stored up (avar-gûdô) in *this* compendium⁶ of all parts of the Mazda-worshipping religion.

3. Likewise the purport (avorî-hastân)⁷ of its verse (gâh), and the particulars of the primitive Vispêrad⁸ are to procure homage and praise, oblation *and* invocation; *and* the blessing⁹, which is regulated by the sagacity of the creator, is adapted for the spiritual illustration of the lodgment of the ceremonial of the sacred beings therein. 4. All

¹ The Ahunavair begins with the words yathâ ahû vairyô. The word ahû, in the MS., is written ahî as usual in Irân.

² Assuming that barâ stands for bûn.

³ The first Gâtha, or sacred hymn, begins with the words ahyâ yâsâ nemanghâ (Yas. XXVIII, 1 a). There is, of course, no connection but that of sound between ahû, 'a spiritual lord,' and ahyâ, 'of this;' nor is there any other between the concluding words vâstârem, 'a protector,' and vahyô, 'better,' though the phrases in which these latter occur are of a very similar character, which fully justifies the comparison made in the text.

⁴ The Ahunavair ends with the words yim drigubyô dadad vâstârem.

⁵ The last Gâtha ends with the words yâ erezhegyôî dâhî drigaovê vahyô (Yas. LIII, 9 d).

⁶ The Gâthas apparently.

⁷ Or avar-gâstân, 'disseminations.'

⁸ The Vispêrad service consists of the Yasna ritual with certain additional passages intermixed, which passages are called the Vispêrad because the earlier ones invoke 'all the chiefs' (vispê ratavô, Visp. II, 3) of creation.

⁹ Possibly Yas. LV.

three are provisions for the first *and* last presentations¹ which *one* utters by means of the Stôd Yast.

5. It is perfect *is* the excellence of righteousness ; it is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness ; with the copy revised (râyīnīdō).

¹ Probably referring to Yas. XIV and LVIII.

DĪNKARD.—BOOK IX.

CHAPTER I¹.

1. Satisfaction (*shnôkhar*) to the creator *Aûhar-mazd*, and obeisance to the *Mazda*-worshipping religion.

2. The ninth book (*babâ*) is about the *Hâs* and *Fargards*² of the various *Nasks*; the object of procuring the division of those portions which exist *being* owing to the quantity of what is in each one of the *Nasks*; *also* an explanation of a suitable selection³ therefrom, such as is an epitome (*nisangag*-1) of the abundant detail therein.

CHAPTER II.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. Glorification for the *Mazda*-worshipping religion *which* is the ordinance of *Aûharmazd* opposed to the demons.

2. Of the *Sûdkar*⁴ there are twenty-two *fargards*,

¹ From this point to Chap. XXXI, 17 the text is also found in a second MS. (K) which is independent of the MS. B brought to Surat in A.D. 1783, the original of all the Bombay copies.

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 20, 23. The contents of these are detailed below, in Chaps. II–LXVIII, so far as the first three *Nasks* are concerned.

³ Referring to Chap. LXIX.

⁴ The first of the *Nasks* and second of the *Gâthic* division (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 9, 12). As the *Stôd*-yart (the first of the *Gâthic*

and the first fargard is the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô¹, just as the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô *formula* is as *it were* the beginning (bûnîh) of the religion, and from it is the formation of the Nasks which, though about the first six sciences (dânîsnö), *have* also demonstrated the existence of the highest of other sciences in its own place.

3. And here it speaks about the power and success owing to uttering the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô *formula*² at the beginning of actions. 4. One *utterance* when *one* wishes to say anything to *any* one; one when he wishes to beg of *any* one; and one when he goes to work. 5. Two when he wishes to confer his blessing. 6. Four when *it is* for the homage of the chiefs of *creation* (radö-franâmisnîh), or the ceremony of a season-festival. 7. Five when *it is* for carrying off the fiend. 8. Six when *it is* for power; and six when *it is* for the success of a battle. 9. Seven when *it is* for the ceremonial of

division, but the last of the general list of Nasks) contained the text of the Gâthas, so the next three of the Gâthic division contained commentaries, or homilies, upon that text, written with different objects in view. The purpose of the Sûdkar was apparently (as its name imports) to extract useful instruction from the text, and to illustrate it with legends and remarks. A separate fargard is devoted to each hâ of the Gâthas, beginning with the three sacred formulas, and including the united Yasna Haptang-hâiti and the Afryaman. The connection between the commentary and text, though usually traceable, is not always very clear; but that is a common characteristic of homilies in general.

¹ The Ahunavair (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7). This fargard explains the use made of this formula, and the benefits derived from it.

² As a spell, or appeal for success. The text of §§ 4-15 has been independently handed down by tradition, with a few variations, in Sls. XIX and the Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah.

the archangels, *or* when *one* wishes to perform the ceremonial of the archangels. 10. Eight when *it is* for the ceremonial of a guardian spirit of the righteous. 11. Nine when *one* wishes to cast seed into his land. 12. Ten when *one* wishes to allow procreation. 13. Eleven when *one* goes to ask for a wife. 14. Twelve when *one* expects to go up on a mountain. 15. Thirteen when *one* wishes to go to an inhabited district (rûdastâk-1); twelve¹ when he goes out pathless; *and* one² when he wishes to proceed by a ford *through* the water.

16. About *the place* where *one has* to utter the first Yathâ-ahû-vairyô for smiting the demons. 17. About the good results (dahisnân) *of* a suitable recital *of* the words *of* the Ahunavair, the summary *of* everything for Zaratûst to utter. 18. And about *the fact that*, through chanting forth every single word of the Ahunavair with a virtuous intention, a demon is disabled, and *there is* protection of person *and* property from the adversary.

19. About the division of the twenty-one Nasks, likewise, according to the first, second, and third lines (gâs) of the Ahunavair³. 20. About the increase of the creatures owing to the liberal thought, word, and deed of a righteous *person*; *owing to* the priests *having* become numerous, and the reverence *of* him who is making them numerous; and *owing to* the perpetual meditation of righteousness and the existence of its recompense.

21. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

¹ Sls. XIX, 14 has 'thirteen.'

² So in both MSS., but ~~or~~ ayôv, 'or,' is more probable than 19v aêvakô, 'and one.'

³ See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7.

CHAPTER III¹.*Sûdkar Nask.*

1. The second fargard, Ashem-vohû ², is about the praise of righteousness which is the reward of the religion, and the want of praise at the bridge of judgment owing to enmity (patyânîh) to righteousness.

2. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

CHAPTER IV.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The third fargard, Yênhê-hâtâm ³, is about

¹ This chapter is omitted in K by mistake.

² This second sacred formula is recited by the Parsis even oftener than the Ahunavair, and consists of twelve Avesta words, as follows :—

Ashem vohû vahistem astî,
ustâ astî; ustâ ahmâi
hyad ashâi vahistâi ashem.

This may be translated as follows :—‘Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is; a blessing be to that which is righteousness to perfect rectitude.’

But the Pahlavi version explains it as follows :—‘Righteousness is perfect excellence [righteousness of any excellence is good]. Happy is that righteousness and happy also that virtuous man who is a causer of righteousness, the righteousness that is perfect [that is, he shall accomplish duty and good works].’

³ This third formula is chiefly recited at the end of most of the hâs in the Yasna, and consists of fifteen Avesta words, as follows :—

Yênhê hâtâm âad, yêsnê paitî, vanghō
mazdau ahurō vaêthâ, ashâd haêâ,
yaunghâmêâ, tâskâ tausêâ yazamaidê.

This may be translated as follows :—‘Of whatever male of the

the formation of mankind by slow increase, and, when they live on *for* fifty¹ years, *their* slowly becoming dust; the coming of death even *to* him who is very pleasantly living, as regards mankind, at the climax (barīnō) of his life; and the happiness of the worldly *existence* is given only to the worthy, on account of *their* love of righteousness; the rest are passed by². 2. And also this, that he who is produced by the demons, *or* is proceeding to the

existences, therefore, Ahuramazda was better cognizant, through righteousness in worship, and of whatever females, both those males and those females we reverence.'

The Pahlavi version explains it as follows:—'Whoever of those existing is thus in worship as regards a good *being* [that is, shall celebrate a ceremonial for that good *being* who is Aûharmazd the lord], Aûharmazd is aware of *it*, owing to the accompaniment of righteousness [*and being* acquainted with the reward and recompense of whatever are, severally, the duty and good works that any one has performed, he grants *them*]. I reverence those of the assembly, males and females [the archangels; because the male *of* them are good, and the female *of* them].'

The Pahlavi translator evidently read vanghō in the first line of the text, as printed above, and not in the second, as in the present MSS.

¹ So in K, but B has 'seventy.' The text seems to allude to the beginning of old age, of which three grades are mentioned in the Avesta (Vend. III, 19, 20): the hanō, zaururō, and pairistā-khshudrō. The Pahlavi version defines the age of each grade, but the ciphers given are corrupted in the MSS. extant. The Far. Oīm, p. 5, ll. 9, 10, gives fifty years as the age of the zarmān (Av. zaururō), seventy years as that of the hān (Av. hanō), and ninety years as that of the pādîrānō-shûsar (Av. pairistā-khshudrō); but whether this arrangement of the ages is compatible with the different order of these epithets in the Avesta is doubtful, though it shows that old age was considered to begin at the age of fifty years.

² Reading sakî-aîtō according to K, though the word can also be read segî-aîtō, 'are ruined;' in B it can be read gadâîgi-aîtō, 'are impoverished.'

demons, *or* has committed falsehood, is the opulent person who gives nothing to a worthy supplicant.

3. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER V.

Sūdkar Nask.

1. The fourth fargard, Yānīm-manô¹, is about where a gradual development (dêr-zahîsnîh) of that which is for the future existence is best; and, secondly, that which *occurs* now when the wisdom, instructed eloquence, diligence, and energetic effort, which are the utilizers of life, are with one, and these five misusers *of it*—greediness, want of energy, indolence, defilement, and illicit intercourse—are not with one. 2. This, too, that these five defects existed *in* Dahâk², and owing to that, moreover, Frêdûn² is irritated with *him*, and smites him in revenge for Yim³.

3. About the heinousness of these four vices, which are drunkenness, knavish companionship, apostasy, and selfishness, and the grievous results therefrom. 4. And this, too, that Yim drove away these four vices from the world, and then was able to prepare immortality. 5. About avoidance of him who, through any statement, is producing a thief as an orator (âkhûn), and *of* acquiescence with a hasty unoratorical statement of a companion. 6. And this, too, that *he* who propagates very evil commands in the world gives stout-heartedness to the fiend.

¹ The first two words of the introduction to the first Gâtha (Yas. XXVIII, o), here written yānīmanôkô in Pahlavi.

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 8.

³ Ibid. § 6.

7. About the clamour of a poor distressed *one* for a perfect remedy, and the repelling derangement (lakhvâr-pafshîrisnîh), unacceptableness, unbles-sedness, and want of Gâtha lore of the distresser arisen from the clamour of the distressed *one*. 8. About the connection of satisfying distress on true *and* reasonable complaint, and the reasonable complaining of true complainers, by him who *has* been an inferior judge, *and* gradually up to the highest adjudicator who is Aûharmazd.

9. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

CHAPTER VI.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The fifth fargard, Khshmaibyâ ¹, is about the forgetfulness of a father for a son, a son for a father, a brother for a brother, a friend for a friend, a husband (mânpatô) for a wife (nârik), and a wife for a husband in a measurable time, through excess and festivity (khang); and the unforgetfulness of the spirit of the Gâthas for so many reciters and chanters of the Gâthas. 2. About the complaint of the spirit of the Gâthas when a high-priest, although priest of the country-folk (dehîgânô), passes away in an out-district ², and the body of that man does not come back to his own land; whatever is relating to that, *and*, besides that, what is to be born in that

¹ The first word of the second hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXIX, 1), here written khshmôâîbê (B) and khshmâîbê (K) in Pahlavi.

² Reading aûzdêhîkîh (from Av. uzda^hvvyu); in Sls. IX, 2, 3, where this passage is evidently referred to, this word has been erroneously read aûzdâyakîh and translated 'idolatry.'

land, and the oppressiveness of apostates *which* arises. 3. About the superior power of the spirit of the Gâthas, *and* also that of liberality, in preserving the soul from hell.

4. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

CHAPTER VII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The sixth fargard, *Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ*¹, is about the perfection of the five excellences: the first through righteousness, the second through virtuous offspring, the third through land producing vegetation, the fourth through flocks of sheep, and the fifth through training in industry. 2. About the distribution of fortune to the diligent; and *of* destitution to the indolent. 3. About the acquirement of fortune singly sitting, two-fold even walking, three-fold hastening, four-fold even running, five-fold even carrying on a horse, six-fold even driving on a road, seven-fold by understanding legal proceedings, eight-fold by good protection even of wealth, nine-fold by intelligence *and* diligence in the cultivation of land, and ten-fold by providing the teaching of the bounteous texts².

4. About the grievous sorrow *of* an aged man, owing to the indolence of any one in youth. 5. About the four things through which, when a man has

¹ The first three words of the third *hâ* of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXX, 1), here written *atô-tâ-vakhshîyâ* (B) and *atâ-vakhshâ* (K) in Pahlavi.

² The liturgy (*mânsar-spend*).

amassed *them* in his youth, he becomes very pleased in old age : first, virtuous learning ; second, productive wealth ; third, a good wife ; *and* fourth, a prosperous dwelling. 6. About the five store-holders¹ of perfect excellence : industry, diligence, contentment, guileless understanding (nīrikht-hūshih), and provision of means.

7. About abstaining from sitting with drunkards.

8. And this, too, that he does not drink varieties of wine (mâê-gunagânô) with the approval of the sacred beings, who becomes a viciously-disposed assailant and annoyer of others, and a disturber kēpīntāâr) of duties, through drinking varieties of wine. 9. And this, too, that thou shouldst eat that which is your food where *there is* a suitable place. 10. And where *it is* eaten by thee it should be lightly, it should not be heavily, so that, when *it is* eaten by thee, a good work is performed, and *there is* abstinence from sin. 11. And, so that what thou eatest shall be immortally joyful to thee, where *there are* poor, provide *them* a share, and the poor *will* bless thee ; and, *as to* a poor *man* who is righteous, the opinion is *that* his blessing is best.

12. Excellence *that is* perfect *is* righteousness.

CHAPTER VIII.

Sūdkar Nask.

I. The seventh fargard, Tâ-ve-urvâtâ², is about

¹ Reading gang-dânô ; or it may be dûzagânô, 'seals,' though this is less likely, as a plural form is rarely used with a numeral.

² The first three words of the fourth hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXXI, 1), here written tâ-va-ratô in Pahlavi in both MSS.

the exhibition to Zaratûst of the nature of the four periods in the millennium of Zaratûst¹. 2. First, the golden, that in which Aûharmazd displayed the religion to Zaratûst. 3. Second, the silver, that in which Vistâsp² received the religion from Zaratûst. 4. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, Âtûrpâd³ son of Mâraspend, was born. 5. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which is much propagation of the authority of the apostate and other villains, as regards the destruction of the reign of religion, the weakening of every kind of goodness *and* virtue, and the disappearance of honour and wisdom from the countries of Irân. 6. In the same period is an account of the many perplexities and torments (zakhamî-hastanö) of the period for that desire of the life of the good which subsists in seemliness.

7. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

CHAPTER IX.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The eighth fargard, *Hvaêtumaiti*⁴, is about the abstinence of mankind, for special propitiation, from *being* unreliant *upon* religion, on account of reverence for the evil spirit⁵; that from the habit of

¹ Compare Yas. XXXI, 14; Byt. I, 1-5.

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1-3.

³ See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 22.

⁴ The appellation of the fifth hæ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXXII) which begins with the words *ahvyâkâ hvaêtus*; it is here written *khvatamaîtö* in Pahlavi in both MSS.

⁵ Compare Yas. XXXII, 3.

being ungirdled, on account of reverence for Andar¹ and that for Sôvar²; that from walking with one boot³, on account of reverence for Tâûrvö and Zârtkô⁴; that from being harmfully inquisitorial, on account of reverence for Akatâsh⁵; and that from the habit of *being* without a serpent-scurge, on account of reverence for all the demons⁶.

2. About the hungry intention (*gusnakö-minisnîh*) of him who eats⁷ and drinks chattering; the delight of the demons on that account; and advice as regards not speaking a word during eating and drinking. 3. As to the praise and gratification of the sacred beings before eating and drinking,

¹ Av. Andra, or *Indra*; one of the arch-demons produced by the evil spirit, and the special opponent of the archangel Ashavahist; he seduces from virtue and opposes the use of the sacred shirt and girdle (see Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 8, 10, XXX, 29; Ep. I, x, 9; Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 1).

² Av. Sauru; another of the arch-demons and the special opponent of the archangel Shatvairô; he encourages anarchy and drunkenness, and opposes the use of the sacred shirt and girdle (see Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 9, 10, XXX, 29; Ep. I, x, 9).

³ Probably equivalent to 'walking in stockings,' though some think it means 'walking barefoot.' It is sinful on account of the risk of pollution from stepping on impurities.

⁴ Av. Tauru and Zairika; two more of the arch-demons and the special opponents of the archangels Khûrdađ and Amûrdađ; they produce and diffuse poison, and are propitiated by walking with one boot (see Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 11, 13, XXX, 29; Ep. I, x, 9).

⁵ Av. Akatasha; 'the fiend of inquisitiveness, who makes the creatures look *away* from proper things' (Bd. XXVIII, 20), and appears to be closely connected with the demon Aeshm, 'wrath.'

⁶ See Bd. XXVIII, 21, 22, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XVIII, 2.

⁷ B omits 'eats.' Talking during eating is sinful because the eater has muttered an inward prayer, as a protective spell, the good effect of which would be destroyed by speaking aloud (compare Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIII, 37).

and also on finishing; and the purity¹ of the mouth owing to its praise of righteousness². 4. About him whose ownership of any good work, that they³ may perform, does not attain to the best existence, on account of not possessing a high-priest by habit.

5. About the period of the ceremonial of *Srôsh*⁴, the righteous, *being* mostly on the passing away of the first half of the night, and the announcement⁵ of him who is the celebrator (*yastâr*) is for his protection from the fiend spirit. 6. The period of the ceremonial of *Rashnû*⁶ and *Âstâd*⁷ is mostly after that, in the jurisdiction (*radîh*) of the *Aûshahîn*⁸, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is abundance of grain. 7. The period of the ceremonial of *Mitrô*⁹ of the wide cattle-pastures, and of the spirit of the pleasure of eating¹⁰, is mostly in the

¹ K has 'protection.'

² That is, its muttering the *Ashem-vohû* formula which is recited thrice, as a conclusion of the inward prayer (see Dd. LXXIX, 1 n).

³ Or it may be 'he,' as the optative 3rd plural is often used for the singular; but it is a doctrine of the religion that a person who causes good works to be done by others, as he does when he employs a priest to perform ceremonies, is as much the owner of the good works as the actual performer is (see Sls. X, 22, 23 for cases of less direct agency).

⁴ See Bk. VIII, Chaps. IX, 3, XLIV, 16, and Pahl. Yas. I, 22.

⁵ As an offering, referring to the verb *nivaêdhayêmi*, 'I announce or invite,' with which most of the clauses of Yas. I. commence.

⁶ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XX, 153, and Pahl. Yas. I, 23.

⁷ *Av. Arstâd*, 'rectitude,' a female angel who assists the soul on its way to the other world (see AV. V, 3).

⁸ The period from midnight till dawn (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 9).

⁹ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16.

¹⁰ *Av. râma hvâstrem*, Pahl. *râmisrô khvârôm*, who co-operates with *Mitrô* (see Pahl. Yas. I, 9).

jurisdiction of the Hâvan¹, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is a flock of sheep. 8. The period of the ceremonial of Ashavahist², and also *of* the fire of Aûharmazd, is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Rapithwin³, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is an assemblage of righteousness. 9. The period of the ceremonial of the lofty lord *of* females, the descendant of waters⁴, and also *of* the water created by Aûharmazd, is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Aûzâêrin⁵, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is a troop of heroes (vîrân ramakö). 10. And the period of the ceremonial of the guardian spirits of the righteous, *of* the females with troops of heroes and years *of* pleasant dwelling, *of* the might which is well-formed and handsome, as well as victorious and created by Aûharmazd, and *of* the fighting which is in the ascendant⁶, is mostly in the jurisdiction of the Aiwisrûthrim⁷, and the announcement of him who is the celebrator is the origin of all excel-

¹ The period from dawn till noon, and in winter it extends into the afternoon (see Bd. XXV, 9-14).

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14, and Pahl. Yas. I, 12.

³ The afternoon till 3 p.m. during summer (see Bd. XXV, 9-14). Here written Rapisvag.

⁴ Av. berezatô ahurahê nafedhrô apām, Pahl. bûr'sand khûdâî nekedân-î đvânö nâpô (see Pahl. Yas. I, 15).

⁵ The evening from the middle of the afternoon till dusk (see Bd. XXV, 9; Sls. XXI, 4-7).

⁶ See Pahl. Yas. I, 18, 19.

⁷ The period from dusk till midnight; here written ayšvîk-srûksrîm. It will be noticed that the periods for the ceremonials of the beings here detailed correspond with those with which their names are connected in Yas. I, 3-7, II, 3-7, III, 5-9, IV, 8-12, VI, 2-6, VII, 5-9 (W.).

lence, and the produce of all manifestation of righteousness.

11. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER X.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The ninth fargard, Yathâis¹, is about the devilry, the blighted destiny, the complete pollution, the grievous stench, the heinous sinfulness, and the annoyance to all spiritual and worldly virtue of the sodomite. 2. The atonement for grievous sinfulness and the appropriation of great good works by him who is a molester, and the awful sinfulness of him who is a propitiator, of that sinner. 3. Of the seven *one* mentions as evil, who are accounted equal to the evil spirit in vileness—*such* as Az-î Dahâk² in witchcraft, the serpent Srôbar in violence, Vadâk³ in producing evil progeny⁴, Tûr-î Brâdar-vakhsh in destroying a righteous *man*, and an apostate⁵ in grievous sinfulness—the permitter and performer of

¹ The first word of the sixth hâ of the first Gâtha (Yas. XXXIII, 1), here written yâsâis in Pahlavi in both MSS.

² See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XIII, 8, XXXV, 13, and Dd. LXXII, 2-9, which last chapter contains further details regarding these seven heinous sinners, probably derived from the actual text of this ninth fargard of the Sûdkar Nask.

³ The mother of Dahâk (Dd. LXXII, 5), the same as Udaî in Bd. XXXI, 6; for her viciousness see Dd. LXXVIII, 2.

⁴ Pahl. saryâ hûnô-dahakîh, which last word indicates an original Av. hunusta (see Pahl. Yas. L, 10 b).

⁵ Both MSS. have Aharmanô, but this differs only in its last letter from aharmôk, 'an apostate,' which is the reading of Dd. LXXII, 9 and more suitable to the context.

unnatural intercourse are unique in heinous sinfulness.

4. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

CHAPTER XI.

Sūdkar Nask.

1. The tenth fargard, *Yâ-shyaothanâ*¹, is about the complaint of the spirit of fires to *Aûharmazd* owing to seven descriptions of people. 2. First, owing to domestics considering *it* as contemptible and *in* an unresisting state (*agangîh*), molesting *it* immoderately, and making use of it with unwashed hands; also the damsel who *has* introduced fire into the sole of *her* foot, and the bursting of the blister (*âvilag*); and a weapon brought out into *its* splendour. 3. Second, the complaint owing to the carriers of fire from that abode [where the provision of care for fire is as a law to them, to that abode]² where the provision of care for fire is not as a law to them. 4. And there, owing to the arrival and preparation of the demons, it lay stupefied, like a powerful youth *who is* feverish and in a languid state; and its cure from that sickness (*ayôyakîh*) was by bringing forward to it their pure sandal-wood, or benzoin, or aloë-wood, or pomegranate³, or

¹ The first two words of the seventh, and last, *hâ* of the first *Gâtha* (Yas. XXXIV, 1), here written *yâ-shyâðsnô* in Pahlavi in both MSS. This fargard may perhaps be considered as a homily upon Yas. XXXIV, 4.

² The words in brackets are omitted in B by mistake.

³ The traditional equivalents of the four sweet-scented vegetable substances, Av. *urvâsna*, *vohû-gaona*, *vohû-kereti*, and *hadhâ-naêpata*, which are mentioned in Vend. VIII, 2, 79, IX, 32, XIV, 3,

whatever *there* was of the most odoriferous of plants.

5. Third, the complaint owing to the hussy¹ unto whom it happens, through menstruation, *that* the stench and filth owing to the menstruation is brought to it (*the fire*); and *its* sickness and stupefaction owing thereto are as written above. 6. Fourth, the complaint owing to the hussy who, dropping *her* knee on to the fire-stand, arranged *her* curls; the falling of damp and moisture from *her* head, with the hair and filth therefrom, into the fire; the consumption *of it* discontentedly, *and* the sickness and stupefaction owing thereto. 7. Fifth, the complaint owing to the father, *or* guardian, of a child for not keeping the child away from the fire; and the bodily refuse and other unlawfulness that come upon it from such children. 8. Sixth, the complaint owing to the adversity which the unpurified infidel (agdênô) may bring upon it, by blowing the breath of *his* mouth upon it in directing *its* use, *and* it becomes incalculable. 9. Seventh, the complaint—which, *one* says, is more awful and more grievous—owing to those who use it as an ordeal for a falsehood, and, when it is made evident thereby as to the acquitted and convicted, they become of a different opinion about it.

10. At the place of complaint that which is polluted is put forward together with that which is pure, and the increase of it (*the fire*) is through lawful and unlawful operation; *its* burning alone

XVIII, 71 as acceptable fuel for the sacred fire, or scent for fumigation; their Pahlavi names are merely corruptions of these Avesta words.

¹ The word *gêh*, 'courtezan,' is used here and in § 6 merely as a general opprobrious term for a woman.

and increasing are such as when both would be as a necessity for it, and undesired and rapid burning and increasing¹ are those which are polluted by burning *and* insatiably consuming; and in that which is an operation unlawfully—the burning alone *and* increasing *being* [such as when]² both would be as a necessity [for it]—the increase is troubled.

11. This, too, he³ says: 'I am not *of the world* here, and from here I *will* extricate *myself*, from the earth up to the sky; I am also thy son⁴, more to thee⁵ than any of the other creatures.' 12. And Aôharmazd spoke to him thus: 'So thou shouldst stand over the fire, in thy proper duty as [a spirit⁶], carrying that club; [it is a substantial means, because I produce it, through which] thou turnest off [the whole bodily existence], some to the endless light, and some to the endless darkness.'

13. This, too, that *he* who shall provide care for fire has paid the greatest reverence unto Aôharmazd.

14. The propitiation of the righteous is the best *thing*, and their vexation is the worst; when pleased they favour one, *and it is* the law of the sacred beings that they promote; [when vexed they wound, *and it is* the demon that they restrict.

15. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.]⁶

¹ As in the case of a destructive conflagration.

² The words in brackets are supplied by guess, to fill up a blank space left by the repairer of B on one of his patches. In K the passage is shorter, and stands as follows:—'and in that which is unlawful operation *it is* troubled by the increase.'

³ The spirit of fires mentioned in § 1. This dialogue seems to be a quotation from the original Pahlavi version of the Nask.

⁴ Fire being called 'the son of Aôharmazd.'

⁵ Both MSS. have 'me' by mistake.

⁶ The passages in brackets are omitted in B, evidently by mistake.

CHAPTER XII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The eleventh fargard, the Yasna¹, is about the assembly of the angels of the spiritual *existences* on account of the complaint of fire; and the complaint of fire in the assembly, with *its* statement of this, too²: 'I am not *of the world* here, and from here I *will* extricate *myself*, from the earth up to the sky, and there I *will* shine on to the earth of seven regions, like the moon and sun and even the divinely-produced stars when they shine with their own light.' 2. The words of Aûharmazd about the just complaining of fire as regards the contamination³ of the creatures, the impossibility of keeping the fire undisturbed, and satisfying the fire concerning the creation of the creatures for the worldly *existence*, *along* with the disturbed condition of fire, too, owing to the impossibility of maintaining⁴ the uncreated state which, with the freedom from disturbance of fire also, was better; *likewise* proclaiming the care of *it*. 3. And the speech of the fire *was* thus: 'If *there be* not that one mode whereby I *may* thus shine, owing to those that *have* acted according to my request⁵, thou art aware, O Aûharmazd! *there*

¹ The Yasna of seven chapters, Av. yasna haptanghâiti (Yas. XXXV, 3-XLI, 6), here written asnd (for yêsnð) in both MSS.

² The spirit of fires, after repeating to the heavenly council the complaint he had already made to Aûharmazd alone, concludes with the same threat as in Chap. XI, 11.

³ B gûmêkhtakîh (K gûmêzakîh) implies deterioration by an 'intermingling' of evil.

⁴ K omits these last four words by mistake.

⁵ That is, if he cannot desert the world, owing to the necessity of stopping with those who act properly.

are some among the creatures that I cannot grant so much *to*; therefore carry me away, *O Aûharmazd!* then give me away there! and be thou carrying *me* away into the midst of *Aîrân-vêg*¹!

4. The propitious² fire is from the creator Aûharmazd, and it is produced by him in a dwelling, without *being* handled (*barâ sûdakö*)³, by aid of bringing together⁴. 5. And so he spoke in words thus: 'Such is thine own growth, thou who art my fire! in every dwelling where thou comest, and *in* every village, every community, and every province; and as exalted as thou are the water and plants, and *he*, too, who is a guardian spirit of the righteous, when they shall bring forward holy-water for delivering up *to* thee⁵; *and*, when they shall bring forward to thee firewood which is dry, a person—through the light which he observes—*has* spoken of it thus: "This is the Gûsn-asþ⁶ fire."'

6. About so much reward of the hewer and inspector and kindler of the firewood—when all three shall do *it* for the sake of affection—as *they*

¹ The primeval home of Mazda-worship, the abode of Yim, and the scene of Zaratûst's first promulgation of the religion, the Airyanem vaêgô of the Avesta (see Vend. I, 1, 3, II, 21; Bd. XX, 32, XXXII, 3).

² Pahl. *afzûnîk*; the *spenista* ('most bounteous') fire of Yas. XVII, 11, XXXVI, 3. According to Pahl. Yas. XVII, 67 it 'stands in heaven before Aûharmazd in a spiritual state.'

³ Or it may mean '*being* rubbed out,' that is, 'by friction;' but compare the use of the word *sûdakîh* in Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 19.

⁴ Referring probably to the establishment of a sacred fire by bringing together every possible variety of fire that can be obtained.

⁵ Merely as a formal offering, or for purifying the fire-stand, not for mingling with the fire itself.

⁶ One of the three original sacred fires, which is said to have

are possessing righteousness. 7. About the character *and* reward of the washer (âsnôtâr) and the producer of the purity and cleansing of that which the fire *has* dropped¹, *of* the introducer of the firewood and the washer upwards², *of* the stirrer of the fire and the carrier-away of the firewood, who are strictly directed; the lawful work done with a *cooking-pot and* such-like, and the sin of him who is a disturber of it. 8. About the destroyer of that which the fire *has* dropped, and the introducer of damp firewood into it. 9. About the blessing of fire for people by whom *it is* satisfied.

10. About advice as regards not bringing to the fire that which is due to theft, *or* the power of extortion, and the grievous bridge-judgment³ of him who is bringing *it*; *also* the defilement (âlûdan) and hurting of the fire from that which *occurs* when he likewise consecrates his hoard (hanbarisnô), owing to the corruption by the demons⁴ thus arisen. 11. This, too, that *it is* owing to want of attention to fire when *it is* not at every menstrual excitement they produce, *in* a woman assisted by a propensity

been established, in the time of king Kaî-Khûsrô, upon the Asnavand mountain in Âtûr-pâtakân, not far from Lake Kêkast (see Bd. XVII, 7; Zs. XI, 8-10).

¹ B srâkhtô, K srakhtô, both here and in § 8; compare Av. srask.

² Pahl. frâz âsnôtâr must mean one who washes in the mode defined by the Av. frasnâiti, as distinguished from upasnâiti, in Vend. VIII, 98, 99, Ep. II, iii, 2; this mode is explained as lâlâîk, 'upwards,' and distinguished from the frôdgûnô, 'downward mode,' in Ep. II, iv, 2.

³ B inserts 'thus arisen *through* the demons,' the same phrase as concludes the section.

⁴ K has 'owing to a single word of the demons,' by substituting aêvak gôbisnô for âhûkînisnô.

for a son (pûs radîh), *that* the progeny is a son.
 12. And about the penalty for¹ the progress of other impropriety which occurs to fire; also *about* the person who has attained to the guardianship of fire and does not lawfully control *it*.

13. About an admonition to Zaratûst as to consecrating *to* the sacred beings anything whatever which *one* eats, and not eating *what is* unconsecrated. 14. About the wish of the evil spirit that no one shall be performing (vadîdûnâñ-âdö) worship and obeisance to the sacred beings, and *that the people* shall possess no ruler and high-priest, so that no desire of theirs shall arise for any virtuousness. 15. About an admonition as to indispensably worshipping the sacred beings with the best ceremonial, that of a priest (âsrûkö) without sin; *or with* an average *one*, that of a priest whose sin is not more than one Aredûs² without a basis (a-bûn); *or with* the lowest *one*, that of a priest whose *sin* is not more than one Khôr³ on a basis (pavan bûn). 16. Whoever, in a village of Mazda-worshippers, *has* not chanted the *sacred* hymns after fifteen years *of age*, through sinfulness, is as a dog they *have* thrown provisions *to*, and it *has* occurred for a basis of the sin of unseasonable chattering⁴; also the inadmissibility of his soul by Mânsarspend⁵.

¹ Assuming that p a stands for pavan.

² See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XX, 64, XXXI, 39.

³ A sin twice as great as an Aredûs (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXI, 39).

⁴ The sin of talking while eating, praying, or any other occasion when a prayer (vâg) has been taken inwardly, as a spell, and is not yet spoken out.

⁵ A personification of the liturgy, Av. mǎthra spenta, 'the bounteous text.'

17. About the coming of Ast-vidâd¹, at all times, to mortals whom death has reached², and also whom *it has* not. 18. About the ideas of the wicked, that the best existence does not exist, *that* the production of the renovation of *the universe* does not occur, *that there are* no dead whom they raise up thereby, and *it is* not that change *one* attains. 19. This, too, that is false, for the same *reason* they observe, *being* wicked; because the best existence exists, *there* occurs a production of the renovation which is good, they raise up the dead thereby, and thus *one* attains that change.

20. About an admonition as to not making lamentation and weeping over those passed away; and, after the passing away of every righteous *one* of the religion to the spirits, *one* is not to augment the distress of the very spirit of life by making lamentation and weeping over the departed. 21. And this, too, that the guardian spirits of the righteous claim no lamentation and weeping after their own ceremonial and the blessing of righteous men. 22. This, too, that the body of every one is not of like will with the soul; food is the desire of the body, and also a store of wealth; righteous action is the desire of the soul, and also the gifts which they give away.

23. About an enquiry of the righteous Zarâtûst as to who it is who has banished (*âpârîntâdô*) all goodness and perfection from his own *self*, *but* thinks *them* not banished, and does not complain of

¹ Av. Astô-vîdhôtu, one of the demons of death (see Bd. XXVIII, 35; Dd. XXXVII, 44).

² Those who have attained old age, the natural time of death.

that loss¹. 24. And the reply of Aûhar²mazd, that it is he *who* is deceived³ by his own tongue through the utterance of words, so that, through speaking falsely, he has become worthy of death. 25. This, too, that for him it is the weapon of the evil spirit; *even* so complete mindfulness is the reign of Spendarmad⁴, and thus a liar is more a power for the religion when a man, on account of dulness of thought, *gives* no reply, so that he *may* not speak falsely through dulness of thought.

26. This, too, that he worships the demons with thousand-fold holy-water, who establishes him who is not a member of the community⁴ in the Zôti duty⁵, sooner than him who is a wise Zôti. 27. And this, too, that thou shouldst fetch him who is a member of the community for the Zôti duty, not him who is not a member of the community, for thus thy advance is to the supreme heaven (garôdmânö). 28. Also this, that a bad Zôti is worse from the Zôti duty.

29. This, too, that that which is the earliest controller (ayûkhtâr) of sin is thought *which* is subdued⁶, then forgiveness, then shame, and then listening; and, afterwards, through the sinfulness of the fiend⁷,

¹ B has 'and *there* is no complaint of the loss.'

² K zîvînîdö.

³ The female archangel who has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Sls. XV, 20-24); she is a personification of Av. spenta ârmaiti, 'bountiful devotion,' of which phrase the latter word is translated by Pahl. būndak-mīnisnīh, 'complete mindfulness.' See also Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3, and S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 393, 396.

⁴ K adâhm; B has khêshm, 'wrath,' here, but not so in § 27.

⁵ See Bk. VIII, Chap. VII, 5, 9.

⁶ B has 'he who is a controller of sin is Vohûman, owing to thinking of the spirits, which is subdued.'

⁷ K has only 'through sinfulness.'

one becomes a promise-breaker. 30. This, too, that they shall bring every man who is a wounder before the convocation *composed of* any priest who is a controller of recitation (srâyisnō ayûkhtâr), any priest who is of the district (âdehîk), any priest who is of an out-district (aûzdehîk), and any priest who is *the man's* own kinsman.

31. 'Thus say I unto thee, O Spîtâmân ! let *there be* no breach of promise ; neither when the conversation, that they would make a support, *was* with the wicked, and there is no great judiciousness in it ; nor when *it was* with those of thine own religion, the righteous, as to anything *of* great judiciousness ; because both of them are promises, both *with* the wicked and the righteous¹.'

32. It is the excellence *of* righteousness *that is* perfect.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The twelfth fargard, Ustavaiti², is about the exaltation of Zaratûst through the satisfaction of water, and the hope of all creatures for him. 2. And about the impure recitation of a text, when³ the text is not uttered by a high-priest. 3. This, too, that the text which a man who is corrupted may

¹ This admonition occurs repeatedly (see Chap. XX, 5 ; Yt. X, 2 ; AV. LII, 7).

² The appellation of the first hâ of the second Gâtha (Yas. XLIII) which begins with the words ustâ ahmâi yahmâi ustâ ; it is here written aûstavâitō in Pahlavi.

³ Assuming that mûn, 'which,' stands for amat ; the Pâzand of both words being practically the same. Or, it may be, 'also him who does not utter the text through a high-priest.'

offer is an impropriety (adtnâth) for that which is an uncorrupted place. 4. This, too, is declared, that a greedy man whose belly is filled by accumulation—and the end of every sin is, to him, only for the gratification of the body—one considers just like a gallows to which *there* is a foundation (słpǝ) of every impurity. 5. This, too, that a bird (vâê) practises that habit (sân) even that it kills those outright which have become large in *our* midst, which are the serpents produced by the demons. 6. This, too, that *for* invocation (azbâyisnǝ) of the sacred beings thinking with speaking, speaking with acting, and acting without deceitfulness are effectual.

7. About the pure goodness of the archangels, and the union of their thoughts, words, *and* deeds together; their bountifulness, nurturing, and protection are the cause¹ of the prosperity of the world. 8. About the production of Zaratûst *by* Aûharmazd with a goodness like his own. 9. This, too, that whoever gives anything to the disciples of Zaratûst, his reward and recompense are just as though the thing had been given by him to Zaratûst².

10. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

CHAPTER XIV.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The thirteenth fargard, Tad-thwâ-peresâ³,

¹ B omits sân, 'the cause of.'

² Compare :—'Inasmuch as ye have done *it* unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done *it* unto me.' (Matthew xxv. 40.)

³ The first three words of the second hâ of the second Gâtha (Yas. XLIV, 1), here written tad-spâ-pêres in Pahlavi.

is about the strength *and* mightiness of the spirit of the sacred cake¹. 2. This, too, that every night the demons rush from hell² into the world, to injure *and* cause the death of the creatures; and, when *people* consecrate a sacred cake, that spirit descends to attack and keep back the demons, and to engage in combat with the demons ninety-nine times during every night; he also smites and stupefies them, and keeps *them* back from destroying the world.

3. This, too, that any one whatever of those men who utter these words³ in prayer becomes righteous, except those men who shall contentedly, *or* wishfully, carry out a command for evil deeds, and they deceive (*suftênd*), or make *others* deceive, by statements proposed to them; *and* whose evil thoughts are thus more than *their* good thoughts, their evil words more than *their* good words, and their evil deeds more than *their* good deeds. 4. About carrying off the reliance produceable that *a sin* worthy of death is the obliteration (*frâz mûshtanô*) of other sin, like an awful *and* mighty wind when it sweeps swiftly over the plain⁴.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

CHAPTER XV.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The fourteenth fargard, *Ad-fravakhshyâ*⁵, is

¹ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 2.

² K omits 'from hell,' and B omits 'night.'

³ Meaning probably Yas. XLIV.

⁴ A favorite metaphor derived from the Avesta text (see Pahl. Vend. III, 149; Mkh. LII, 19).

⁵ The first two words of the third hâ of the second Gâtha (Yas. XLV, 1), here written *ad-fravakhshê* (B) and *ad-fravakhshâ*

about Aûharmazd's showing to Zaratûst the terrible condition of the soul of Keresâsp¹; the dismay of Zaratûst owing to that terrible condition; the sorrowful speaking of Keresâsp as regards the slaying of multitudes, for which mankind extol him, whereby abstentions from sin *occurred*; and the recognition of him by the creator, Aûharmazd, as smiting his fire. 2. The supplication of Keresâsp *for* the best existence from Aûharmazd for those exploits when the serpent Srôbar² *was* slain by him, and the violence of that adversary; when Gandarep³ with the golden heels *was* smitten by him, *and* the marvellousness of that fiend; when the Veskô progeny⁴ *who were descendants* of Nivîk *and* Dâstânk *were* slain by him, and the grievous harm and disaster owing to them; and when the mighty wind⁵ *was* appeased by him, *and* brought back from damaging the world to benefiting the creatures; *and* for that which *happens* when owing to confinement⁶, Dahâk becomes eager, rushes on for the

(K) in Pahlavi. This chapter has been already translated in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 370-372.

¹ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 12; S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 369-382.

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13.

³ Av. Gandarewa of Yt. V, 38, XV, 28, XIX, 41; the 'watery demon' of Mkh. XXVII, 50.

⁴ Reading hûn Veskô, the Av. hunavô Vaêskaya of Yt. V, 54, 57, who were enemies of the warrior Tusa; but the hunavô of Nivika and of the Dâstayâni were slain by Keresâspa (see Yt. XIX, 41). It is also possible to read khûnô-dâkô, 'blood-producing.'

⁵ When it becomes a storm-demon, the vâtô-daêva of Vend. X, 14, instead of being the angel of useful wind.

⁶ In the volcano, Mount Dimâvand, where he was confined by Frêdûn in olden times, and whence he is expected to break loose hereafter (see Bd. XII, 31, XXIX, 9; Byt. III, 55-61).

destruction of the world, and attempts (*girâyêdô*) the annihilation of the creatures; *when* he (*Keresâsp*) is roused to smite him, and to tame that powerful fiend for the world and creatures.

3. The enmity of fire to Keresâsp, through the distress which he occasioned to it, and the keeping of him away¹ [from heaven; also the friendship of Gôs-aûrvan² for him, through the prosperity which he occasioned to it, and the protection of him] from hell. 4. The petition of Zaratûst to the fire to have compassion upon what *was* owing to *Keresâsp's* sin; the compliance (*hangâftanô*) of the fire *with* that petition, and the departure of the soul of Keresâsp to the ever-stationary existence³.

5. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

CHAPTER XVI.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The fifteenth fargard, Kamnamaêza⁴, is

¹ The words in brackets occur only in K; their meaning is, however, given in the Pahlavi Rivâyat accompanying Dd. and quoted in S.B.E., vol. xviii, pp. 379, 380. The enmity of the fire to Keresâsp was owing to its having been extinguished (when kindled upon the serpent Srôbar) by the upsetting of Keresâsp's caldron, as described in Yas. IX, 11, and Yt. XIX, 40.

² Av. *geus urva*, 'the soul of the ox,' the spirit which departed from the primeval ox when the evil spirit attacked it; she is supposed to be the heavenly protector of all animals, and is also called Drvâspa (see Yt. IX, 1; Bd. III, 14, 18, IV, 2-5; Sls. XXII, 14).

³ A locality intermediate between heaven and hell, where the souls of those whose sins and good works exactly balance remain in a passive and immovable state till the resurrection (see Sls. VI, 2; Mkh. VII, 18, XII, 14; Dd. XX, 3).

⁴ The appellation of the fourth, and last, *hâ* of the second

about the arrival of Ast-vidâd¹ upon the spot, and the insecurity of any one from him; also the non-continuance of the mortal body and decaying (farsâvand) wealth of any one of the mortals summoned is death². 2. And this, too, that Ast-vidâd shall carry off all mortals by that awful and proclaimed marvel, and they are not saved from him³; each one, indeed, saves only *that* which is the soul. 3. This, too, that the soul alone sees the reward and bridge⁴ of the spiritual *existence*, and embodied it does not see such *things*; if, *when* embodied, it could have seen like that, then it would not have committed the sin really originating with it, even for anything whatever *of* the ease and comfort of the worldly existence, nor shrunk (mansîdô) from the first good work.

4. About the hideousness and frightfulness of the body of man after death, and only that which is considered by every one the most precious of desirable things is undecaying (*afarsâk*). 5. As regards the casting away of the dust, and also living people, that which is more nearly connected therewith is

Gâtha (Yas. XLVI), which begins with the words kârn nemôî zãm; it is here written kamnamēzō in Pahlavi.

¹ See Chap. XII, 17. The connection of the demon of death with Yas. XLVI is that the first few words of that hâ are supposed to be repeated by the wicked soul in despair after death (see Yt. XXII, 20, W.; Mkh. II, 159; AV. XVII, 7).

² K has marđûm, 'human (?).'

³ B has the whole of this first clause thus:—'And the unconsumed (*apakhshînô*) property of him who is surprised by the invisible marvel *that* he shall endure, they have not saved from him.' This marvel is probably the supposed casting of a noose by Ast-vidâd, around the neck of the dead to drag him to hell, which only the righteous are able to cast off.

⁴ See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XIV, 8, XXIV, 10.

uninhabitableness¹ and its duration. 6. And when, too, this way, the consciousness is in the vicinity of the body², and the dog and bird go forth for the dismemberment of the body, the frightening of the consciousness by them is like *that of* a sheep by a wolf; also *its* disputing with the dog and bird about the dismemberment of the body, the reciting (mârḍanō) of words spiritually *at* first repelling them, thinking the body is alive. 7. And, afterwards, when the body is dismembered by them, the hastening of the consciousness to the vicinity of the dismembered body, just like a female (dênûḍakō) sheep when it hastens on to *its* young ones; *and its* noticing—with grievous unhappiness³ for the body—and recounting where the features (dêmagânō) of that body were in happiness, and to what misery it has now come. 8. And, when that body became sinful in *its* lifetime, about its not accepting, during that lifetime, that which the consciousness repeatedly well-endeavoured to promote for that body, as regards abstaining from sin and practising good works.

9. This, too, that thy time of worldly happiness *has* occurred, and that of misery is long. 10. This, too, that the people who live on, in the worldly *existence*, a hundred years are less than those who do not live a hundred years; the progress of a lifetime, little *by* little, and the rushing on *of* a lifetime; wife and property and the rest *of* worldly *things* all

¹ Corpses are to be deposited in an uninhabited place (see Vend. VI, 44-51, VII, 45-50; Dd. XVIII).

² Compare Dd. XVI, 7.

³ Pahl. ashâḍîh in K, but B has ayâḍakîh, 'remembrance.'

leaving you at once, and coming to another person. 11. And this, too, that—when mankind mostly keep up any statement (*nisang-iĕ*) *or* register (*aêvar'gô*) which they have drawn out (*nazî-hênd*)¹ about ordainable supplies in a friendly *or* inimical (*patyân-mônd*) way, which is more particularly expedient for them—a supply, suitable for the discreet, of the rest of that which is constantly desirable, is to be extracted therefrom, and *one* is to keep up *its* preparation with his own.

12. About the seven immortal rulers who are produced in the region of Khvanîras², and also about the ordaining of their glory and the goodness, too, of *their* assistants living *and* privileged in both existences. 13. The tree opposed to harm³ is on Aîrân-vêg⁴, in the place of most excavations (*frêh-nigânân gâs*). 14. Gôk-patô⁵ is in foreign⁶ coun-

¹ Or 'they offer up (*ûzdahênd*).'

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. VIII, 2. And, regarding these seven rulers, compare Bd. XXIX, 5, 6; Dd. XC.

³ The many-seeded tree in the wide-formed ocean, whence the seeds of all wild plants are brought by the rain (see Yt. XII, 17; Bd. XXVII, 2, 3; Mkh. LXII, 37-42).

⁴ See Chap. XII, 3.

⁵ Gôpatshah in Bd. XXIX, 5, XXXI, 20, 22; Byt. II, 1; Dd. XC, 3, 4; Gôpaitôshah in Mkh. LXII, 8, 31; and Gôpaitô in Mkh. XLIV, 35. All these forms of the name imply that he was a king, or master, of oxen; and Mkh. describes him as a Mazda-worshipping minotaur on the sea-shore, probably the Caspian, or the river Oxus, as Bd. makes him a brother, or nephew, of Frâsîyâv the Turânian. His country is called Saukavastân in Bd., and Gôpatô in Dd.

⁶ Pahl. an-Aîrân which corresponds with the position of Saukavastân being between Tûrkistân and Kînistân, as stated in Bd. XXIX, 13, and that of Gôpatô being coterminous with Aîrân-vêg, as in Dd. XC, 4. But K, by omitting the negative prefix, places it

tries. 15. Pêhshôtanû¹, son of Vistâsp, is in Kangdez² the hundred-moated (*sad-gandak*), wherein *there are* a myriad spears (*drafsh*), those of the exalted who wear black marten *fur*, who are righteous listeners of the religion³, out of the retinue (*akharth*) of Pêhshôtanû, son of Vistâsp. 16. Frâdakhshô, son of the mortal Khûmbîks⁴, who is predominant on the waters flowing in channels. 17. Ashavâzd, son of Pôrûdakhshô⁵, who is predominant over the most manifest among uplands, the plain of Pêsinâs⁶. 18. Barâzak⁷ the causer of strife. 19. 'And the eighth Kayân⁸ who *was* renowned, O Vistâsp! it is

'within the countries of Irân;' and Mkh. makes Gôpâtô a chief of Airân-*vég*.

¹ Av. Peshôtanu, commonly written Pêshyôtanû in Pahlavi.

² A fortified settlement, to the east of Irân (see Bd. XXIX, 10), formed by Siyâvakhsh (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 14) who was first cousin of Vistâsp's great-grandfather (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28, 29).

³ Who are expected to be led into Irân by Pêhshôtanû in future times, when he is summoned by the angels to restore religion to the world after the conflict of the nations (see Byt. III, 25-42).

⁴ K has 'Frâdakhshô, son of Khûmbîk the son of Hôshâng.' He was evidently the Fradhâkhsti Khuñbya of Yt. XIII, 138, who might have been considered as a descendant of the Haoshyangha mentioned before him in Yt. XIII.

⁵ Av. Ashavazdangh Pourudhâkhstayana of Yt. V, 72, XIII, 112.

⁶ Said to be in Kâvulistân where Sâma Keresâspa lies asleep till summoned to kill Dahâk in the latter times (see Bd. XXIX, 7, 11; Byt. III, 59-61). It may be connected with the vairi Pisanangh of Yt. V, 37, where Keresâspa offered sacrifice, and with the Pisn valley south-east of Qandahâr; but Chap. XXI, 20 seems to place it between Mâzendarân and Irân, and Mkh. LXII, 20 also describes it as near Mount Dimâvand. Its name is variously written Pêsinâs, Pesânsih, Pêsyânsaî, Pêsandâs, Pêrânîgas, &c.

⁷ Possibly Av. Varâza of Yt. XIII, 101.

⁸ Kavi Haosravangh (Kaî-Khûsrôî) is the eighth and last in the list of Kavis, or Kayâns, in Yt. XIII, 132; and was celebrated for

he whom one calls Kat-Khûsrôî, who produces even an advance of thy religion of the Mazda-worshippers, and also understands about it; who gives my good practices further blessings, so that the world¹ maintains my doings with benedictions.'

20. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER XVII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The sixteenth fargard, Spentâ-mainyû², is about effecting the bridge-judgment of sinners, as declared by revelation. 2. About performing the ceremony (yastô) for a man and a woman, and it is ordered *for* the woman before the man; the fitness for the supreme heaven (garôdmânîkîh) arisen through the liturgy (yastô) to be recited itself, or *through purchasing heaven in the worldly existence*³.

3. About the immunity of the soul from hell through the righteousness *of having* respectfully given a horse of a *good* race, the land of a cultivated field, *or* a virtuous woman, to a righteous man; and also the woman who gives herself in marriage to

his opposition to idolatry (see Yt. V, 49, 50; Bd. XVII, 7). This section appears to be an actual quotation from the Pahlavi version of the Nask, professing to give the words of Zarâtûst.

¹ K has dêhîk, 'a provincial.'

² The first two words of the first hâ of the third Gâtha (Yas. XLVII, 1), which are converted into the Pahlavi appellation Spēndmaîtō.

³ By providing for the performance of the proper ceremonies for the benefit of one's own soul.

the righteous man; and that liberal good work increases *from time to time*¹, and *from day to day*.

4. About the bridge *penalty* of him who is a mourner (navinîdâr) and *self-wounder* in the three nights *after a death*, and how it is as though *they* who are living *should* again pour melted ore on a human being. 5. About the punishment for a woman who gives herself in marriage to a righteous man, *and* comes away² from him; such as when a hedgehog³ should be constantly going in and coming out by her sexual organ; and the cutting off of her way from the best existence. 6. About the non-deliverance of a soul of the wicked from hell till the future existence. 7. About the punishment of the wicked *there is* this, too, *it is* as though a sheep which is alive should be remaining tied by the legs, head downwards, and *there* should be a specific exudation of its toes through running at the nose⁴.

8. About the Gâthas for an ordeal⁵ of the spiritual *existence*, which is concealed in every mode, *being* without a footing (*apâ-pâstakö*), as it were, for him who is a righteous chanter of the Gâthas.

9. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

¹ Pahl. vidanâânag vidanâânag, a hybrid equivalent of zamânak zamânak (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 6 n).

² B has 'relapses.'

³ Compare AV. LXX.

⁴ Pahl. afas angûstô zahîh-1-i mâyagânîk pavan vînik-tag aē. For mâyagânîk, 'specific' (which occurs, however, in Bk. VIII, Chap. XX, 166), we can read mâsânîk, 'tumorous or coagulating,' or we may consider it equivalent to mûyisnîk, 'lamentable.'

⁵ Compare the reference to the ordeal by fire in Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 6; the earlier part of the chapter is also somewhat of a homily upon the references to the wicked and righteous in the same hâ.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Sūdkar Nask.

1. The seventeenth fargard, Yêzt¹, is about where *he* is who shall commit *any* of these five sins ², *and*, thereby perverted from the religion, has diminished his own life and destiny ³:—A human being when he contentedly reverences a demon in spiritual lordship (ahûth) and priestly authority (radîh), *one* steadfast in religion when *he so reverences one* unsteadfast in religion, a teacher when *he so reverences one who is* no teacher *and* ignorant, *one* acquainted with the Gâthas when *he so reverences one* unacquainted with the Gâthas *and* unintelligent (anashnâs) ⁴, *and* a helpful *one* when *he so reverences* an unhelpful *and* unwise *one*.

2. This, too, where also they are who unlawfully slaughter a sheep, *or* beast of *burden*, which diminishes their life and destiny. 3. And so, too, those also who think scornfully of Aûharmazd, *O* pure *and* righteous Spîtâmân! and their own religion, the strength of the righteous *and* thy disciples.

4. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

CHAPTER XIX.

Sūdkar Nask.

1. The eighteenth fargard, Ad-mâ-yavâ ⁵, is

¹ The first word of the second hâ of the third Gâtha (Yas. XLVIII, 1), here written yezîk in Pahlavi.

² B omits 'sins.'

³ Or 'glory.'

⁴ So in K, but both MSS. give this clause imperfectly.

⁵ The first three words of the third hâ of the third Gâtha (Yas. XLIX, 1), here written ad-mâ-îyûbô in Pahlavi.

about the pregnancy of the demon from him who *has* eaten *and* chattered in sinfulness *towards* Khûr-dad and Amûrdad¹, or who makes water *when* standing², *or* who heedlessly sees *his* semen. 2. And the hussy³ who spills (*gûyêdô*) anything after sunset (*hûk-frâshmôk-dâd*), *or* who scatters a morsel (*dânar*) of food to the north, *at* night, without a recitation of the Ahunavair⁴.

3. This, too, that only the soul is constantly desirable for the body, even through this alone, that this perishable body⁵ [is a worldly state of righteousness, and, by rousing up (*lâlâ-payamîsnîh*)⁶ when thou wouldst sleep on, the righteousness] is on the advance when thou wouldst have retreated; and

¹ Av. *haurvatât*, 'completeness, or health,' and *amaretât*, 'immortality;' the archangels who have special charge of water and plants, respectively (see Sls. XV, 25-29), and are said to be injured by the sin of talking while eating and drinking those things (see Chap. IX, 2).

² Thereby polluting more ground than is necessary (see Sls. X, 5).

³ See Chap. XI, 5 n.

⁴ K does not mention the latter sinful action. The reason of the sin of such actions is that they may be considered as offerings to the demons (who are supposed to come from the north and to be powerful at night) unless protected by the Ahunavair (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7) used as an exorcism (see Sd. XXX, 1, 2; Sls. X, 7, XII, 18).

⁵ B has 'even through the assertion that this is corporeal *and* perishable.' The passage in brackets occurs only in K.

⁶ This appears to be the most probable reading of the word which occurs again in § 5, where it is written *lâlâ-ûpayamîsnîh* in K, which form is also found in Hn. I, 23, where it translates Av. *ustryamnô*. For the latter member of this compound see also Chap. XX, 6, 7. For the syllable *yam* we might substitute *gam* or *gam* without much alteration of meaning, or even *dam* if we translate by 'fanning up, exciting.'

the righteousness, in arising, is like thee in every coming *and* departure; through fetching *and* delivering the breath it shall become good reward, abundant reward, and the reward of righteousness.

4. When the body shall act so, the soul is rejoiced *and* shall utter a blessing for the body thus: 'Happy may it be *for* thee, *O* perishable body! whom I have made tall, *and* whom I have brought near to the best existence.' 5. And when the body shall not accept the progress (*afrâs*) of the soul, and says *it is* evil progress on rousing up, evil progress on advancing, [and evil progress upwards, the soul is a demon]¹ and shall offer [lamentable]¹ words thus: 'Evil *art* thou, *O* perishable body! whom I made dwarfish (*gasûk*), *and* whom I have brought near to the worst existence.'

6. About where *there are* unaccustomed (*avêsakô*), imperfect, and secret signs of short life, and the healthfulness *of* uttering the Ahunavair² *and* Ashem³ for it. 7. This, too, that, when thou wouldst squat for making water, thou recitest the Ahunavair, and the Ashem, afterwards, when thou wouldst stand up; so that *any* demon, *or* fiend, shall least injure thee. 8. And when thou wouldst go in unto *thy* wife (*nârîk*), thou recitest first the Ahunavair, and the Ashem, afterwards, when thou wouldst be coming together⁴; for so thou wouldst be making that, too, *which* arises—which is thy son—more righteous and

¹ The words in brackets are omitted in K.

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7.

³ See Chap. III, 1; here, and in §§ 7, 8, it is expressed by Pahl. *aharâyîh*, 'righteousness,' being an abbreviation of its usual appellation, 'praise of righteousness,' in Pahlavi.

⁴ Pahl. 'amat andarg hakhtô vadîdûnâñ *ae*.'

more successful through the Ashem. 9. This, too, that, when thou wouldst go into a house, thou shouldst be offering homage, and do thou utter the Ahunavair, *for* the spirit of the house and *for everything* of the material *existence* of the righteous which is and was and *will* be in that dwelling.

10. Also about the corruption (tavastanō) of the wicked, and the calamity (sûr) which is unjustly distributed by them in the realm¹.

11. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

CHAPTER XX.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The nineteenth fargard, Kad-môi-urvâ², is about where the souls, when they come together, extol the soul of him who *was* a virtuous high-priest, a friend of the soul, because he did not injure it, *and* guarded *it* from hell.

2. About the darkness, the intensity (bûr'zvôhômândîh) and far-reaching bottomlessness of the blackness, and the absence of goodness *in* hell; and the proximity to stench, close concealment³, sleet-pelted clambering (pîsnakô-bâlnîh), frozen ad-

¹ Like Yas. XLIX this fargard begins with special references to the wicked, and returns to them towards the end.

² The first three words of the fourth, and last, hâ of the third Gâtha (Yas. L, 1), here written kad-môk-ravakô in Pahlavi.

³ Compare AV. LIV, 5-8:—'As close as (tang-iê) from the ear to the eye, and as many as the hairs a horse has in *his* mane, so many in number the souls of the wicked stand, but they do not see, nor do they hear a sound, one from the other, *and* every one, therefore, thinks that he is alone.' For a description of hell see also Dd. XXVII.

vancing, painful condition, distressed state, and awful fear of those in hell. 3. This, too, that is thrown open (*lakhvâr ramîtund*) over it, from the Dâitî peak¹, which is in Atrân-vêg, to Albûr'z², and below the middle of which is the gate of hell, is the *K'invad* bridge³ which is the route (*vidâr*) of every one, righteous *or* wicked; the width across the route of the righteous is a breadth of nine spears, each one the length of three reeds, *but* the route for the wicked becomes like the edge of a razor.

4. 'Thus say I⁴ unto thee, O Spîtâmân! that the man of truth steps forward over the *K'invad* pass, even the far-famed happy bridge; for Âstâd⁵, the good promoter of the world, and Mitrô⁶ of the vast cattle-pastures save only the man possessing truth from that distress, as though they *were* a regiment (*sipâh*) a thousand strong. 5. So I say unto thee, O Spîtâmân! that thou shouldst not become a liar unto Mitrô, neither when thou wouldst converse with the wicked, nor when *thou wouldst* with those of thine own religion who are righteous; for both *of* those are promises, both *with* the wicked and the righteous; there is a promise, O Zaratûst! even *of* a wolf with young animals, *but* that which is a

¹ Or *Kakâd-î Dâitî* (see Pahl. Vend. XIX, 101; Bd. XII, 7).

² Av. *hara berezaiti*, the range of lofty mountains supposed to surround the world (see Bd. V, 3-5).

³ Here called *K'inakō-pūhal*, and *K'is-vidarg* in § 4; for a fuller description of it see Dd. XXI, 2-7. Allusion is made to it in Yas. L, 7.

⁴ *Atharmazd*, speaking to Zaratûst. The whole of this paragraph appears to be quoted verbatim from the original Pahlavi text of the Nask.

⁵ See Chap. IX, 6.

⁶ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16.

lascivious (*gêhîk*) promise is more awful, *O Spîtâmân!* 6. So I say unto thee, *O Spîtâmân!* that thou shouldst not seize a wanton (*gêhîk*) for use—that is, do not make her *thy* wife—and with compulsion (*ûpayamîsnîh*) of her¹—that is, do not let *thymself* lie with her. 7. And if thou shouldst seize a courtesan for use, and with compulsion of her, thou mayst not dismiss *her* afterwards, neither in adversity, nor in prosperity, neither on account of fondness for self, nor *for* life; because *he* who seizes a courtesan for use, and with compulsion, and shall dismiss her on account of fondness for self, or *for* life, becomes thereby a breaker of promises *to* the house, village, community, *or* province, *that* gives her life (*valman zîvînêdô*), *and to* the soul *that* animates her².

8. So breaking the promise comes upon the children that are theirs, through evil teaching; *and* he who is wicked is lying down without children at the bottom of hell. 9. *That* is, there is nothing whatever of³ happiness *for* the wicked, that happiness which is produced abundantly by him *who* is *Aû-harmazd*.

10. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

¹ Or, perhaps, 'with approach to her' (see Chap. XIX, 3 n). If *ûpadamîsnîh* were read, it might mean 'aspiration, or attachment' for her.

² This implies that the woman, being a notorious sinner, cannot reasonably complain of bodily injury on being dismissed; but her soul and the community are grievously injured by her being thus driven into further sin, and for this injury the man's soul will be made responsible.

³ K has 'none even of this.'

CHAPTER XXI.

Sūdkar Nask.

1. The twentieth fargard, Vohû-khshathrem¹, is about the oppressive actions of the sovereignty which Dahâk² exercised over the earth of seven *regions*, and the forward progress of his commands owing to a surrounding of terrors.

2. About Dahâk's enquiry of the members of the assembly, regarding the reason of the affliction of the collected people, after the cutting *up* of Yim³ and the accession (khûdâyth) of Dahâk; and the people's saying, *in* reply to Dahâk, that Yim had kept away want and destitution, hunger and thirst, decay and death, lamentation and weeping from the world, *besides* the cold and heat of the immoderate mingling of the demon with mankind. 3. And this, too, that⁴ 'a giver of comfort was Yim—that is, those things *were* produced by him which are the comfort of mankind—and he was a giver of desire for them, so that his happiness *was* through the gratification produced—that is, mankind gratified him through virtue. 4. And Aûdak⁵, who made

¹ The first two words of the fourth Gâtha (Yas. LI, 1), here written vohûk-khshatar (B) and vohûk-khshatar (K) in Pahlavi.

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 8.

³ As mentioned in Yt. XIX, 46; Bd. XVII, 5 ('when Yim was cut up by them the fire Frôbak saves the glory of Yim from the hand of Dahâk') and XXXI, 5. Regarding Yim see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 6-8.

⁴ What follows, as far as the end of § 7, appears to be quoted verbatim from the original Pahlavi text of the Nask.

⁵ The demon Uda who tries to make people talk when they ought to be silent (Bd. XXVIII, 19), and who seems to be identified

Yim the splendid *and* rich in flocks—who *was* struck down by you through violent assault—unauthorisedly desirous (varak¹) and eager for the world, produced want and destitution, distress and greed, hunger and thirst, and the sanctifier² of Wrath the wounding assailant, Want without pastures, Terror, Destruction the secret-moving, Decay the decrepit³, and the seven *arch*-demons⁴.’ 5. And this, too, that ‘those who look *for* a son *are* made devoid of pregnancy by thee; evil-destined is the monster (*stipist*) self-made, the uncompleted demon that it is impossible to seek a remedy for, who does not extend (*lâ vâlêd*) from *himself*, that is, no lineage proceeds from him. 6. And thou *art* a sheep that is a wide-traveller, *and* keeps the dog *away* from mankind; thou *hast* snatched away from us the bright radiance of Yim the splendid *and* rich in flocks, who came out on every evil contingency, at the approach of

(in Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 70) with the fiend who confesses her amours to Srôsh, and is said (in Bd. XXXI, 6) to have been the mother of Dahâk, there named Udaî or Aûd, but more commonly called Vadaîk (see Chap. X, 3; Dd. LXXII, 5, LXXVIII, 2), whence possibly the matronymic Vadaîkân (Mkh. LVII, 25, the Av. vadhaghana of Vend. XIX, 6) of that monarch. The text here appears to allude to an amour with Yim.

¹ Av. vara; or it may be a miswriting of vardak, ‘astray’ (Av. vareta).

² Pahl. *afzîsîn-hômônd*, ‘one holding ceremonies,’ alluding to Dahâk himself as the progeny of Aûdâk.

³ These five demons are Aeshm, Niyâz, Saham, Ség, and Zarmân in Pahlavi, who, with the exception of Saham, ‘terror,’ are described in Bd. XXVIII, 15-17, 23, 26.

⁴ The seven *arch*-demons are the six mentioned in Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 7-13, XXX, 29, whose Avesta names are Akem-manô, Indra, Sauru, Naunghaithya, Tauru, and Zairîka (see Vend. X, 9, 10, XIX, 43), together with either Mithaokhta or Angramainyu himself (see Bd. I, 24).

every winter, *or* scorched by extreme heat, so as to act for the benefit of his place¹. 7. Thou art intelligent, *O* Bêvarâsp²! do thou even tell how this opinion is so, that a bad ruler is a thing which is so bad; he who is a good ruler is our desire, we *will* give the revenue *of* taxation (bâhar-i madam-dedrûnisnîh) to him, *and* anything which is necessary *for* good government when he shall achieve *it*.'

8. About the smiting *by* Frêdûn³, for the sake of killing Dahâk; the striking of *his* club upon the nape of the neck⁴ (pilîk), the heart, and even the skull; and Dahâk's not dying from that beating. 9. Then smiting *him* with a sword, and the formation (vastanö) of noxious creatures of many kinds, from the body of Dahâk, at the first, second, and third blow. 10. The exclamation of the creator Aûharmazd to Frêdûn thus: 'Thou shouldst not cut him who is Dahâk, because, if thou shouldst cut him, Dahâk would be making this earth full of serpents, toads (khan-galâk), scorpions, lizards, tortoises, and frogs;' with the mode *of* binding *him* with awful fetters, in the most grievous punishment of confinement⁵.

11. This, too, *that* when Az-î Dahâk was bound, the report of the same proceeded thus through all the regions, which are seven, that down-stricken is Az-î Dahâk, but he *who* smote *him* is Frêdûn the Âspikân⁶, the exalted *and* mighty. 12. And *in* the

¹ K has only 'who came out at every place to act for *its* benefit.'

² 'With a myriad of horses,' a title of Dahâk.

³ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 8, 9.

⁴ Or, perhaps, 'the reins.'

⁵ In Mount Dimâvand (see Chap. XV, 2 n).

⁶ Av. Âthwyaâna, a patronymic derived from Âthwya who,

tenth winter those particulars *were* believed, and thus they spoke, that *it was* owing to¹ Yim that *Az-î* Dahâk is now smitten by them, because the tidings which are good are not yet gathered unto all the regions, which are seven, and those which are evil do not mention *Az*, nor demand the virtuous maiden (*karâtîk*) with importunity, nor even coveted wealth². 13. This, too, that, when information came to him of women, *or* property, that seemed to him desirable to possess, *they were* then admitted by him into a golden cage³, and that, which was completely impregnable (*airîstö*), came on through immaterial space (*maînôg-divâkîh*) to the den (*grêstakö*) of *Az-î* Dahâk.

14. This, too, that, though⁴ he who smote him *were* his brother, or descendant, or kinsman, or any one whatever *of his* nearest relations, it did not seem to them as that which is grievous, and *it was* not thought *of* in their minds, so that it did not occasion them even a reminiscence again; and thus they talked, that *if* a householder *be* he *that* smote, *he is one* for whom all the fires of the religion are suitable, *but* that householder *being* a monarch, he *that* smote is *one* who is every way their ruler. 15. This,

according to Yas. IX, 7, was the father of Thraêtaona (*Frêdûn*); but Bd. XXXI, 4, 7, 8, XXXII, 1 n, make it a family name for many preceding generations.

¹ Or *min* may mean '*apart from*.'

² Demands often made by Dahâk, as stated in § 13.

³ Pahl. *sûlak-hômand*, '*something* having apertures;' compare the *sûlak-hômand* which translates Av. *sufrâm* and *suwraya* in Vend. II, 7, 18, 30, and has sometimes been understood as a 'signet-ring.' Also compare § 19 below.

⁴ Assuming that *mûn*, 'who,' stands for *amat*, as in Chap. XIII, 2.

too, that *at* every place where he came on, *and* upon which *his* horse's hoofs (safô) fell, the dense fire from them *was* for the protection of the horse's body. 16. This, too, that through his confused (gûmêzakô) practising of good deeds *arose* even the evil deeds of *Az-i Dahâk*.

17. About those of the Mâzendarân¹ country *having* consulted, after the smiting of Dahâk, as to turning (gâstanô) to Khvanîras², and driving out Frêdûn therefrom, *and* as to the residence offered *by* the same place through the great number fallen; also, on account of their tallness, there are *parts* of the wide-formed ocean³ that come up to *their* mid-thigh, there are *others* that *are* up to the navel, and the deeper places *are* up to the mouth. 18. And, when they have come to this region, *their* producing grievous harm and destruction *to* the poor⁴, and the coming of the people with complaints to Frêdûn, and *their* speaking thus: 'Why didst thou smite *Az-i Dahâk*, who was a good ruler as to prerogative, so that danger *was* kept away by him, and an inquisitor (vigôyîdâr) from him protected this region from those of the Mâzendarân country?' 19. And they also said this, about the vileness of the Mâzendarâns, and the wretched state of the people of this region as regards them, that is, they then speak thus: 'Since their habits are thus, since they

¹ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 9.

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. VIII, 2. Mâzendarân was considered to be outside of Khvanîras because it is separated from Irân by lofty mountains.

³ The Caspian is probably meant here, being considered a portion of the circumambient ocean.

⁴ K omits '*to* the poor.'

are filthy (dôš-hômônd)—that is, dirt (karak) is theirs—possessing holes¹ (sûlak-hômônd)—that is, holes are theirs—and having appellations (karîtu-nisnô-hômônd)—that is, they call to one another—we men (vîr) think, *and* consider upon this, that they also are human beings.’

20. About the encountering of Frêdûn with those of the Mâzendarân country on the plain of Pêšânîgas², and disputing with them thus: ‘You are of the Mâzendar country, *and* I (anmanô) *have* destroyed Az-î Dahâk by the swiftest ruin, *him* who was a grievous sovereign of every one, demons *and* men; for that smiting of him I am produced *by* Aûharmazd more overpowering than his limbs made paralyzed by his own enmity, and then you destroy this country of mine, you who are of the Mâzendar country.’

21. And the Mâzendarâns thought slightly (sapûkô) of Frêdûn, *and* spoke in a tone of derision thus: ‘Should it be so, that thou destroyedst Az-î Dahâk by the swiftest ruin, *him* who was a good sovereign of both demons and men, and thou art produced *by* Aûharmazd, for that smiting of him, more overpowering than his limbs, even then we *will* settle in this *place* and *will* stay in this *place*; and *it is* not thou that *art* exalted, who *art* an overgrown (kabad-ârôyisnô) huge sheep with the speech of a hero among other people, *and* we would not admit thee here.’

22. This, too, that ‘nevertheless *they* afterwards fled, and the victorious Frêdûn pursued *them* to the

¹ Burrows, caves, and similar underground habitations are probably meant.

² See Chap. XVI, 17.

foremost upland, and his nostrils flamed *upon* it so that *they* split it through; from his right nostril is the cutting *and* sharp scorching of the ice *that* has fallen *and* of all the cold of winter; and from his left nostril is the cutting *and* sharp scorching of the rock *that* has fallen, which is similarly burning to a fire the size of a house, carrying the dust from the feet of the male ox, Barmâyûn¹, of the obstructed victor, the mighty Frêdûn. 23. And he made it rush up on the ascent, whereby they are made figures of stone, and they who *are* of the Mâzendar country are destroyed by him through the smiting of fifties, the smiting of hundreds, the smiting of thousands², the smiting of myriads, and the smiting of *multitudes* innumerable³.

24. 'Thus *there* are destroyed by him, the victorious *and* mighty Frêdûn, two-thirds *of* those of the Mâzendar country, and one-third came out beaten and sick; and never afterwards, O Spîtâmân Zarâtûst! have they who *are* of the Mâzendar country marched upon this region of Khvanîras, and *it has* not *been* imagined by them, even in thinking about *it*, that they⁴ should go *there*, except those⁵ whose names were thus, Spîtiyôs, son of Spânsnâyôs⁶, and Arezrâspâh, son of Spânsnâyôs⁷, who have wan-

¹ This appears to have also been the name of a brother of Frêdûn (see Bd. XXXI, 8).

² B omits 'the smiting of thousands.'

³ Compare Yt. V, 54, 58, 117; Pahl. Vend. VII, 137, 139.

⁴ Literally 'we.'

⁵ K has 'the two.'

⁶ These first two names are only in K, because B repeats here a previous phrase by mistake. The second name is written Sânsnâyôs here, but is spelt correctly on its next occurrence.

⁷ These two sons of Spânsnâyôs were the *spiritual* chiefs, or

dered (*tagīdō*) in search of wisdom and have proceeded unto Frashôstar¹ of the Hvôbas².'

25. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

CHAPTER XXII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The twenty-first fargard, Vahistôisti³, is about where the best prayers⁴ of the good religion are: unto Mitrô⁵ once every night for dismissing and lessening Wrath in the whole world, and a second time for doing so with Lethargy; a third unto Srôsh⁶ the righteous, and the fourth is the Dâhmân Âfrîn⁷ for further gifts and increasing gifts; and the most

supreme high-priests, of the two northern regions, Fradaðafsh and Vîdaðafsh. They are named Spîtôid-î Aûspôsînân and Âêrêrâsp-î Aûspôsînân in Bd. XXIX, 1; and the statement that they came from Mâzendarân, made in the text here, identifies that country with the two northern regions. The names of these two high-priests are evidently derived from the Avesta genitives Spîtôis Uspâsnaos and Erezrâspahê Uspâsnaos in Yt. XIII, 121, persons concerning whom it is only stated that their fravashis, or guardian spirits, are to be revered.

¹ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

² Av. Hvôva, the family name of Frashôstar, Gâmâsp, and several other ancient personages (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 25).

³ The appellation of the fifth Gâtha (Yas. LIII) which begins with the words vahistâ îstis; it is here written vahistôk-îstô in Pahlavi.

⁴ The Pahlavi explanation of Av. vahistâ îstis.

⁵ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16.

⁶ See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

⁷ 'The blessing of members of the community.' The Dâhmân Âfrînagân consists of Yas. LX, 2-7 with Âf. I, 14-18; but the Âfrîn is another formula, otherwise called 'the Âfrîn of the seven Ameshâspends,' and it is uncertain which of the two is meant here.

preservative of them was the Dāhmân *Āfrīn*. 2. And this, too, that the most admirable of shapes of women *was* Hûmâi¹ of the noble family of Vistâsp, of horses the splendid horse of Vistâsp, of oxen the male ox Barmâyûn², of sheep the very much celebrated³ sheep that is fat, white-jawed, *and* star-spotted, *with its* upper half in a manufacture (pa-sakhtakō) embroidered with gold and the topmost part yellow; and yet not one of them attains an equality to even a single thousandth *part* of the glory of a righteous man, a member of the community, by whom the Dāhmân *Āfrīn* of the good *is uttered*. 3. And this, too, as much as *its* goodness for the man and *his* wife is *its* evil *for* a villain and *his* paramour⁴.

4. About the exercise of sovereignty *by* Kât-Ûs⁵, with triumph, over the earth of seven *regions*; the advancement of his commands, by the people of the creation⁶, more swiftly than a wave of the hands; the construction of his seven dwellings (mân)⁷ in the midst of Albûr'z⁸, one of gold, two of silver, two

¹ Av. (gen.) Humayau of Yt. XIII, 139.

² See Chap. XXI, 22.

³ Reading frêh-ôkhtar (for frêh-ôkhttar), as Bd. XXIV, 3 states that 'the black sheep which is fat and white-jawed is the chief of sheep.' It might be 'the sheep of Frashôkhtar,' and this name might be a miswriting of Frashôstar, but we have no record of any such sheep of his.

⁴ It is easy to trace a connection between §§ 1, 2 and Yas. LIII, 1, and between § 3 and the Pahl. version of Yas. LIII, 6 a.

⁵ Av. Kava Usa (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 13).

⁶ K has 'by demons and men.'

⁷ Probably the origin of the legends of the seven halting-places of Rustam and Isfendiyâr in the Shâhnâmah.

⁸ Here meaning the mountain-range south of the Caspian (see Chap. XX, 3).

of steel, and two of crystal (*âvgtinakîñ*); the restraining of the many Mâzônîk demons¹ who are the ruin of the world, and confining *them* to their own duty; the arrival at those dwellings of his, and the swift winding (*vâftîñdân*) around those dwellings, of a person whose strength is overpowered by decrepitude, and the approach of *whose* life to departure from the body *has* taken place; the reduction (*khû-sânî-hastân*) of the decrepitude thereby, and the return of his strength and manhood, that is, a command is given by him thus: 'Keep no people away at the door!' and he might make a domestic of fifteen years *of age*.

5. Afterwards, the consultation of the demons about the death of Kât-Ûs, and the coming of Aeshm² to Kât-Ûs, approving his death, and, therefore, making *him* wretched in his mind *about* the great sovereignty which *was* possessed by him over the seven lands, and causing him to long for the sovereignty *of* the heavenly region (*âsâmân* ñ *gâs*) of the archangels³. 6. And, owing to the seductiveness of Aeshm, and the other demons who remained his co-operators for that undoing, Kât-Ûs *was* even *engaged* in opposing and molesting the sacred beings. 7. Also his not returning across Albûr'z, *but* rushing upwards, with many demons and wicked people, unto the *outer* edge of darkness⁴;

¹ Av. Mâzainya daêva, the idolators of Mâzendarân.

² The demon of wrath (see Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n).

³ §§ 5-9 are evidently a summary of the original form of the legend of Kâvûs's attempt to reach the sky, otherwise described in the Shâhnâmâh.

⁴ Where the endless light commences. Reading par-i tom; or it might be 'to the utmost,' if we read frêtm as equivalent to frêhtûm.

and the reason *of* the glory of the Kayâns¹ becoming a figure of clay on that border. 8. The previous separation (madam rêgî-hastanô) of Kât-Ûs from the troops, and *his* not turning from that ill-advisedness even on renewed strife aloft² *with* the supreme sacred beings. 9. Afterwards, the creator's calling back the glory of the Kayâns to himself, the falling of the troops of Kât-Ûs to the earth from that height, and the flying of Kât-Ûs to the wide-formed ocean³.

10. This, too, it says, that, besides him, some one⁴ flew behind him, thus associated with him; *and* after him flew Nêryôsang⁵, the promoter (frêh-dâdâr) *of* the world, for diverting that person *from* him. 11. And the cry of him, the unborn Khûsrôî, who *was* thus associated with him, like that of a regiment (sipâh) a thousand *strong*, *was* thus: 'Thou shouldst not smite him, O Nêryôsang, promoter *of* the world! for if thou shouldst smite this man, O Nêryôsang, promoter *of* the world! *there will* not be afterwards obtained, for acquirement, a

¹ K omits 'of the Kayâns.' It is the royal glory of Yt. XIX, which descended from heaven and accompanies the faithful rulers and champions of the religion, successively (see Chap. XXIV, 3).

² B has 'pitying strife;' khvâparîk being written instead of avarîk.

³ Meaning the Caspian, as in Chap. XXI, 17.

⁴ It will be seen, from what follows, that this was the fravashi, or guardian spirit, of his future grandson, Kaî-Khûsrôî. Every being and object belonging to Aûharmazd's creation is supposed to have its spiritual representative, created before the universe and perpetually existing (see Bd. I, 8; Mkh. XLIX, 23).

⁵ Av. Nairyôsangha, an angel who is supposed to be the usual messenger of Aûharmazd to mankind (see Byt. III, 25, 26, 59, 60). K has only 'besides him *and* behind him flew Nêryôsang.'

thorough destroyer *of* the high-priest of Tûrân¹; because owing to this man *will* be born *him whose* name is Stiyâvakhsh², *and* owing to Stiyâvakhsh I *shall* be born, who am the Khûsrôî who *will* entice the most heroic³ *one* of Tûrân—who is mostly the destruction of champions and troops—to the numerous heroes of the religion, so that I *may* accomplish the destruction of his champions and troops, when⁴ I would occasion a distant flight of the sovereign of Tûrân.’ 12. Through these words the guardian spirit of Khûsrôî delighted Nêryôsang, the promoter *of* the world; and, on these words, *the latter was* releasing him and that Kât-Ûs who thereby became discreet.

13. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Sûdkar Nask.

1. The twenty-second fargard, Airyaman⁵, is about the meeting of Kât-Khûsrôî⁶ and Vâê, the long-continuing lord⁷ next to the renovation *of the*

¹ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 15.

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 14.

³ A single particular hero appears to be meant, although this is not quite certain.

⁴ Assuming that mûn, ‘who,’ stands for amat, as in Chap. XIII, 2.

⁵ The appellation of Yas. LIV which begins with the words â airyemâ ishyô; it is here written aîrêmanô (B) and aîremanô (K) in Pahlavi.

⁶ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 14.

⁷ Pahl. vâê-î dêrang-khûdâî=Av. vâya dareghôhvadhâta who is mentioned as a good spirit in Ny. I, 1. There are, how-

universe; and Kai-Khûsrôî's asking Vâê, the long-continuing lord, about his smiting so many of the ancients who have been the highest of mankind in splendour and glory. 2. The reply of Vâê, the long-continuing lord, about his smiting them; and, upon that answer, Kai-Khûsrôî's taking Vâê, the long-continuing lord, and transforming *him* into the shape of a camel, mounting *him*, and going, with the Irânian levies (*hangamanôîkân*), to the place where the immortal Haoist, *son* of Geurva¹, lies in strength², and his letting him lie; also *his* going beyond (*kâdmon*) him to the place where Tûs³, the banisher of strife, lay in strength, and his letting him also lie; and his going beyond him to the place where Kai-*Apīvēh*⁴ lies, and his letting him also lie.

ever, two Vâês (see Dd. XXX, 4; Mkh. II, 115), the good Vâê who assists the departed soul, and the bad Vâê who opposes it; the former is closely connected with the angel Râm in Yt. XV, 9, 58, and the latter with Astô-vîdhôtu, the demon of death, in Vend. V, 8, 9; Bd. XXVIII, 35. They appear to be personifications of the upper and lower air, respectively; the former being considered pure through its connection with the sacred beings, and the latter impure through contamination by the demons. Possibly the legend about Vâê in our text may have been suggested by the words *vayû-beredubyô* and *vayôî* in Yas. LIII, 6, 7; in which case, this *fargard* must be considered, to some extent, as a continuation of the preceding one. According to Dd. XXXVI, 3 Kai-Khûsrôî was made to pass away by Vâê.

¹ Compare Av. *Yûsta Gâurvayana* of Yt. XIII, 118. But *Yôista Fryâna*, of Yt. XIII, 120, is one of the immortals mentioned in Byt. II, 1; Dd. XC, 3.

² Reading *hang*, which can also mean 'a cave;' but we can likewise read *hûg*, 'spiritual life.'

³ Av. *Tusa* of Yt. V, 53, 58; he is one of the immortals mentioned in Bd. XXIX, 6; Dd. XXXVI, 3.

⁴ Av. *Kavi Aipivanghu* of Yt. XIII, 132, XIX, 71. He was son of Kai-Kavâd, brother of Kâi-Ûs, and great-grandfather of Vistâsp's grandfather (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28, 31, 34).

3. His proceeding beyond them, and meeting on the road with that beneficial victor Sôshâns¹, and *being* asked by that beneficial victor thus: 'What man art thou who sittest aloft on Vâê, the long-continuing lord, so that thou makest Vâê fly, the long-continuing lord transformed into the shape of a camel?' 4. The speaking of Kai-Khûsrôî, in reply to Sôshâns, thus; 'I am Kai-Khûsrôî.' 5. The extolling of Kai-Khûsrôî, *by* Sôshâns, as regards his *having* extirpated the idol-temples on the shore of Lake Kêkast², and his smiting the wizard Frâstyâv³.

6. The glorifying of the Mazda-worshipping religion *by* Kai-Khûsrôî; the coming of the powerful being Keresâsp⁴, club in hand, advancing towards them at the dwelling of that wizard Ges⁵; the standing up of Tûs, the banisher of strife, and his calling to Keresâsp for reliance upon the Gâtha lore and *for* union with them; and the praising of righteousness⁶ *by* Keresâsp, and his throwing *away* the arm-breaker.

7. As to these, too, it says that so those men come together *for* producing the renovation *of the universe who* are mentioned in this fargard, and also in other places, *and* are all experienced *and* eminent

¹ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 14.

² Apparently the present Lake Urumiyah (see Bd. XVII, 7, XXII, 2; Mkh. II, 95).

³ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 11.

⁴ See Chap. XV.

⁵ Written *Ū*, but the reading is uncertain; possibly the name may be connected with 'the Veskô progeny' in Chap. XV, 2.

⁶ Reciting the Ashem-vohû formula, as a token of adhesion to the religion.

doers, and all powerful *and* brave; and they shall produce the renovation through a desire for an existence undecaying, immortal, hungerless, and thirstless for ever *and* everlasting.

8. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. Of the Varstmânsar¹ there are twenty-three fargards, *and* the first is the Aêthrapaitis², on the asking of Zaratûst, by Mađôk-mâh³, about the nature of the birth of Zaratûst, and his coming to the religion. 2. And the reply of Zaratûst about the combative coming together of the life-causing and death-causing spirits at his birth⁴. 3. This, too, that when the fellow-villagers⁵ of her who bore *him* saw his head⁶

¹ The second of the Nasks and third of the Gâthic division (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 9, 12). It is a second commentary on the Gâthas, devoting a fargard to each hâ of the Gâthas and to each Gâthic formula, as in the Sûđkar Nask, but beginning with an extra fargard about the birth and calling of Zaratûst. Its chief object appears to be the quotation of texts, both from the Gâthas and from sources no longer known.

² Here written asrapâîtôs (B) and asrapâitis (K) in Pahlavi, which, no doubt, stand for Av. aêthrapaitis, Pers. hêbad, 'a Zoroastrian priest.' This name may either refer to the general subject of the fargard, or have been the first word of its Avesta text; as it seems not intended to quote any section of the Yasna, although the guardian spirits of the priests are revered in Yas. XXVI, 7, 8, before commencing the recitation of the Gâthas.

³ Av. Maidhyô-maungha; he was first cousin of Zaratûst, and also his first disciple (see Bd. XXXII, 2, 3; Zs. XI, 10 n).

⁴ B has 'at the birth of his life.'

⁵ B has ham-vîsagîh, K ham-disagîh.

⁶ Assuming that vagânô stands for vagđânô, which word occurs in § 4, according to K.

*they considered it the shoulder of*¹ Arekdvîksûr², and *his chest and back those of* Ahartsvang³, and when *they saw his full*⁴ bosom *they considered it that of the spirit of liberality*⁵; and by *his side was the Kayân glory*⁶ to rub (mûstanö) *his bosom*.

4. The speaking of Zaratûst spiritually, on the grievous bringing forth of *his head*⁷, thus: 'As a spiritual lord is *my* desire, do thou who art the Zôti speak forth to me⁸;' and the reply from Aûhar-mazd thus: 'So shouldst thou be the priestly master as regards whatever righteousness I speak forth with righteous intelligence; thou art of very much value, thou *art* very righteous, thou *art* most intelligent, and thou *will* state the religion of the Mazda-worshippers to creatures of every kind.' 5. Through that saying an arrow reaches spiritually unto the demons, just as from a mighty chief warrior of Kaî-Vistâsp⁹, like him in a mountain dwelling (garânö mân) who *has* shot an arrow for an attack (patko-pisnö) opposing those in coats of mail. 6. The evil spirit grumbled (dandîdö) to the demons thus: 'Evil *has* it become *for* you *who* are demons, but

¹ B omits 'the shoulder of.'

² Av. Aredvî sûra of Yt. V, a title of Anâhita, the female angel of the waters.

³ See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

⁴ Pahl. aûrûkspar=Av. uruthware.

⁵ Av. Râta, who is associated with the archangel Speñta-Ârmaiti in Yt. II, 3, 8; Sîr. I, II, 5, and with Ashi Vanguhi in Yt. XXIV, 8.

⁶ Av. kavaêm hvarenô (see Chap. XXII, 7).

⁷ B has 'whenever *his birth occurred*.'

⁸ This, with the first clause of the response, is the Pahlavi version of the concluding formula of Yas. XXVI, 11, without the extra Pahlavi glosses.

⁹ See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1-4, XIII, 15.

you are unobservant.' 7. Even so Zaratûst proclaimed life *free* from the control of the demons, when this same *saying was* uttered by him, thus : ' As a spiritual lord is *my* desire ;' and, *at* the falling of the demons upon Zaratûst for *his* destruction, an incarnation (tanû) of *its* spiritual existence stood opposed to them, in that weapon *proceeding* from Zaratûst, to keep them back.

8. And he spoke again thus : ' The religion of the benefitters progresses there in him who, through good actions, *has* joyfulness owing to his righteousness¹ ;' and, through that saying, an arrow reaches spiritually unto the demons, equal to ten *of* that which *was* first spoken, and, *at* the falling of the demons upon Zaratûst for *his* destruction, it stood spiritually opposed to them, and that weapon *proceeding* from Zaratûst kept *them* back.

9. The third utterance of Zaratûst, on the bringing forth of *his* arms, *was* thus : ' That which the first existence produced is to be so practised, with attention, through actions to be concealed *by* him who is a priestly authority (radô)² ;' and through that saying an arrow reaches spiritually unto the demons, equal to one hundred *of* that which *was* first spoken, and, *at* the falling of a demon upon Zaratûst for *his* death, *its* spirit, *as* a sacred being, kept the demon away from Zaratûst.

10. And, when the whole body of Zaratûst *was* brought forth, trouble (âsi pō) fell among the demons, and the demons rushed back to hell in haste ; light

¹ This is the Pahlavi version of Yas. XXXIV, 13 b, without the glosses.

² This is the Pahlavi version of Yas. XXXIII, 1 a, b, without the glosses and incomplete.

increased among the creatures, and every creature of the beneficent sacred being is pleased and talked of virtuous conduct. 11. And Aûharmazd took away Zaratûst with joyfulness to provide security for *him*, and Arekdvîksûr, Ahartsvang, and the primitive and Kayân glory *in* the body of Zaratûst spoke to Zaratûst of *its* production *by* Aûharmazd thus: 'Thou shouldst think of him who is wise.' 12. Thereupon Zaratûst spoke spiritually, *in* reply, thus: 'I am a Mazda-worshipper, I profess the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst¹; *and* this *means* that I am an apostle of Aûharmazd, and am sent *by* Aûharmazd.'

13. And Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst thus: '*As to* the sacred beings *of* the worldly *existence*, do thou beg companionship from them; *but as to* the demons, do thou long for (dôsh)² separation from every one of them; practise good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and abstain from evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.' 14. Also about vigilantly reverencing the sacred beings, and the reward thereof; not strengthening the vile, nor weakening³ the good; expounding *for* the disturber of religion (dênô-padrêsh), and producing liberality for the accepters of religion; and not turning *away* from the religion on account of fondness for body and life.

15. The accepting of such advice spiritually *by* Zaratûst, and his glorifying Aûharmazd, for crea-

¹ This is the Pahlavi version of part of Yas. XII, 7, 8 (XIII, 25 Sp.) without the glosses.

² B has 'hope for' (nyôsh).

³ Assuming that nizôrînfîdanô (K) stands for nizârînfîdanô; B has zôrînfîdanô, which is synonymous with the previous nîrû-kînfîdanô, 'strengthening.'

tiveness, sovereignty, and all goodness, and the primary archangels *and* other good creations, each separately, for their own special glory¹. 16. And, afterwards, the grumbling of the evil spirit maliciously, at that vexation, thus: 'I have produced, for the annoyance² of *any* upholder of that religion of thine, 99,999 wizards, 99,999 wolf-worshippers³, and 99,999 apostates.'

17. Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst thus: 'Maintain this religion steadfastly, for through the assistance of this religion I, who am Aûharmazd, *will* be with thee, and the omniscient wisdom becomes thine, and extends to thy disciples, Maîdôk-mâh⁴, Parshad-gâvô⁵, Sênô⁶, Kai-Vistâsp, Frashôstar, and Gâmâsp⁷, the teacher of public observance and will to the righteous, *besides* many of the people who are diligent and even those who are idle, and their good works and praise *will* be owned by thee.' 18. Like-

¹ Or it may be 'in his own particular soul (nisman).'

² Pahl. rêshîdârîh, which B omits.

³ This term, gûrg-yazakô (=Av. vehrkayâza), does not occur in the extant Avesta.

⁴ See § 1.

⁵ Av. Parshad-gau of Yt. XIII, 96 (compare Pâz. Parsadgâ of Bd. XXIX, 5). This name can also be read Fradâdayânô and be compared with Av. Fradhidaya of Yt. XIII, 97.

⁶ Av. Saêna of Yt. XIII, 97, who is said to have 'first set forth upon this earth with a hundred disciples.' Further details about him are given in Chap. XXXIII, 5. In the third and seventh books of the Dinkard his name is written Sênôv (for Sênôk or Sênôê) which has been read Dâyn by Peshotan (Dk. pp. 308-314 of English translation), as pointed out by Darmesteter in his *Textes Pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme*, p. 3, n. 2. In Dk. VII he is said to have been a high-priest who was born in the 100th year of the religion, and died in its 200th year.

⁷ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

wise about the worldly display of the religion to Zaratûst *by* Aûharmazd, the accepting of the religion *by* Zaratûst through recitation and faith, and the reverence of the Ahunavair¹ *by* Zaratûst.

19. Also about Aûharmazd *having* created the creatures in the spiritual *existence*, and their allotment out to the worldly *existence*, the superiority of the righteous man as compared with other creatures, and, among mankind, *of* him who is relying on the provisions of the law and *its* unchangeableness from goodness, *and* who is a teacher and provider of teaching *as to* the pre-eminent existence of the good religion of the sacred beings.

20. And a summary about the bringing together of that fire which is the residue of a fire in a house, for the reverence of that water which is nearest to the dwelling, and *of* any spirit of a kinsman; and *as to him* who leaves that fire, water, and spirit, and, on account of a similar desire, reverences another fire, water, and spirit, *but* none of them can accept that ceremonial, and the acceptance of that man's ceremonial *by* the others *will have* occurred just when the *former* three are revered by him.

21. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER XXV.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The second fargard, Yathâ-ahû-vairyô², is about the worthiness, as to worldly and spiritual virtue, in a ruler and *in* the production of a high-

¹ See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7.

² The Ahunavair (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7) upon which this fargard is a commentary quoting some text on the subject in § 2.

priest's efficiency; *and* they *have* been suitable for leadership and priestly authority with whom *there is* an existence of it; *also* other talent through which sovereignty and priestly authority are appropriated, and *which* the ruler *or* high-priest himself possesses.

2. 'My wish (dôsh), *O* Zaratûst! is *that* thou *be* in spiritual lordship and priestly authority, because thou art, *O* Zaratûst! provided with a spiritual lord *and* possessing priestly instruction—that is, they consider thee, too, as high-priest—*and* it is because thine is the accomplishment of rites, that thou art quite preserved when *there is* an encounter of the demons with thee—that is, a dispute of apostates with thee.' 3. It is non-possession of a ruler and high-priest, *or* non-possession of a ruler¹, *that* became the nature and law of the demons; and the maintenance of Aûharmazd *and* the archangels, as ruler and high-priest, and the dominion of Aûharmazd *are* combined with beneficence.

4. This, too, that through righteousness a priestly instructor (radô) is a ruler at will, a sage and benefactor, a cherisher and cleanser (âsnîdâr) of the poor; also the fitness for the supreme heaven (garôdmânîkîh) of all those who *are* accepting the religion which *proceeds* from Zaratûst.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The third fargard, Ashem-vohû², is about

¹ K omits these five words, and B has a blank space for the letters khûd in khûdâf, 'ruler.'

² See Chap. III, 1 n.

admonition as to the praising of righteousness, which is itself the production of true awe of Aûharmazd, the perfection of existences, the better state of prayers¹, and the greatest assemblage of righteousness, good breeding, humility (avöpatagîh), awe of the spiritual *existence*, extreme joyfulness, and comfort and enlightenment of soul. 2. *Also* the equipment (padmûkîh) of him who is practising as a high-priest is righteousness and the maintenance of the worship *and* obeisance for the spirit of righteousness.

3. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The fourth fargard, Yênhê-hâtâm², *states that* Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân thus: 'Utter the words of the ceremonial *and* obeisance *for* us who are Aûharmazd *and*³ the archangels, because they are, *O* Zaratûst! thy ritual *for* water⁴, ritual *for* plants, ritual *for* a guardian spirit of the righteous, and ritual *for* an angel of a spiritual *existence*, or who is even appointed for a worldly *existence*.'

2. And Zaratûst spoke thus: 'I *will* utter the words of Aûharmazd, which are opposed to harm

¹ K omits 'of prayers.'

² See Chap. IV, 1 n. The texts quoted in this fargard appear to be no longer extant.

³ B omits 'Aûharmazd *and*.'

⁴ K omits 'ritual *for* water.'

and are the ordinance of Aûharmazd, those of the ceremonial and obeisance *for* you who are arch-angels.'

3. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The fifth fargard, Yântm-manô¹, is about the beneficence *and* worthiness of Zaratûst, through the virtuousness of his thoughts, words, *and* deeds²; the priority of Aûharmazd³, and the first possession of obeisance (nîyâyisnô) to him; the mindful performance of obeisance *to* the sacred beings, *and* all the merit *of* obeisance *to* the sacred beings; the excellence of receiving a righteous man, *of* bringing fire together, and *of* maintaining the good religion; the elementary (khâm) wisdom⁴ of the creator, and the consideration of every duty towards his will and creation; the outward indication as to propitious discrimination and *of what* is done *by* those who are propitious; *and* the existence of every kind *of* self-attraction *by* Zaratûst towards the religion, from first to last, through the complete reasoning thought that arose solely through obeisance *to* the sacred beings.

2. This, too, that 'thou art come to the supreme heaven (garôdmân)⁵, O righteous Zaratûst! thou

¹ See Chap. V, 1 n.

² See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, o.

³ Ibid. 1 b.

⁴ Ibid. 1 c.

⁵ Ibid. 4 a.

art aware of the deeds, *O Zaratûst!* which *were* practised by those in the bodily existence, *and* which still they practise, and the sacred beings *have* placed upon mankind acquiring the power of good works.' 3. And about the wonderfulness of the supreme heaven *there is* this, too, that whoever is in that abode is not any one *that* passes away after *his* birth; at the time of the renovation *of the universe* the supreme heaven is lowered down to the star station¹, the earth *being* up to there, and Vohûman² is summoned for every purpose to the conference, and, when they call him, Mitrô's³ investigation as regards the existence of righteousness is on the spot; through the coming of that archangel⁴ of true statements for assistance, and through the co-operation of the *other* archangels and Srôsh² the righteous, is the overpowering of the vexing of distressers⁵; and the assistance of the archangels for Zaratûst *was* when he went forth for disabling the vicious law of Irân. 4. Concerning Zaratûst *there is* this, too, in the words of Aûharmazd, that is: 'Thou art our own, *O Zaratûst!* and this liberality *to* thee is ours; anything *one* gives to thee is given by him *to* us;' *also* the announcement to Zaratûst, *and* the bringing *of him to* Vistâsp⁶ for his assistance and likewise the strength⁷ of his sovereignty for him.

¹ The lowest grade of heaven (see Sls. VI, 3 n).

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 for both angels.

³ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16.

⁴ Vohûman.

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 6 c.

⁶ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1; and compare Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 6 b, 7 b, c.

⁷ So in K, but B has '*also* his announcement on *being* brought *to* Vistâsp, and Zaratûst *was* an assistance to him *and* the strength, &c.'

5. The discipleship and veneration of Frashôstar¹ also, and the laudation of Frashôstar for making the religion progressive and *for its* true transmission in the words of Aûharmazd; also the whole righteousness of those whom Frashôstar attracted to the religion.

6. About the laudation of Zaratûst *there is* this, too, that is: '*Thou art* not astray *from* us, neither in life, nor in enquiry, nor *in* openly announcing, even when demonstrating² the religion to others, nor in anything whatever, *O* Spîtâmân! *from* us who are archangels; and the donation of benefit to suppliants is the food, and the clothing for us, who are in the ceremonial *of* the sacred beings, is unworn (asûdakö)³.'

7. About guarding a friend, managing an unfriendly *person*, and affording a person shelter for the sake of protection, justice, and rectitude⁴; also the unworthy condition of that man who, requiring to perform those duties and good works that are important, shall perform those that are trivial. 8. And this, too, that is: '*Thou art* likewise aware, *and* thou also understandest it, *O* righteous Zaratûst! through the sagacity of my wisdom, which was the first among existences⁵, and which is also so unto the last existence.'

9. Righteousness is excellence *that is* perfect.

¹ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68, and compare Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 8 b, c.

² K has 'when thou wouldst demonstrate.'

³ See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 10 c.

⁴ Ibid. 11 a.

⁵ Ibid. 11 c.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The sixth fargard, Khshmaibyâ¹, is about the complaint of Gôš-aûrvan² to Aûharmazd, when she sat at the creation in the assembly of the arch-angels, as regards the abundant disease and misery which she saw spiritually *would* come upon her in a bodily existence, through beating, slaughtering, *and* wounding, stealing, plundering, and presenting, *by* him of vicious actions *and* worse desires, as a bribe to him who is an evil-ruling villain (mar), and the operation thereof: the bad ownership, wrongful investigation, false evidence, and making captive (vardakô), *by* him who is wrathful *and* oppressive through greed and envy, from the warm cowshed *and* the effective *and* diligent guardianship of the herd's dog (pasûs-haûrvô), to that which is a cold *and* hastily-constructed place; *or by* him who is seeking meat *with* a merciless hand through making *her* distantly separated from *her* young. 2. Also *their* explanation and extenuation (kâstanô)³, and the causing of misery of many kinds thereby, 'which is no affliction to them when the wind that is cold⁴, *or* even that which is hot, comes upon me; *which* is no affliction to them when, the *untimely offspring of*

¹ See Chap. VI, 1 n; it is here written khshmaîbâ (B) and khshmaîbê (K) in Pahlavi.

² See Chap. XV, 3; Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1.

³ Or it may be 'fining and beating,' as K has kûstanô.

⁴ B has 'when *some* of that *which* is cold,' writing aîtô for vâdô in this first clause, and amat min for amatam in the first and third clauses.

my womb *being* cast away, they slaughter me; and is no affliction to them when the serpent, the leech (khun-garât)¹, *or* even the foulest of noxious creatures gnaws me.' 3. And the petition of Gôś-aûrvan *was* thus: 'Do not appoint me to a worldly *existence* and that awful misery, *or*, if thou appointest me to a worldly *existence*, produce it for me without life (aû-zûstânîhâ), so that I *may* be without feeling and *may* want that distressing² pain; *it is* created for the mighty, through whose assistance there is a capability of affording protection *to* me, even though the Kai and Karap³ exist.'

4. And, *together* with the just complaint of Gôś-aûrvan, and the compassion of the archangels as to that complaint, *there is* then the creation of the creatures, among whom the greatest and best⁴ is mankind, for fighting *and* subduing the destroyer, even though joined together with a complaint of wounding and affliction like *that of* Gôś-aûrvan, *and* Gôś-aûrvan arose with greater judiciousness than an absence of creation even with freedom from disturbance by the Kats⁵; on account of the necessity of preparing *for* the living of mankind through the assistance of cattle, Gôś-aûrvan *was* produced for the material bodily existence and assistance of mankind. 5. And, on account of little feeling for her worldly misery, the breeding (mâyînl'danö) of cattle *was* the arraying

¹ Doubtful.

² K has 'ill-passing.'

³ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n.

⁴ B has 'of whom the best.'

⁵ The obnoxious tribe, or class, mentioned in § 3. After the word 'affliction' K completes the clause to this point as follows:—'just as Gôś-aûrvan arose with greater judiciousness than an absence of creation even with an adversity of the primitive tendency.'

of strife; the advancement of the *Mazda*-worshipping religion of Zaratûst in the world *by* Gôš-aûrvan, on the production of Zaratûst for the assistance of cattle; *and* the preservation of cattle and other good creations through complete satisfaction *at* the progress *of* the religion.

6. This, too, *was* said to Gôš-aûrvan, that is: 'I assert unto thee the passing away of devastation, that is, the existence of a remedy *for* the misery owing to the evil spirit¹, *for* which no creature would be produced by me—me who am Aûharmazd—when a remedy *for* the misery owing to him had not been known to me.' 7. This, too, that the wish of the evil spirit was thus: 'Thou shouldst never produce a creature, *O* Aûharmazd! and *there* should be here no spiritual lordship, no priestly authority, and no desire for perfect righteousness, *or* necessity for duty and good works.' 8. The enquiry of Gôš-aûrvan, thus: 'For whom am I appointed and formed?'² and the reply to her, thus: 'For him who is diligent *and* moderate'³.

9. Also the friend and nourishment (srâyisnô) begged for cattle *by* Gôš-aûrvan, the righteous man produced for the assistance of cattle *by* Aûharmazd, and the sweetness in water and plants for the nourishment of cattle, so that he is privileged to feed *and* keep cattle who gives them pasture *in* reality, and is also diligent *in* the production of cattle, that is, he gives them pasture, and is thereby proclaimed a cattle-guardian (pasûs-haûrvô) for them who makes the cattle fully develope⁴; and also

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 6 a.

³ Ibid. 6 c.

² Ibid. 1 a.

⁴ Ibid. 2 b.

he who gives the wicked Wrath, the foreigner, a beating, so that he may make *him* stupefied¹.
 10. The development of cattle *by* Aûharmazd, advice to mankind as to moderate eating², and the grievous bridge *judgment* of him who *has* unlawfully produced distress *for* the cattle whom Gôš-aûrvan is kindly regarding, with loving eyes³, in the spiritual *existence*, in bodily contact with (ham-kerpö-1) the arch-angels and in bodily contact with the light of the sun, so that *her* hands are more powerful; she who replies to the sacred beings, and the sacred beings reply to her⁴.

11. About the statements of Aûharmazd *there is* this, too, that is: 'I am a calculator of those words⁵ by which they assert *that* the existence of worldly beings is for the sake of that of both existences; I am aware *of* the actions which are practised by those in the material existence, *both* demons and men; of whatever they practise⁶ I am the decider *and* lord, and it is such as my will *requires*⁷, even for the last change of existence; and I look upon all that with that wisdom and sagacity of mine which was, which is, and which ever *will* be.'

12. The formation of a reward for worldly beings *by* Aûharmazd, through the propitious liturgy (mânsarspend)⁸ which has become the precursor of the benefitters; that is, their high-priest, who *has*

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 2 c.

² Ibid. 7 b.

³ Pahl. kâmakö-dôîsar = Av. vouru-dôithra, an epithet of Râta, 'liberality' (see Chap. XXIV, 3), and Saoka, 'prosperity;' but here applied to Gôš-aûrvan.

⁴ Some words in § 10 occur also in Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 3.

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 4 a.

⁶ Ibid. 4 b.

⁷ Ibid. 4 c.

⁸ Ibid. 7 a.

a propitiousness and intelligence that are all-beneficial, is he *with* the liturgy. 13. And about the uniqueness and incomparableness of Zaratûst among mankind, through *his* desire for righteousness and *his* understanding the means of defeating the destroyer¹ and teaching the creatures.

14. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER XXX.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The seventh fargard, *Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ*², is regarding the maintenance of the worship and obeisance of the religion and the spirit of the liturgy; and this, too, that the spirit of the ceremonial of him who is a right-thinking, intelligent, and wise³ man is quickly mixed up with the light of the sun, and connected with the accomplishment of the wishes and the joy of the archangels.

2. About the choice of will *by* mankind, and the existence of a way to reward through *their* decision.

3. About advice to mankind as to seeking that position in which it is possible to remain long with fondness, and *as to* reciting and teaching⁴ the revelation of the sacred beings.

4. And, from the statement of Zaratûst, about the shouting of the demon Aresh⁵ to mankind, *thus*:

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 8 c.

² See Chap. VII, 1 n; it is here written at-tâg-vakhshê in Pahlavi in both MSS.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 1 a, c.

⁴ Ibid. 2 c.

⁵ See Chap. XXXI, 6; the demon of envy, or malice, called Arêshk, or Arashk, in Bd. XV, 18, XXVIII, 16.

'Aûharmazd and Aharman have been two brothers in one womb¹, and out of them the archangel² liked that which is evil³, through what *occurs* when the understanders of it *have* mentioned the worship of the demons and this, that, after it, you *should* present cattle to the planetary *bodies and* the demons.'

5. About the falsity of the demon Aresh, the separate origin of light and darkness, the goodness of the material *existence* of light for determining *what* is done, and the evil of that of darkness.

6. The grumbling of the evil spirit thus: 'I am he whose thoughts *are* evil, O beneficent spirit! he whose words *are* evil, and he whose deeds *are* evil⁴; what is dark is my garment which is very thick, with lower corners where, so far as many go, *it is still* darker⁵; evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds are my food, and I love those *of* them who are in *that place* through evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.' 7. And the speaking of Aûharmazd thus: 'I am he whose thoughts *are* good, O evil spirit! he whose words *are* good, and he whose deeds *are* good⁶; the sky is my garment, which *was* first produced from that substance of the worldly *existences* which is created as the stone above all stones⁷, that is, every jewel is set in it; good thoughts, good words, and good deeds are my food, and I love those *of* them who are in *that place*

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 3 a. This materialization of the Gâthic text, here reported as the utterance of a malicious demon, corresponds very closely with the statement of the Armenian Eznik quoted in Haug's Essays, p. 13.

² That is, the arch-demon who was archangel of the demons.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 5 a. ⁴ Ibid. 3 b. ⁵ Referring to hell.

⁶ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 3 b.

⁷ Ibid. 5 b.

through good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds.'

8. This, too, that true discrimination is not for them, the demons¹ astute in evil; and they never truly discriminate whose will is that of Akôman².

9. And about the sickening (*vîmârinîdanö*) of the patron spirits of mankind, *by* the demons³, through the deceit of man towards man owing to the deceit of the demons; and the approach of mankind to evil proceedings *on the part* of the spiritual lordship, through those patron spirits⁴.

10. Also the sending of monarchy and the wisdom of religion, *by* Aûharmazd, for the preservation of the creatures; the recurrence of the mission⁵ whereby *there are* injury and affliction for the demons and sovereignty again for Aûharmazd, and they possess the reward of Vohûman⁶ and *what* is required *by* the sacred beings; and the predominance of man over demon, in the end, the good over the evil, and the righteous over the wicked; also about the nature of those *who* are producing the renovation of the universe. 11. This, too, that is a declaration: 'They are those, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! who shall produce the renovation, they have escaped (*girekhtö*) among the existences, they are

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 6 a.

² Evil thought (see Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3).

³ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 6 c.

⁴ The ahû, or patron spirit, having become diseased and incapable of true ahvôîh, or spiritual lordship, through the action of the demons.

⁵ Reading lakhvar petamî-hastanö (or petam gâstanö) which probably refers to the later missions of Aûshêdar, Aûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 12-14).

⁶ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 8 b.

vigilant¹ in seeking righteousness, and gentle-voiced; and, as regards righteousness in thought, they convert into righteousness anything virtuous which *belongs* to them.' 12. About the statement of *those* praised it is recited that it is thus mentioned in the Gâthas: 'So we are with *those* who are thine—that is, we are thine own—by us this renovation is to be produced in the existences².' 13. About the perpetual convocation *held by* the archangel regarding the production of the future existence³.

14. This, too, that *he* is an extender of the days of those who defeat the army of the fiend⁴ and clothe themselves *with* deeds of shining light, and also those of a virtuous body, who are these: the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, and the man who is a ruler; with whom are Aharîsvang⁵ and the spirit of liberality (râdîh)⁶; they meditate with good thoughts (hû-mînisnîh)⁷ and joy, and, with pleasure to themselves, they give the world into the guardianship of Aûharmazd, and also of Ashavahist⁸, when they possess the religion of Aûharmazd as a ruler. 15. This, too, that *he*, whose thoughts are through a high-priest who possesses a patron spirit, always thinks that which is virtuous, *and* his sagacity increases⁹.

16. And about advice to mankind as to three things, through which the renovation and happy progress of the creatures arise, *namely*, seeking the

¹ Pahl. zên-hâvand=Av. zaênangha.

² See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 9 a. ³ Ibid. 9 b. ⁴ Ibid. 10 a.

⁵ The female angel of perfect rectitude (see Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3).

⁶ See Chap. XXIV, 3. ⁷ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 10 b.

⁸ Ibid. 10 c and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14.

⁹ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 9 c.

true religion, abstaining from injuring the creatures, *and* striving for the benefit of mankind.

17. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The eighth fargard, Tâ-ve-urvâtâ¹, is about advice as to reciting² the revelation, the information therefrom for the faithful, about which *they have* to report to the unfaithful, by mentioning conspicuous specimens *and* explanatory knowledge, and *by* thinking *of* anything whatever which *they have* to accept, *or* even which *they have* not to accept³; *also*, for *one* called *to* the religion, the advantage owing to the attraction of mankind to the numerous actual discipleship of the religion, and the increasing greatness materially, and further reward spiritually, owing to the numerous discipleship; and the progress of the religion of Aûharmazd even among the irreligious (adênôân)⁴ and actual apostates⁵.

2. This, too, that the life of the creatures of Aûharmazd and also all other benefit are owing to Aûharmazd⁶ and the inclination (kâmvarîkakö) of Aûharmazd thereto; moreover, reward and recompense come from Aûharmazd. 3. And the creatures of Aharman proceed from Aharman, all misery is owing to Aharman, and Aharman becomes worse and more oppressive and a further producer of misery when they worship him.

¹ See Chap. VIII, 1 n; it is here written tâg-va-ratö in Pahlavi in both MSS.

² See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 1 a.

³ B omits these last eight words.

⁴ K has akdênôân, 'infidels.'

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 1 c.

⁶ Ibid. 2 c.

4. About the continuance and arranging of both spirits as to their own creations (stī) and the self-acting of their own appliances; the achievement of each one through his own natural resources and through the trifling (*gaḍagânk*) operation of the other; the spiritual lordship and priestly authority, true confession *and* the progress of the good religion, *being from* Aûharmazd, *and*, through enmity *to* the creatures of Aûharmazd, Aharman is contesting these. 5. Aûharmazd, for setting aside that con-tester, is the producer of true intelligence, *and* gave language and also the ritual of ordeal¹; the invocation of the sacred beings² for assistance, and the arrival of an angel for the assistance of the invokers; the overcoming of their affliction, the production of their immunity and even righteousness, and also *of* that good ruler³ who is a reminder of Aûharmazd, and the restoration of bodies, *which is* the hope of all good creations, *are* through the sacred beings *being* invoked for assistance and *their* arrival where the diffusion⁴ is that of virtuous knowledge through Vohûman⁵, the good religion which is whatever *may be* the knowledge⁶ *of* all those who are, *and* were, *and* will be.

6. About the shouting of the demon Aresh⁷ to

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 3 b, c.

² Ibid. 4 a, b.

³ Ibid. 4 c.

⁴ K has 'ceremonial.'

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 5 b.

⁶ K has hû-dânâkîh, 'sagacity.'

⁷ The demon of envy, as in Chap. XXX, 4. The occurrence of his dialogue with Zaratûst in this place explains the word 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 which is found twice in Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 5 b, and has been read hû-vârîh, 'good judgment,' or hû-vaharîh, 'good fortune.' In the MSS. called Pt₄ and Mf₄, in Geldner's edition of the Avesta, this Pahlavi word is both times separated into two thus: 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 which may be read avô Aresh, 'to Aresh,' and the whole

Zaratûst and the reply of Zaratûst as to the advice of Aûharmazd and whatever is on the same subject, just as revelation (dênô) states it, that the demon Aresh spoke to him thus : ' Then the Franâmam ¹, *O Zaratûst ! is applicable to the assembly of demons who sit in the same place three nights and four days on account of thee.*' 7. Zaratûst enquired of him thus : '*O Aresh, thou most deceitful to me ! what recompense would there be for it to me, if I should worship you in words ?*' 8. And Aresh, the most deceitful of demons, spoke to him thus : '*Thou wouldst become predominant among mankind, through producing at will among the existences just as is requisite for thyself ; and thou wouldst become immortal, O Sptâmân !*' 9. Zaratûst also enquired of him thus : '*O Aresh, most deceitful of demons ! as to the people by whom you are worshipped, whether for the birth of a son, or even for a concubine sought for enjoyment, so that the favour is considered by them as your property, how can any one of them be immortal ?*' 10. And Aresh, the most deceitful of demons, *could* not tell him who *had* the more intelligence. 11. *So* Zaratûst spoke thus : ' I am *for* that *being* and I like him, that is, I am his

§ 5 b may be translated as follows :—' The gift of understanding through Good Thought is that *which* thou shouldst give unto me (that is, that wisdom thou shouldst proclaim to me as virtuousness), which is *to* me (through what *pertains* to it) that which is for Aresh (that is, through that wisdom which is virtuousness it shall become possible for me to give a reply to Aresh).' The reply here mentioned appears to be that given in § 11 of our text ; and the name Aresh explains the word *ereshi* in the original Avesta text as meaning 'envy' and being equivalent to *araska*.

¹ The *Mazda*-worshipper's profession of faith, beginning with the word Av. *fravarânê* (Yas. I, 23)=Pahl. *franâmam*.

own and would transact his affairs, and I *will* recite the law and the benedictions of the sagacious Aûharmazd, the gratifier of desires.'

12. About the deliverance of all creatures through the liturgy ¹, and, so long as it is continued by them, *it is* for the power through which the immortality of the separate creations is prepared in the renovation *of the universe*; the increase *of* the good creatures through the complete continuance *of* the liturgy, *and* the existence of purity and development of goodness in the world when he who is a good ruler arrives.

13. The arising of the spiritual creation, the first thought of Aûharmazd; *and, as to* the creatures of Aûharmazd, first the spiritual achievement, and then the material formation and the mingling of spirit with matter; [the advancement of the creatures thereby, through his wisdom *and* the righteousness of Vohûman being lodged ² in the creatures,] and all good creatures being goaded (zakhamt-hastanô) thereby into purity and joyfulness. 14. This, too, that a complete understanding of things arises through Vohûman having made a home in *one's* reason (vârôm).

15. About the great reward of him who shall produce benefit for cattle ³; also the deceitfully and seductively assuming of religion and colouring of thought, talking of righteousness and adopting evil practices, through the recitation of righteousness even hypocritically (davânsîhâ-kê); *and* an instance *of* the reward of an undutiful (avar'zîdâr) apos-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 6 b.

² Ibid. 6 c. The passage in brackets occurs only in K.

³ Ibid. 10 a, b.

tate¹. 16. About the work of the creator; *and*, for the completion thereof, the most eminent is understood *to be* when the world *and* religion *were* formed² by him, when life *was* given by him to those possessing bodies³, and ⁴ he provides instruction and employment⁵ for it, and when spiritual life (h û kō)⁶ *was* given by him to the wishful *man*, so that he may more *fully* appropriate a share of the worldly and spiritual *existences*.

17. *He* who makes complete mindfulness⁷ lodge in *his* body consults complete mindfulness, and⁸, through the much investigation of *his* spiritual life (ah vō) and mind into the attraction of both spirits—that which is good and also *that* which is evil—each separately for its own appliances, and *into* the duties of the religion of Aûharmazd, is explaining the inefficiency of mankind, as regards the dissipation of their sin, because Aûharmazd is aware of all they practise, that which is public and that, too, which is concealed⁹. 18. The great reward of him who is liberal of gifts (dâsar) from his own property to a

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 10 c. ² Ibid. 11 a. ³ Ibid. 11 b.

⁴ So originally in B, but altered into 'when,' by the repairer of the MS., so as to agree with K.

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 11 c.

⁶ B has kâmak, 'desire,' with 'the wishful' in the plural, and this might agree better with Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 11 c, but not with the next clause in the sentence here, where both nominative and verb are in the singular.

⁷ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 12 c. This term is the Pahl. equivalent of Av. ârmaiti which is usually personified as the female archangel Spendarmad.

⁸ The MS. K is left unfinished at this point, merely adding the words expressed by 'into the attraction of,' in this translation. For the remainder of Bk. IX the only known MS. authority is B.

⁹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 13 a.

righteous man¹; and this, too, that whoever gives him who is wicked² a gift, for the sake of improper expectations, assists darkness and not light.

19. This, too, that the worst ruler is he of evil religion *and* evil deeds, who even for a bribe³ would not occasion happiness; he who is a destroyer of an innocent *man*; also the grievous state of punishment *of* that person, in hell, who shall make that wicked *one* a ruler⁴. 20. And advice to mankind as to providing a judge and guardian over every dwelling, the probation of a man for appointment *to* that important duty, *and* the development of all creations *in* the world when its ruler is sagacious⁵.

21. Also causing the disturbance (*va-siklīnt-danō*) of the evil spirit for satisfying a man who is rightly thinking, rightly speaking, *and* rightly acting; the opposition *to* a righteous *man of* a wicked *one belonging to* the evil spirit, who is an evil-reciting *and* improperly-disputing apostate; the enticement (*lūsīnt-danō*) of mankind to devious *ways* (*āvārthā*), *by* an apostate, *being* more than that which attracts to the true way for a righteous *man*; and afterwards also, in the end, the defeat *of* the army of the fiend *by him* who is beneficial *to* mankind. 22. Advice to mankind about abstaining from the suite of him who is an apostate, not hearing and not solemnizing the Avesta and Zand of the sacred beings from him⁶; also the evil behaviour (*dūs-barisnīh*), slander, strife, death, and fear in the world owing to apostates⁷. 23. Advice to upholders of the religion about the means of thoroughly understanding apos-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 14 b.

² Ibid. 14 c.

³ Ibid. 15 b.

⁴ Ibid. 15 a.

⁵ Ibid. 16 a.

⁶ Ibid. 18 a.

⁷ Ibid. 18 b.

tates, and preparing *and* keeping a weapon for them¹, so that he who is authorised *and* fearless *may be* more eager for truthful speaking; *and*, when the religion of Aûharmazd is liked by him, his truthful speaking and other righteousness have then allured (kâmakînidö)².

24. Also *what* happens in the three *nights*³, for the assistance and preservation of the righteous, through *what* is accomplished *by* the propitious fire⁴; and the progress of his lamentation who deceives and vexes a righteous man⁵, *and* is leading the wicked *by* their own befitting deeds to hell⁶. 25. This, too, that the complete worthiness which *exists* in Khûrdad and Amûrdad⁷ arises *in* him who maintains the prerogative which is his⁸ through virtuousness, who must become such a friend of whatever is his own spirit, through *his* actions⁹, as the creator is *of* his own creatures. 26. This, too, that whatever is thus in the world is perfect, when every one thinks, speaks, *and* shall act just like his spiritual lord *and* high-priest¹⁰; so that a good ruler is he with whom virtuous speaking arises, as well as proper action¹¹. 27. *And* this, too, that the lodgment of Aûharmazd in the worldly *existence* is most in the person of that ruler¹², and that lodgment in him is manifest.

28. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

¹ Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 18 c.

² Ibid. 19 b.

³ After death.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 19 c and Chap. XII, 4.

⁵ Ibid. 20 a.

⁶ Ibid. 20 c.

⁷ Ibid. 21 a and Chap. XIX, 1.

⁸ Ibid. 21 b.

⁹ Ibid. 21 c.

¹⁰ Ibid. 22 a.

¹¹ Ibid. 22 b.

¹² Ibid. 22 c.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The ninth fargard, *Hvaêtumaiti*¹, is about the coming of three deceitful demons, and *their* making supplication (lâgak-karîh) to Aûharmazd², so that he should consider and reward those aggrieved by him, and it would amount to strength for them in destroying the creatures. 2. The disgorging (akhvârdanô) of supplication *by* those demons clamorously upwards from an abyss, *and* the statement of one that *he is*³ the kindred that is undeceitful, of *another* one that *he is* the serfdom that is undeceitful, *and* of *the third* one that he is the confederacy that is undeceitful, *was* in these words, namely: 'We are those spirits when the kinsman, confederate, and serf⁴ do not break promises, one with the other; we are not really these that are no implements of thine, *but* our religion *and* law are thine, and we do thy will; we become assistants of *him* who is thy friend, and injurers of *him* who is thy enemy⁴; *and* from thee we beg a position in the existence that is best, the reward that is a reward of the worthy.'

3. The reply of Aûharmazd to them *was* thus: 'You rush out, astute in evil, to the extremity (bûn) of that horrible gloom⁵; so you are all from the demon, your race is really from Evil Thought, that

¹ See Chap. IX, 1 n.

² See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 1 a.

³ Literally 'I am.'

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 1 c.

⁵ Compare Pahl. Vend. XIX, 147.

is, your race is from there where Evil Thought ¹, as well as Lust the destroyer and also Greed the well-accumulating, *resides*, and *where*, moreover, Îndar the fighter is the spirit of the religion of apostasy and further deceives the worldly *existence* of mankind, as to proper living and immortal progress ², and first confines their thoughts. 4. He shall first do this, so that he *may* restrain the thoughts of men from virtuous things ³, and their further words and perverted further deeds from the ceremonial of us who are archangels; they further lose *their* wisdom ⁴, and further consider even as perfect righteousness that which is loved *by* the demons; they utter the false words and consecrate with the worse deeds of mankind; *and* with the holy-water which *one* consecrates most *to* you, more falsely *and* more arrogantly ⁵ than that falsity and arrogance, do they enhance the greatest ceremonial, so that they shall make more of the most. 5. Owing to discord, through that love of you who are demons, they smite with destruction *him* who shall not be a satisfaction to you in the presidency; *and* the leader they take (girênd) becomes a destroyer, so in the sequel, too, there is *some one* that smites *him*; even though they

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 3 a. For the demons here mentioned, Akômanô, Varenô, and Âzô, see Bk. VIII, Chaps. IX, 3, XXXI, 44; Îndar is the same as Andar (in Chap. IX, 1), the arch-demon who perverts from virtue and despises the sacred shirt and girdle (Bd. I, 27, XXVIII, 8). With reference to the good old schism-hypothesis, that identified the Av. daêva Indra, or Andra, with the Sans. deva Indra, it is worthy of note that he is here represented as the pervading spirit of an apostate religion, and is termed the kûshîdâr, 'fighter, slayer.'

² See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 5 a.

³ See Bd. XXVIII, 8.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 4 c.

⁵ Ibid. 3 b.

consider *him* as your follower, they shall occasion *his* destruction. 6. You are evil demons for a congregation when they speak of avoiding you, and worse for the ceremonial, *or* obeisance, when it occurs; that which becomes all clearness *to* the utterer of righteousness, in *this* existence, you utterly destroy; *and* the lodgment of complete mindfulness in the body is for admonition to human beings about abstaining from the demons.'

7. This, too, *is stated*, namely: 'Evil *are* you *who* are wicked *and* worship the demons with good holy-water *and* with words; through them the holy-water obtains evil recompense, even the hell that is horrible.' 8. This, too, *he spoke*, namely: 'Concerning those malicious demons¹ I *will* first mention intelligibly to thee when they have come to the world, that is, first when they have rushed in, how their jurisdiction arose. 9. *For* thirty centuries² those of my world were immortal *and* undecaying, O Zarātūst! *but* when the thirtieth century was accomplished³, O Spītāmān! the sweat (khvâe) produced by the demons then came on to my Gâyômarđ⁴, for his affliction, so long a time as a man speaks forth these words *of* the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁵, relating to the spiritual lord and priestly master. 10. And when he issued from that sweat he was shadowless, that is, darkness had entered⁶; and the words of the formula (âyīn) relating to the spiritual lord and priestly master *were* spoken forth by me, and when

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 7 a, 8 a.

² See Bd. I, 20, 21. But from § 10 it appears more probable that these are the three millenniums mentioned in Bd. I, 8.

³ Bd. III, 3.

⁴ Ibid. 19.

⁵ See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7 n.

⁶ Bd. III, 20.

vâstârem¹ was uttered by me the demons then fell² into the gloom.'

11. About the harm owing to the demons this, too, *he spoke*, namely: 'The destructiveness *of* the evil spirit is *his* evil teaching *by* statements³ *to* my creatures; and my riches (istö) plundered by him are the proportion of the production *and* possession of wealth *for* which a desire exists through Good Thought; that is, when they possess *it* with propriety *it is* desirable⁴. 12. And mankind *were* gratified by that son of Vîvanghau who *was* Yim⁵, and cattle *were* gratified by him, producing thus *the phrase* "you are mankind" in words, *O Zaratûst!* when he spoke to mankind thus: "You are the mankind for cattle, that is, you *who* are mankind eat meat of your own subdivision, and through subdivision by you there is a superabundant occurrence of meat⁶; you are mankind, neither for Greed (âzö), nor for Envy (arêshkö)⁷, do thou throw away the warm entrails (taftôg rûdik), nor do thou throw *them* away warm on account of custom (pîsakö), now you slay for slaughtering, so that thus *it may be* beneficial for you and your servant."'

13. This, too, *is stated*, namely: 'Even that man

¹ The last word of the formula. In Bd. I, 21, 22 this utterance seems to be placed before the attack upon Gâyômarz, but until the complete text of the Irânian Bundahis has been examined, some doubt as to the exact sequence of its statements may be entertained.

² Pahl. zîflûnîd, for yîflûnîd, formed from the aorist of Ch. 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀; instead of the usual neflûnast, formed from the preterit.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 9 a.

⁴ Ibid. 9 b. Instead of avôrdö, 'plundered,' B has the mis-writing spôrdö, 'consigned.'

⁵ Ibid. 8 a and Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 6.

⁶ Ibid. 8 b.

⁷ Alluding, perhaps, to the legend detailed in Bd. XV, 18, 19.

is produced for the destruction of mine¹, who is possessed *by* the wicked evil spirit; the want of discernment of that man is a tedious life, in which the utterance of the praise of righteousness is the want of ceremonial of which a righteous man spoke *thus*: "At *the place* where their pasture is you are the mankind, the all-producer that fully develops *them*, and the all-collector that would thoroughly set *them* moving; in their pasture you are the mankind, and they all remain²; with hospitality *for* the body they remain on account of their pasture, and in fighting they strike *their* heads together; you are the mankind of their pasture, it is expedient and you deprive *it* of moisture³ through fire; as to other things, it was also you that made one altogether believe that untrue statement which is a lie—the possession of material *existence by* life—owing to external seduction by the fiend who has come chiefly to you."

14. About the harm owing to the demons this, too, *is stated*, namely: 'Their accomplishment of arrogance over these creatures of mine, and also the unfitness for heaven (avahistih-ik) of a righteous man, and that, too, of a valiant *one*, are *due to* the burial of a corpse.' 15. This, too, namely: 'They who drag away a corpse⁴ are most hurtful for men, as regards the wealth of the religion in this world, and as regards sheep and beasts of *burden*.' 16. This, too, namely: '*As to* the people, assisted *by*

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 10 a.

² Or, perhaps, 'and they remain astonished,' (va-s/pō mânēnd).

³ Pahl. vīyāvânînd which, with vâstar, 'pasture,' occurs in Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 10 c.

⁴ They who carry a corpse alone, like the iristô-kasha of Vend. III, 15.

one living *in* terrible difficulty, who deliver the corpse of a dead *person*, on a sheep or beast of burden, at a village where they shall convey *it*, they distress the fire and also the water flowing *from* the hills¹, likewise those liquids of the body which are ten², and those saps (aêvanö) of *plants* which are fourfold in thousands, that is, they come out a thousand at one time.'

17. 'They are giving more assistance when³ *it is* the corpse of a wicked *person*; concerning them, too, I tell thee, O Zaratûst the Spîtâmân! that they *shall* arrive in the ninth and tenth centuries⁴ who are the spawn of the fiend (drûgô hûnôyâkô) and the cesspool (rîkhdâr) of the evil spirit; even one of them is more to be destroyed than ten idolators (dêviyastô) *by* him they shall make pure, that is, *the people* shall make him quite void of wealth who is a priest without recitation *and* commendation. 18. And they, who *will be* full

¹ Pahl. gêrân-tagisnô = Av. hebvainti in Yas. XXXVIII, 3 and Av. thraotô-stâd in Yas. LXVIII, 6, &c. It is the second species of liquid in Bd. XXI, 1.

² Only nine are mentioned in Bd. XXI, 1, namely: semen, urine, sweat, skin-fluid, tears, blood, oil, saliva, and milk.

³ Assuming that mûn stands for amat as in Bk. VIII, Chap. XXI, 10.

⁴ If these centuries are dated from 'the coming of the religion,' according to the incorrect Arabian chronology of the Bundahis, they extended from A.D. 393 or 435 to 593 or 635 (see Byt. III, 11 n). In the ninth century lived king Yazdakard (A.D. 399-420), surnamed 'the sinner' by the priesthood because he tolerated other religions, and the heretic Mazdak who was put to death in A.D. 528. In the tenth century the Muhammadan religion arose, and the Sasanian dynasty tottered to its fall. If it were not for the manifest errors in the Bundahis chronology, this passage in our text might be important for fixing the age of the Pahlavi version of this Nask.

many *in* the future, shall bring prostration upon him who is an innocent person, the husbandman who watches the frog of the ditch (*zak-ī gīlūgō vazagh*) so that he *may* keep *it* away from mankind; and they execute ill-contrived commands. 19. They also produce destruction for these of mine, *and* speak of the living state, to these of my religion, thus: "When living is an expediency *it is* in our way;" they are wicked, they dwindle through greatness and even terror, that is, they shall commit sin through leadership and vassalage¹ who are smiting thee, and they speak folly who are smiting this pure religion of thine, *O Sptāmān!*'

20. 'They, too, who recite this thy revelation of the Mazda-worshippers, say *that* the distinction (*ntsōn*) of those *others* from those *who are* thine, even those whom they hurt, is this, that they plunder, they *also* think scornfully *of* this thy ceremonial, and think scornfully *of* the obeisances (*ntyāyisnō*) and *of* both those blessings from me, the Avesta and Zand which I, who am the most propitious of spirits, spoke forth to thee. 21. They also injure the ceremonial of him who is perfectly righteous², even the obeisance arisen from a disciple of Zaratūst the Sptāmān; *and* they chant that which is a settled effusion (*barā-hankhetūtō rêgīh*) that is very evil, *as* a perfect deed for mankind³, which those of very evil deeds call joy⁴.'

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 11 a.

² Ibid. 11 c.

³ Ibid. 12 a, which has corrupted *rêgīh* into *rêsh*; the former, corresponding better with the original Av. *raunghayen*, can be compared with Pers. *rīhīdan*, *rêzīdan*; or it might mean 'imposture,' compare Pers. *rīgan*.

⁴ Ibid. 12 b.

22. 'They seek sovereignty as a devouring (*grehmakö*), that is, they seek privilege for a bribe, and in their abode is he who is very evil in thought, that is, they seek with this design, that, *for* the hundred which another gives up, they *may* take two hundred away *from* the other¹; they destroy the best existence², they destroy their own souls, *and* they destroy the world of material beings.

23. Then they who are privileged shall convey that sovereignty *of* the Kik and Karap³, even those that are the worst-ruling who are in the country, unto him who is best-ruling in house, village, community, *and* province; *and* then both shall keep up an uproar, he who is well-ruling and also he who is ill-ruling, and he who is ill-ruling is beaten, and he is delivered up to the best-ruling ruler. 24. *And* then, among them, *he* who seeks for a devouring (*grehmakö*) of all that which is animate, as well as that which is inanimate, is *he* who is desirous of assault *and* complaint; *and he* who fears him who is a righteous man of mine allots *him* comfort, and is *he* who watches those who are an exposition of righteousness⁴, and who would be wizards *or* witches, so that *the authorities* shall inflict punishment *upon* them.'

25. And this, too, *is stated*, namely: 'The malice of many malicious *ones* demands that they shall inflict punishment *on* sinners⁵ when they put (*padmûgênd*) life into the body, that is, they give life

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 13 a; the exact meaning of *grehmakö* (Av. *gerhma*) is uncertain, and the last verb is literally 'I *may* take.'

² Ibid. 13 b.

³ Ibid. 14 a, 15 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n.

⁴ Ibid. 13 c.

⁵ Ibid. 16 c.

back to the body; but *for* that purpose the metal, melted forth, arises full upon the earth, which does not wreak vengeance *on* him who is righteous, and does wreak vengeance *on* him who is wicked, *when* I, who am Aûharmazd, produce the renovation among the existences¹. 26. Thus, too, that *which* becomes a healthful world—a healthful one that is thus mine—never first becomes that further sick *one* which, apart from me, is even now the immortal *and* manifest place *where* vengeance exists²; and they become also aware, through that sovereignty of mine, that, apart from me, even now immortal is the material world of righteousness.’

27. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The tenth fargard, Yathâis³, is about the renovation *of the universe* in the words of Aûharmazd to Zaratûst, thus: ‘I *have* produced the effector of the renovation, the causer of righteousness, Sôshâns, *of* whom mankind say that he does not come; and *yet* he *will* come, for the righteous, with that glory *which* becomes all-brilliance.’

2. About the scrutiny and consideration for moderation in a high-priest’s performance *of* every

¹ At the resurrection all men are said to be purified in melted metal which hurts only those who have been wicked (see Bd. XXX, 19, 20).

² That is, the earth never becomes hell.

³ See Chap. X, 1 n; it is here written yasââs in Pahlavi.

duty *there* is this, too, that the desire of that non-assailant, who is a producer of benefit among kinsmen, among confederates, *and* among serfs¹, as regards anything whatever, is accomplishing the will, and is a friend, of Aûharmazd; and the spirit lodging in him is not deceived by him. 3. And advice about distance from him in whom similarity of disposition *to* the fiend and arrogance are oppressive, *and who* is scorning kinsmen, a sharp liar with serfs², giving offence (vêshîn-dahisnô) *to* confederates, careless of cattle³, *and* unfriendly *to* the wretched.

4. About the bridge on which *there* is access to Aûharmazd⁴, *and* he who reaches the best existence is visibly, *or* invisibly, proceeding *while* offering up (aûzdahân-sagîtûn). 5. And the teaching of the primitive faith to Zaratûst *by* Aûharmazd, *who* remained embodying the Ahunavair (ahûnavair-tanû) *as* the Zôti⁵ of the world; *and* at the time of the renovation Zaratûst, who *was* from the sons of Aêzemnô, is in the position of Zôti⁶ of the whole

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 3 a, b.

² Ibid. 4 b.

³ Ibid. 4 c.

⁴ Ibid. 5 c.

⁵ Ibid. 6 a. It is said, in Bd. XXX, 30, that Aûharmazd comes to the world as Zôti, or chief officiating priest, with Srôsh as assistant priest, just before the renovation. Here it is not absolutely certain whether Aûharmazd, or Zaratûst, is meant as Zôti on this first occurrence of the word.

⁶ Reading min Aê-zemnôân pavan zôt gâs; Ayazem being an ancestor of Zaratûst, eleven generations back, the grandfather of Spitama, and the name being variously written Aiazemn, Ayâzem, Nayâzem, and Aizim in different MSS. Another reading is min 3 zamôn khûpô zôt gâs, 'from three-fold *procreation*, has the happy position of Zôti,' referring to the legendary account of Zaratûst's origin, as detailed in the seventh book of the Dînkard. The position of the Zôti is at the north end of the ceremonial area.

world; Vohûvastô, *son* of Snôê¹, from the countries of those of the religion, in the post of Hâvanân²; Îsvand, son of Varâz, from the countries of Tûrân, in the post of Âtarevakhsh; Sênô, son of Hûmstûv, from the countries of the Sênân³, in the post of Frabarââr; and Vistâsp, who *was* from the sons of Nôâar⁴, in the post of Srôshâvar'z. 6. About the power and triumph which that ceremonial becomes, even through the all-brilliance of the immortal re-
novation of the whole creation in that existence.

7. This, too, that the evil spirit⁵

¹ This and the two following persons are the Vohvasti *son* of Snaoya, Isvad *son* of Varâza, and Saëna *son* of Ahûm-stûd, of Yt. XIII, 96, 97.

² In the great ceremonies of ancient times the Hâvanân appears to have been the priest who attended to the Hôm-mortar, and his position was near the north-west corner of the ceremonial area; the Âtarevakhsh was the priest who fed the fire, and his position was near the south-west corner; the Frabarââr was the priest who brought the necessary utensils, and his position was near the north-east corner; and the Srôshâvar'z was the priest who kept general order, his position being at the south end, facing the Zôti at the north end. Besides these five priests, mentioned in our text, there were three others enumerated in Vîsp. III, 1; Vend. V, 58, VII, 17, 18, the water-bringer near the south-east corner, the washer on the west side, and the cleanser on the east side. In modern times the Zôti retains his ancient duties of chief priest, while the Râspî (Bk. VIII, Chap. VII, 5, 9) combines the duties of the seven others, being called by the Zôti (in Vîsp. III, 1) to take the place of each of them in succession.

³ Av. Sâininâm of Yt. XIII, 144, probably the people about Samarkand (see Bd. XII, 13 n, XV, 29).

⁴ See Yt. V, 98.

⁵ One folio of B is here lost, containing the end of this chapter and the beginning of the next. The passage missing was equivalent to about 100 lines of this translation, of which perhaps one-fourth belonged to this chapter and three-fourths to the next.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Varastmânsar Nask.

. it is possible to come through
 virtuous deeds *and* through virtuous thoughts.’
n. And this, too, *he spoke*, namely: ‘That Good
 Thought’ of mine proceeds *and* notices the thoughts
 of the embodied existence, *and* of the good words
 and the deeds he reports again those referring to
 me, as often as three times in the same day, both
of those who are liberal to thee¹, *O Spîtâmân!* and
of those who are illiberal to thee.’

o. The struggling of the demons², for the putting
 down of all benefit from mankind, *has* not produced
 the obtainment of their capability for that benefit
 which arises *for* mankind through the future exist-
 ence; so that that one evil is more grievous than every
 evil which the demons imagine for mankind, when
the latter are frightened by them from the way of
 the sacred beings, and are wicked; and harder for
 them *are* the praisers of righteousness among the
 apostates *and* the rest *of* the creation, through *their*
 praise of righteousness, even when very many
 praise *it*.

p. About the progress of Ârmat³ and Târôkmat
 perpetually among the creatures, the disclosure of
 Ârmat to mankind, and *of* righteousness to Târôk-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 7 a.

² Ibid. 10 c.

³ Ibid. 9a, 10b, 11b. Av. ârmaiti, ‘devotion,’ the female arch-angel Spendarmad, entitled ‘complete mindfulness’ in §§ 7, 8. Târôkmat (Av. tarômaiti), the arch-demon of contempt and disobedience (Bd. XXVIII, 14), is her special opponent.

mat; the listening of that vile Târôkmat to falsehood, and the distance¹ of righteousness from him who is vile is like *that of* a sheep fled (sîsd)² from mankind. q. And this, too, that the evil spirit is beaten³ by complete mindfulness, in the struggle of those having mighty ones, just as a powerful man beats him who is a reverent creation (nīyâyīn dahisnō)⁴; and the pure Zaratûst is produced by Aûharmazd, as well as the power of Khûrdad and Amûrdad⁵, which *acts* forcibly for giving value (farg) and preparing the creatures.

r. About the opposition of Aûharmazd to the demons⁶, and the valuation of the deeds of mankind which exist for greater jurisdiction⁷ and more advantage of the primitive good creation; and in any doubtfulness *one is* to perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings. s. About *cases* where the good-will of the spirit of complete mindfulness makes mankind attain to the good religion; and their spiritual joy⁸ arises from the purification of their own religion through virtuous exercise of will.

t. About the desire *for* a reward *for* anything whatever, and the great advantage owing to a reward of the desires of mankind; also the appropriation of the reward through the operation of the sacred beings:—'Even through the ruler (pad) of that dominion of yours do I produce the renovation of the existences by *my* will⁹, I who am Aûharmazd.'

u. Excellence is righteousness *that is* perfect.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 8 c.

² Ibid. 10 c.

³ Ibid. 11 a and Chap. XIX, 1.

⁷ Ibid. 12 a.

⁸ Ibid. 13 b.

³ Ibid. 9 c.

⁴ Ibid. 8 b.

⁶ Ibid. 11 c.

⁹ Ibid. 15 c.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The twelfth fargard, the Yasna¹, is about the manifestation of good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds by the religion²; the lodgment of the religion in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; *and* whoever possesses good thoughts, whoever *has* good words, *and* whoever *has* good deeds, by him righteousness and the reward of the righteous are possessed. 2. This, too, that neither is he, who is not to be born *for* Zaratûst, an issue from parents who are not righteous, nor yet is he, for him, who is a manifestation of the righteous.

3. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Thou shouldst give a glad-thinking desire *for* a spiritual lord, and an easy-bodied constitution, to their minds, the religion which I spoke forth *to* thee; so that the greatest, best, and most beneficial of existences³, that *are* those which cattle *are* wanting from men, *are* water, pasture, and freedom from danger⁴; *and* those which men *are wanting* from cattle are also food and clothing.' 4. This, too, that that which mankind ought to give to the sacred beings is a power for completeness *of* control; and that which the sacred beings ought to give to men is ever that which is good for them. 5. And this, too, that thou who *art* Aûharmazd also suppliest *it* from those sacred beings, and *thou who art* Zaratûst also teachest *it* thoroughly to that best-ruling sovereignty⁵ and authority.

¹ See Chap. XII, 1 n; it is here written yast in Pahlavi.

² See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 4-6.

³ Ibid. 9.

⁴ Ibid. 11.

⁵ Ibid. 13.

6. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Let no *one* practise ill-perpetrated deeds, even though in a wilderness when far from publicity, nor in distress, *O Sptâ-mân!* because *Aûharmazd*, the observer of everything, is aware of them; and the rule is *that* just as any one whatever *of* the embodied existence thinks, speaks, *and* practises, so great is his punishment.'

7. And this, too, that the best ceremonial and obeisance¹ are the ceremonial *and* obeisance of a righteous man.

8. About begging for life and receiving *it*, *there* is this, that *it is* customarily due to two methods (*babâ*): one, through leadership of righteousness², is that *through* which *it* is evident that *it is* owing to virtuousness; and one, through service of righteousness², is that which is not an evidence that *it is* owing to viciousness. 9. About *the case* where virtuousness is producing authority over truth, and truth over the tongue, so that thou speakest words through the will of *Aûharmazd*. 10. And this, too, *is said*, namely: 'I am the propitious spirit who *was at first and* ever *will* be, and am not really deceived by anything.'

11. About fire *being* given *by* *Aûharmazd* for shelter and assistance *by* the protection of mankind; *its* maintenance and assistance *by* mankind; and the openheartedness of the spirit of fire for him who shall perform obeisance to it, and for him who is to perform obeisance to it³. 12. The work which is the greatest that exists, *and* is accomplished in the future existence⁴, whereby the creatures become pure,

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 19.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XXXVI, 4, 5.

² Ibid. 22.

⁴ Ibid. 6.

occurs through fire; *and one prays for it* for the sake of the requirements which mankind acquired from the sacred beings. 13. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Since thou *art* thus, *O Zaratûst!* most propitiatory, that is, able to perform most for our pleasure, we are more promptly coming than Mânûskîhar *was* able to come, when thou beggest of us who are archangels, *O Zaratûst!*¹'

14. About Aûharmazd's exhibiting the creatures in the future existence to Zaratûst. 15. *And this*, too, namely, the all-brilliance *of* the earth, the all-brilliance *of* the cattle, the all-brilliance *of* the plants, and the all-brilliance *of* every excellence² which is a manifestation of righteousness. 16. About the worshipping of Aûharmazd by worshippers, through advancing³ in the religion of Aûharmazd's covenant (paðmânö), which gave the world his righteousness; also the good protectiveness of his rule, and *of* the greatness therein, is owing to it⁴, and the name of the ruler is Wisdom⁵; likewise his ceremonial—performed while the creations owing to him live, when possessing bodies and possessing life⁶—is a benefit *to* all the worldly and spiritual *existences*.

17. *And this, too, is said*, namely: 'Thou art our own⁷, and also *our* confederate, *O Sptâmân!* likewise unto us thou comest with the reverence that is good⁸; thine, *O Zaratûst!* are the greatness and completeness in performance⁹, so that they

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXVI, 9-14. For Mânûskîhar see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 10, 12, 18.

² See Pahl. Yas. XXXVII (= V), 1, 2.

³ Ibid. 4.

⁴ Ibid. 3.

⁵ Ibid. 6.

⁶ Ibid. 7.

⁷ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIX, 13.

⁸ Ibid. 14.

⁹ See Pahl. Yas. XL, 1.

become thy greatness and completeness, that is, they are thine, *O Zaratûst!* and are boundless onwards from the middle, that is, we give thee a reward¹ so enormous that, when thou shouldst stand in the middle *of it*, thou *wouldst* not see to *its* limits, the width of the earth, the length of a river, and the height of the sun².'

18. Zaratûst begged of Aûharmazd thus: 'Give unto me him who becomes a disciple of men³ of the mighty through meditation for the religion, *of them* who shall produce the actual progress of this my religion of the Mazda-worshippers, *and* who *will* also explain the good practices to this *one* of mine, even the blessings set forth *by* me in the benedictions they possess.' 19. *And* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'I *will* give unto thee him who becomes a disciple of other men of the mighty; they are thy kinsmen and those confederates *of* theirs, and thine are their companions and their serfs⁴, who produce the progress of this thy religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 20. Mostly thine, *O Zaratûst!* are their worship and their homage; and, through their ceremonial and obeisance, the liberality of him who is worshipped is given to thee, *and* righteousness for the soul is with thee; also thy life exists owing to us, and likewise *thy* body⁵, *O Zaratûst!* 21. Forth to thee *will* I, who am the creator Aûharmazd, come in both existences⁶, as assistance; thou becomest worthy, *O Zaratûst!* through Khûrdad *and* Amûrdad⁷, both of them, *and* through the gratification of

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XL, 3.

² This expression for boundless extent occurs in Yas. LX, 4, Yt. XIII, 32.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XL, 7.

⁴ Ibid. 10.

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XLI, 7.

⁶ Ibid. 8.

⁷ See Chap. XIX, 1.

me, who am Aûharmazd, by those sayings *and* deeds which I, *who* am the most propitious of spirits, proclaimed unto thee.'

22. Zaratûst spoke thus: 'They have become applicants on him who is powerful *with* thee¹.'

23. *And* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Thou becomest an applicant and powerful in the embodied existence.'

24. Zaratûst spoke thus: '*Be* thou a gratification to us in the slow progress *of* life, *thou* most beneficent (hû-dahâktûm) of existences! that is, thou shouldst give to us².'

25. *And* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'I *will* gratify thee, O righteous Zaratûst! in that best existence³.'

26. Excellence *that* is perfect *is* righteousness.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The thirteenth fargard, Ustâvaiti⁴, is about the great reward of him who, through virtuous procedure, may occasion the benefit of a man⁵ *and of* the religion of righteousness also. 2. This, too, that the maintenance of righteousness⁶ is through the practice *of it*.

3. About the tokens of a righteous man—that is, the evidence of him—and *his* reverence for duty *and* good works; also his imperceptible perversion (kastârth)—that is, not a single sin is manifest

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLI, 10.

² Ibid. 11.

⁴ See Chap. XIII, 1 n.

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 1 a.

³ Ibid. 15.

⁶ Ibid. 1 d.

man p 84?

in him—and *he is* an accomplisher *of* the stipulations of Vohûman¹, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and a comprisal of every goodness in the propitiation of the righteous. 4. About² . . .
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CHAPTER XXXVII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

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. ‘produced the dawn *and* noon-tide (aûsh rêpisþ)³. *e.* I fashioned sovereignty *and* the desired complete mindfulness together⁴, *and* produced, for more advantageous disclosure, a son (bermanar-aê) for a father⁵; the disclosure that discloses a male and the impregnation of a female, and in that disclosure a son *was* produced by me for the father, *O* Zaratûst!’ *f.* So the evil spirit observed, and he called upwards from the abyss thus: ‘*O* beneficent spirit! thou art the creator *of* all creatures, *but* I *will* make all thy creatures old, *O* beneficent spirit!’

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 2 d.

² Another folio of B is here lost, containing the end of this chapter and the beginning of the next. The passage missing was equivalent to about 100 lines of this translation, of which perhaps three-fourths belonged to this chapter and one-fourth to the next.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 5 d: aûshahîno va-rapîspîno = Av. ushau arem-pithwa.

⁴ Ibid. 7 b.

⁵ Ibid. 7 c. The verbal causative stem vindîn, ‘cause to find, or obtain, disclose,’ is twice spelt without its first letter, out of four occurrences; and bermanar is hybrid Zvâris for pûsar, in which berman = pûs.

g. About the religion becoming progressive¹ in every one, through its renovation *of the universe and its future existence, there* is this, too, namely: 'This thy religion of Zaratûst is the width of the world, *and* righteousness is the best of religions; this thy religion of Zaratûst is the improvement of the world, which is first supplied *by* righteousness *and* complete mindfulness in the reason (*vârôm*) of those who recite this thy revelation (*dênô*)² of the Mazda-worshippers, *O* Zaratûst! this thy good religion is the best which it is possible to provide with righteousness for one's own. *h.* Thou shouldst proclaim this to kinsmen *and* confederates, to priests and him who is most active in the country; *as to those* who will dispute³ this thy religion of the Mazda-worshippers, thou shouldst proclaim this over the earth of seven regions, unto that which is the furthest of houses, villages, communities, and provinces: "Do thou openly curse⁴ these who are heretical *towards* me, *thou* united Mazda-worship *of* Zaratûst, opposed to the demons, which is the ordinance of Aûharmazd⁵!"'

i. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'I *will* exalt this which is beloved by thee, the religion of the Mazda-worship *of* Zaratûst, opposed to the demons, which is the ordinance of Aûharmazd. *j.* If this which is thine had not been further loved by me, the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst, that is opposed to the demons *and is* the ordinance of Aûharmazd, would have lapsed into disaster (*vinâsisnô*)⁶, so that the pro-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 8 c.² Ibid. 11 d.³ Ibid. 13 c.⁴ Assuming that *nafrînô* stands for *nafrînô*.⁵ See Pahl. Yas. I, 65.⁶ See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 19 d.

fession of the religion *of* the Mazda-worshippers would be destroyed, that is, the religion would not have become progressive, *and* no one *would be* after the beneficers. *k.* But, owing to that *love*, *O Zaratûst!* the religion of the Mazda-worshippers becomes progressive ¹ even then up to the production of the renovation *of the universe*, even then until the perpetual life of the existences, even then till the raising up of the dead, *and* even then up to the full atonement of the spirits.'

l. About *being* despised in hell; the wicked are scornful to a wicked *one*, *and* to the spirits *apart* from the wicked; and it is the creator who, even after saving the others from hell, and the three nights stewing in hell ², *is* to cause the preservation of them also—after those three nights—from that misery, and *every one* attains to happiness. *m.* This, too, that Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'How have the ignorant demons, *O Aûharmazd!* ever been good rulers ³? How do they think of them in the world thus, *that* their happiness arose from them?' *n.* And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'They have been demons, *O Zaratûst!* *and* evil-ruling; not well-ruling, even for a reward, do they produce the work of righteousness ⁴.'

o. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 15 d, 17 d.

² The three nights' final punishment of those worthy of death, to be inflicted at the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 13, 16).

³ See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 20 a.

⁴ Ibid. 20 e.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The fifteenth fargard, *Ad-fravakhshyâ*¹, is about the seven² perfections *of* the admonitions of the religion. 2. First, association with the beneficent spirit of the creator, through hearing³, learning, *and* practising his religion; *and* this, too, that thereby arises the preservation *of* the good creation when the destroyer is separated (*vangîd*). 3. Second, about separation from the destructive evil spirit⁴, *and* the contempt which is due to his arrogance and falsehood, the chief of all his vice. 4. Third, governing the temper⁵ by good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; and this, that, whoever *of* you does not so use this liturgy as thought and word⁶, they *will* not allot him light, they *will* not allot *him* the best existence, *and* he is miserable up to the last⁷. 5. Fourth, about the perfection *of* the nature of next-of-kin marriage⁸, which is when *it is* a giving of one's own (*khûdîh-dahisnîh*); and the decision

¹ See Chap. XV, 1 n; it is here written *ad-fravakhshê* in Pahlavi.

² Only six are numbered in our text, but the seventh seems to be detailed in § 9.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 1 a.

⁴ Ibid. 1 d, e.

⁵ Ibid. 3 a.

⁶ Ibid. 3 c, d.

⁷ Ibid. 3 e.

⁸ Ibid. 4 a. There is nothing whatever about next-of-kin marriage in the original Avesta text of this Gâtha, but the Pahlavi translators (in order to interpolate authority for such marriages) took advantage of the Avesta speaking metaphorically of *Mazda* as being father of Good Thought (*Vohûman*), and of Bountiful Devotion (*Spendarmad*) as being *Mazda's* daughter; while they ignored the old tradition that *Vohûman* was created *before* *Spendarmad* (see Bd. I, 23, 26). A translation of the Pahlavi version of this Gâtha passage is given in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 392, 393.

given *about* it, which is the goodness of one's own progeny for the manifestation of progeny; also the relationship, sturdiness, effectiveness, advantageousness, ownership, and giving *in* next-of-kin marriage. 6. *Its* first accomplishment *was by* the creator Aûharmazd in the fatherhood of Vohûman¹ who *was* the first progeny, and from that arising of the practice (var'z-yehevûnth) *came* the progress of the spiritual and worldly creatures and much connected *therewith*, such as the arising of splendour from light, radiance from splendour, *and* lustrousness from radiance, *and* the fully progressive diffusion and succession *of* mankind till the renovation *of the universe*; also, through spiritual and worldly passing on in the spiritual and worldly *existences*, Spendar-mad's² acceptance of the motherly glory *was* an ennoblement. 7. Fifth, about providing *and* maintaining the high-priests³ who are provided with a spiritual lord and possessing priestly instruction; the listening of his authorities of every kind to Aûharmazd, and the reward of the beneficent good works⁴ of the high-priesthood, *are* authority for Aûharmazd; *and* the reward of the good works of the high-priesthood is *their* relation *to* the best existence. 8. Sixth, about the praise, obeisance, *and* ceremonial⁵ *for* the creator Aûharmazd; and this, too, that further conference *with* Vohûman⁶ arises, and wisdom *and* advantage⁷ are taught by

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 4 c.

² Ibid. 4 d.

³ Ibid. 5 a.

⁴ Rather doubtful, as the repairer of the MS. has omitted the first two Pahlavi letters of kirfakō, 'good works,' when writing the word on a patch.

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 6 a, b, d.

⁶ Ibid. 6 d.

⁷ Ibid. 6 e, 7 a.

him thus: 'Thou shouldst be a supplicant for the immortal progress of the soul¹, *O Zaratûst!* so that *Aûharmazd may be* lord of the creatures², and the practice of propitiation *by* mankind *may be* that *for* him, also a proportion of the ordering of obeisance³.'

9. About the sovereignty of *Aûharmazd*⁴—even through the reward given *at* the bridge of judgment—which is in his good assemblies⁵, those of the restorer of the world, the destroyer of the evil one, and the benefiter.

10. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Thou becomest, through complete mindfulness, *O Spîtâmân!* a perpetual adopter (*giriftâr*) of this ceremonial of mine⁶.'

11. About *Aûharmazd having* given power⁷ to the creatures, the preparation⁸ of the power, and the contempt⁹ *for* the evil spirit and his appliances; *Aûharmazd* and the creations gave that contempt back to the evil spirit and the primary (*kâdmon*) demons who are those produced by the demons.

12. About the glorification of *Zaratûst there is*

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 7 c. ² Ibid. 7 e. ³ Ibid. 8 a.

⁴ Ibid. 9 c. This appears to be the seventh 'perfection' mentioned in § 1.

⁵ Assuming that *hû-hambâmîhâ* stands for *hû-hangâmîhâ*, just as *hanbâm* is a common variant of *hangâm*. It might also mean 'good times,' but it seems to represent the incorrect word *amâvandîh* in Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 9 e, which each of the four MS. authorities spells differently. *Mf*₄ has *hû-dandîh* which, no doubt, stands for an original *hû-zandîh*, 'good community,' a fair translation of Av. *haozâthwa*, and well expressed by 'good assemblies.'

⁶ See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 10 a.

⁷ Ibid. 10 e, in which *zakô-î* ought to be *zôr-î* according to *Pt*₄, *Mf*₄, with which *J*₂ partly agrees.

⁸ Assuming that *nîvârûnô* stands for *nîvârzanô*.

⁹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 11 b.

this, too, namely : 'Thou art beneficial, thou art high-priest and master, and through thee exists the religion which is propitious¹; thou art brother and companion *of* all the beneficers, and thus thy friend² is Vohûman.'

13. Perfect *is* the excellence *of* righteousness.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. *In* the sixteenth fargard, Kamnamaêza³, about departure to any land whatever⁴, in renewed search *of* fortune, *there is* also this, namely : 'Do not stay *away* discontentedly from this thy ceremonial and obeisance, O Zaratûst ! through love of us, when they do not satisfy thee—*neither* thy own, nor the confederate, nor the companion, nor the serf, nor the wicked tyrant⁵—by whom those who are demons are *wont* to be worshipped. 2. And where and when thou art far from us, even then do not stand aloof from our affairs ; and also when the affairs of the worldly *existence* shall not stand well for thee, even then thou shouldst reverence us and shouldst pay us homage.' 3. So also this, that the wish *of* the evil spirit is thus : 'Thou shouldst not reverence and shouldst not pay homage to the arch-angels ; and here⁶ *the people* shall possess neither lordship, nor priestly instruction—that is, ruler and

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 11 d.

² Ibid. 11 e.

³ See Chap. XVI, 1 n ; it is here written kâmnâmêzô in Pahlavi.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 1 a.

⁵ Ibid. 1 b, c, d.

⁶ In this world.

high-priest—and their desire is not *for* perfect righteousness.’

4. And this, too, *is said*, namely: ‘*Of* the contracted ¹ spirituality and deficient wealth ², owing to the little progress of men who are self-gratifiers, thou art aware, *O Zaratûst!* *thou* who art no seeker of this—that is, this want of opulence of thine—because thou dost not know *it* ³; *but* I perceive those words of complaint of thine, of which I demand an account from thee ⁴.’ 5. And this, *too*, namely: ‘Thou art aware *of* the gratification of desire ⁵ *by* us who are archangels, and *which* we give for the gratification that thou bringest forth (*zihih*); we also give thee the liberty which a friend gives to him who is a friend ⁶.’

6. About *what* occurs in *future* ages ⁶: the experienced (*arvandân*) who are beneficial through teaching *and* practising wisdom ⁷, and the thirst of youths is increased by them; by the assistance of complete mindfulness they improve the world of righteousness and produce distress for the fiend; and the advantage due to virtue extends to them ⁸.

7. And this, too, that he who is evilly oppressive has died off through his own deeds ⁹. 8. About always opposing villains with as much strength as exists, so that he who is a good ruler ¹⁰, whose high-priest is the bounteous liturgy (*Mânsarspênd*), may become predominant ¹¹ over Wrath.

9. About the praise of the renovators *there* is this,

¹ Assuming that *tak* stands for *tang*.

² See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 2 b.

³ Ibid. 2 a.

⁴ Ibid. 2 c.

⁵ Ibid. 2 d.

⁶ Ibid. 3 a.

⁷ Ibid. 3 c.

⁸ Ibid. 3 d.

⁹ Ibid. 4 c.

¹⁰ Ibid. 4 d.

¹¹ Ibid. 5 a.

too, namely: 'Blessings on good understanding *and* also on Mitrô, whose punishment of sinners they shall inflict for this consideration, that *he is* intelligent *and* friendly (mitrô-pân)¹.' 10. And, about adjudication *as to* a kinsman (nafsman) of any one whatever, *there is* this, too, namely: 'Through a revival of Rashnû, whoever is righteous and also whoever is wicked—that is, every one—is to be kept for judicial investigation².' 11. This, too, namely: 'A kinsman is to be considered as virtuous³, by whom his own soul is preserved from wickedness⁴.' 12. *And* this, too, namely: 'So thy high-priest is he whose own religion is pure⁵.'

13. About the characteristics of the fiend, the broken-down (khas takô) Mânih⁶, and the destruction of the wicked who *were* listening to him, that which came from him who *was* monarch. 14. And this, too, namely: 'The wicked *one*, who gives my world to that which the malicious⁷ Aharman has established *as* supremacy (lâlâth), is he who is a self-wounding⁸ demon that is set going for the death of the world of righteousness which he praises. 15. The cere-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 5 b. For Mitrô see Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

² Ibid. 5 c. For Rashnû see Bk. VIII, Chap. XX, 153 n.

³ Ibid. 5 d.

⁴ Ibid. 5 e.

⁵ Ibid. 7 e.

⁶ The arch-heretic who was born in A.D. 215–6, first preached his doctrines on the coronation day of king Shahpûr I (20th March, 242), and was put to death by order of Bahrâm I in A.D. 276–7 (see Nöldeke's *Gesch. der Sas.* pp. 47, 412, 415). From the mode in which he and his followers are mentioned in §§ 13–16, it would seem that the original Pahlavi version of this Nask must have been made at a time when this heresy was still fresh in men's memories, as it would have been in the first half of the fourth century, when Âtûrpâd-i Mâraspendân was collecting and revising the sacred books.

⁷ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 8 a.

⁸ Ibid. 8 b.

monial of righteousness is not such as that he praises, *O Zaratûst!* the priestly authority of the worldly settlements (*gêhânân*) that he mentions thus: "In priestly authority and high-priestship I *am* better (*sapîr*) *and* am better suitable;" and not so, *O Zaratûst!* is that excretion (*mûtrîsnö*)¹ he stirs up for mankind; that *which* he mentions to them becomes a perpetual effusion from him, and they who stirred up the excretion afterwards think it theirs, *and* that which is a perfect ceremonial of the demons occurs. 16. Through the opposing arrival of *Srôsh*², the righteous, the ruler is in vexation with that person; that ruler who is a protection of these *others* through good emanation³—not through evil living—and at every time a distresser *of* the wicked⁴.

17. About the peculiarity of attracters *to* the religion, *and* the good works of those attracted⁵.

18. About the signs of the last times, which *are* the millenniums of the sons of Zaratûst.

19. This, too, that they cause disturbance (*aâramênd*) unto the sovereignty, and *they* who are *Kats* and *Karaps*⁶, those even who are the most evil-ruling in the country—who by villanous deeds are those *who* destroy the existence of mankind through statements, and destroy their own souls⁷—*also* destroy the material world which, confused by them,

¹ Compare Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 10 b.

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 8 c, d. This last word (*hû-zahîsnfh*) ought certainly to be *hû-zîvisnfh*, 'good living.'

⁴ Ibid. 8 e.

⁵ Ibid. 10 d, e.

⁶ Ibid. 11 a; also see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n.

⁷ Ibid. 11 b, c.

is more beloved than righteousness; even the sovereignty is a scanty shelter, among the existences, from those whose command is villanous, when they produce *that* which is vicious and deliver their pupils (âmûkh tagânō) to that which is *their* end (afdûm), to the fiendish abode¹.

20. And here, too, about the praise of the family of the Fryânaks² it speaks thus: 'Righteousness comes up, *O* Sptâmân! from the descendants and posterity of Tûrân; when extracted by the Fryânaks *it* is stated³ just as *though* it were by Tûrân; through the assistance of complete mindfulness they develope the world⁴ of righteousness and produce distress for the fiend; they likewise think about *it* with Good Thought, *O* Zaratûst! *and* thou shouldst bring forth (zâyês) their gratification⁵ from us, who are archangels, by words, that is, do thou demand *it*.'

21. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'This liberality which is *for* thee is *for us* who are archangels; by him who shall provide liberality for thee⁶, it is provided for us.' 22. About the praise of Vistâsp *there* is this, too, namely: 'Kat-Vistâsp⁷ has propitiated thee, among the existences, by liberal giving; that Vistâsp, whose coming forth to thee in distress is through the reign of Vohûman, *has* develope the material world of righteousness; thou

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 11 e.

² A Tûrânian family of Mazda-worshippers, of whom Yôista is specially mentioned in the Avesta (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 18 n); and it appears from Dd. XC, 3 that Ashem-yahmâi-usta of Yt. XIII, 120 was another member of the same family.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 12 b.

⁴ Ibid. 12 c, and compare § 6.

⁵ Ibid. 12 d, e.

⁶ Ibid. 13 a.

⁷ See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

shouldst think of him, the good companion, *O Zaratûst!* the pure friend who is *Kat-Vistâsp*¹; such is that *Kat-Vistâsp*, the active, who, when he praises the religion, is attracting fellow-dwellers *and* converts *them*, that is, he brings them on to the religion².'

23. About attracting the *Sptâmas* to the religion *there* is this, too, namely: 'Thou shouldst speak thus to the *Sptâmas*: "Praise righteousness with much homage about *it* mentally; and a concession is to be discriminated by you, as well as whatever is no concession; even for those deeds *of* yours righteousness is the reward given unto you, that reward which is much given by *Aûharmazd*³.'" 24. About the place of the four marvels produced by *Aûharmazd* *in yonder world*: there where is the reign of *Vohûman*⁴, there where is the hospitality of *Aûharmazd*⁵, there where religion is *along* with complete mindfulness⁶, *and* there where are the souls of the liberal⁷.

25. About advice to *Zaratûst* as to speech, made for mankind, which is proportionate—abandoning want of proportion—which is an appropriation of liberality with humility and a wise proportion⁸ for good works. 26. This, too, namely: 'To him who gives himself mentally up to thee in discipleship, thou also shouldst give up the best which *thou hast* to give of thine own; and thou shouldst give wealth to him who shall give wealth to thee⁹, because so thy soul would be perfect, *O* righteous *Zaratûst!* when it shall act thus.' 27. This, too: 'Thou

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 13 e. ² Ibid. 14 c, d. ³ Ibid. 15 b, c, d.

⁴ Ibid. 16 d.

⁵ Ibid. 16 e.

⁶ Ibid. 16 c.

⁷ Ibid. 16 a.

⁸ Ibid. 17 a, b, c, e.

⁹ Ibid. 18 a, b, c.

shouldst select this religion of mine with wisdom *and* also with thought¹.’ 28. This, too, that *as to* him who *has* to act with the freedom from effort (*apêsitûnagîh*) of righteousness² *and* owing to *it*, for the good works done by him the gift is good. 29. This, too, that whoever seeks by good works, *and* seeks good works by innocence, obtains freedom from harm (*a-nâstîh*); *and* whoever is liberal to the sacred beings³ is free from destruction (*a-nasînisnô*), owing to the liberality of the sacred beings. 30. *And* this, too, namely: ‘These *are* the rewards I am aware of⁴, which have been, which still are, and which ever *will* be.’

31. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

CHAPTER XL.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The seventeenth fargard, Spentâ-mainyû⁵, is about *this*, that Aûharmazd produced the creatures through wisdom, *and* maintains *them* in truth. 2. This, too, that the best thing⁶ *for* every one is thought in a high-priest who is the tongue of a spiritual lord⁷; in a high-priest, who *has* to maintain thought, no appliances of the body *are* to lie unto the spiritual lord on account of affection *for* the

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 18 e.

² Ibid. 19 a. All but the last syllable of *apêsitûnagîh* is written by the repairer of the MS. on one of his patches, but the word is a strange equivalent for Av. *haithîm*.

³ Ibid. 19 d.

⁴ Ibid. 19 e.

⁵ See Chap. XVII, 1 n; it is here written *spend-matô* in Pahlavi, and is called the 18th fargard by mistake.

⁶ See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 2 a.

⁷ Ibid. 2 b.

worldly *existence*. 3. Also that the spiritual lord is always true; of the tongue—when he (*the priest*) speaks falsehood with the tongue—are those words which he does not believe through the spiritual lord, and *it is* owing to this, too, when, of all the body, the tongue first dies. 4. ‘I say unto thee, *O Spîtâmân!* that thou shouldst speak with the tongue just as thou thinkest with the mind, and thou shouldst accomplish work with both hands in complete mindfulness ¹.’ 5. And this, too, that he who shall act thus is sagacious, and he is the father of righteousness through wisdom ²; and whoever would do that which has happened, thoroughly observes *it* on account of that *which* has not happened. 6. Also this, *that* in the person of him who shall do that which he understands, *and* asks again about that which he does not understand, the propitious spirit of wisdom is lodging.

7. About cattle *being* produced for the assistance of mankind, and the pastures of pleasure for the assistance of cattle ³. 8. This, too, that the arch-angels injure the evil demon and wicked people, *but* they do not injure righteous people ⁴ and the sage. 9. This, too, *is said*, namely: ‘In scanty opulence do not murmur (*al mang*) owing to good works ⁵, *and* thus in great opulence much good work arises.’ 10. This, too, that beneficence gives all to the good, *and* it is no further the villain whom the sacred beings maintain ⁶.

11. About the tongue of a true speaker *being* given for the satisfying (*vigârisnô*) of disputants,

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 2 c.

² Ibid. 2 d.

³ Ibid. 3 c.

⁴ Ibid. 4 a, b.

⁵ Ibid. 4 c.

⁶ Ibid. 5 b, c.

and for declaring who is acquitted *or* incriminated ; and the ordeal that is a demonstrator, to acquit *or* convict, which he whose tongue is truthful *has* accepted—and it shall make his statement current—has developed its jurisdiction in the world, *and* diminished distress. 12. *And* this, too, *is said*, that he gives out fire for disputes, so that it may make manifest the acquitted and incriminated, when he in whom are his immense complete mindfulness, and also righteousness, is guardian of the ordeal ; and, when many inspect it, that which is the ritual of the ordeal believes them wicked ¹.

13. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

CHAPTER XLI.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The eighteenth fargard, Yêzî², is about the existence of certain and doubtful evidence *and* indication as to the future existence³ arising. 2. About the great dignity *of* the spirit of good works, *and* that also of the person doing good works through the lodgment of that spirit in him. 3. This, too, that they praise, recount, and practise the religion of Mazda-worship at the time of the renovation *of the universe*, that of which the demons through deceitfulness, and then also wicked mankind deceived by those who are demons, *have* said that it does not occur ⁴.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 6 b, c, d.

² See Chap. XVIII, 1 n ; it is here called the 19th fargard by mistake in the MS.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 1 a.

⁴ Ibid. 1 b.

4. About the triumph of the sacred beings over the demons at the end of *various* periods. 5. First, that which *occurs* when, on account of the preservation of mankind from hell, they praise the religion of Mazda-worship; *and* that which *occurs* when Zaratûst the Spîtâmân, *whose* guardian spirit is revered, came to the obedient king Kat-Vistâsp¹. 6. Second, when the power and triumph of renewed sovereignty are again connected with the religion, and mankind, on that account, return to the good religion; and this occurs on the near approach of Aushêdar², son of Zaratûst, when the righteous Kîtrag-miyân³ arrives. 7. Third, when mankind contentedly praise the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, and this occurs as Aûshêdar-mâh⁴, son of Zaratûst, arrives. 8. *And* fourth, that which *occurs* when every one shall practise the religion of Mazda-worship with eagerness; *at* that time arrives the beneficial *and* triumphant producer of the renovation, Sôshâns⁵, son of Zaratûst; *and* this becomes the consummation (sar-hômôndîh) *and* supreme triumph *of* the sacred beings.

9. About enquiring of him who is acquainted with religion *and* a wise priest *concerning* the religion, and hearing *of it* from him⁶; also well understanding *it* through wisdom. 10. About abstaining

¹ See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

² See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 12.

³ A title of Pêshyôtanû, son of king Vistâsp, who remains immortal as chief high-priest of Kangdez, whence he is expected to come to restore the religious rites in Irân and the rest of the world (see Bd. XXIX, 5, Byt. III, 25-32, 36-38, 41, 42, 51, 52).

⁴ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 13.

⁵ Ibid. 14.

⁶ See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 3 a, b.

from the secret proceedings (nṯhân-hômondîh) *of* a deceitful *and* seductive apostate¹. 11. This, too, *is said*, namely: 'Thou shouldst also not fall into the downcast imprisonment (nikûn alakîh) through the teaching they deceive, where they thus mislead thee to the downcast imprisonment which is hell.'

12. About mankind attaining to the wisdom of an angel (yêdatô dânôgîh)² through the grades of intellect, ability, *and* religion. 13. This, too, *is said*, namely: '*It is* for that way when mankind cause the disturbance (siklinênd) *of* that which is a vile religion for want of a way, when even this is produced from among the creatures, in which is the opening of a passage *for* mankind to him, where the evil spirit is dwelling *and* making thee surrender, and on account of the stupefying Akômanô³.' 14. This, too, that, through the sovereignty of sagacity, every one *at* last arrives at that way. 15. And this, too, that *by him*, who shall persistently perform good works or sin *with* fearlessness, *it is* to be hereupon considered that his performance is mindful⁴, *and* that the best thing *for* mankind, after birth, is purification from sin⁵.

16. This, too, that the food *and* maintenance of the priests *depend* upon the husbandmen⁶. 17. This, too, that coveted is now the pleasure and strength of mankind due to the cattle of Khûrdad *and*

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 3 c.

² The use of ô for â sometimes occurs in MSS. from Irân. The word can also be read shavandagîh, 'existence,' but this meaning is less likely.

³ See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 4 c.

⁵ Ibid. 5 c.

⁶ Ibid. 5 d.

Amûrdad¹. 18. About the oppressiveness of Wrath and Envy, *and* the destruction of both through complete mindfulness and possession of Good Thought². 19. *And this is said*, namely: 'I made the religion of righteousness a combining desire (vôyak-î hām-dahisnō³), and all mankind's own selves *are* to be forced into that desire; also its involuntary seeking of immortality is the reign of the will of all mankind, and advantage always arises from it⁴.' 20. This, too, that the care of cattle is reverence of Aûharmazd⁵.

21. About the progress⁶ of righteousness *there* is this, too, that that greatness⁶ is generated therefrom, and its seekers—who are human beings—*have* demanded the supreme predominance in the best existence. 22. About the praise of the period of the renovation of the universe *there* is this, too, that, at that time, those who are doubtful about it are all disclosed to publicity⁷; *also* the last reward and bridge *judgment* of the worthy. 23. About the lawfulness of that which *occurs* through the destruction by Vohûman⁸, who is himself the spiritual lord of the arrangement, *there* is this, too, that the wicked,

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 6 a, b; also Chap. XIX, 1.

² Ibid. 7 a, b.

³ Ibid. 7 c, where, however, this last word can be read asamî-nisnō, 'unalarmed' (asahamînisnō in Pt₄, Mf₄), and the corresponding word in Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 10b can be read asamîsnō, 'intrepid'; but, as these meanings are difficult to reconcile with those of the original Av. hithaos, hithām, it seems more probable that the first syllables asam or asaham, should be read hisam or hisām, a mere transcript of Av. hithām.

⁴ Ibid. 8 a.

⁵ Ibid. 8 b.

⁶ Perhaps these two words, rūbâkîh, 'progress,' and rabâîh, 'greatness,' should be alike, but it is doubtful which is correct.

⁷ See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 9 b.

⁸ Ibid. 9 c.

at that time, become aware of their own wickedness, when their bodies are dissipated. 24. About the destruction of the good works of the wicked, also that of their own souls, that of *their* spiritual existences, and that of *their* material bodies¹. 25. And this, too, that at the time of the renovation of the universe occurs the approach of the wisdom of our sovereignty to that of the best of mankind, and that glory is put on by it through which the destruction of the bad and the development of the good arise; also the sagacity which exists in Vohûman extends to those who are its friends².

26. This, too, that *there* are those who are extenders of the days, and they are beneficial in the country³; and their custom, where they have arisen, is an opponent of him who is a wrathful person⁴.

27. And this, too, that they shall thereupon excite (lâlâ vadîdûnâñd) a brother and sister with mutual desire, so that they shall form a next-of-kin marriage with unanimity; and before midday they generate a sublime radiance, centred in the face, and trembling passion⁵, and they make the radiance grow up, openly manifest, to an altitude of the height of three spears of the length of three reeds each⁶; and

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 11 c.

² Ibid. 11 d.

³ Ibid. 12 a.

⁴ Ibid. 12 d.

⁵ Reading as follows:—lâlâ zerkhûnd rôshanô pavan mîyân rôd bûland navêndakô khrôs, but some of the words can be read otherwise, as in S. B. E., vol. xviii, p. 395, or with further variations; and it is doubtful if the verb is to be construed with the words that follow it, contrary to the usual Pahlavi rule, as there is no other trace of Avesta construction in this section. Neither the Avesta, nor the Pahlavi, version of this chapter of the Gâthas makes any allusion to the subjects mentioned in §§ 27, 28.

⁶ It appears from Dd. XLIII, 5 that this total of nine reeds would be about forty-eight human feet of fourteen finger-breadths

after midday they have learnt expulsion (*rânakth*)¹, *and* shall remove the fiend who *was* before a destroyer. 28. About *those who* girdle themselves where they shall perform *their* proper duty, and are thus all-beneficent for *being* seen.

29. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

CHAPTER XLII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The nineteenth fargard, *Ad mâ-yavâ*², is about the protection *by* a protector for the protection *of* the distressed *ones* of the renovation *of the universe*³. 2. About the impossibility of convincing those who have not attained to the fundamental reason (*bûn kîm*) of belief, before making them comprehensibly reliant upon the existence of the creator, which is the fundamental reason of belief.

3. About the grievous suffering (*vîmârth*) of the religion owing to him who is a wicked judge, whose effusions (*rêzîdanö*) on the judgment seat are injudicious, malevolent, *and* enemies of wisdom; also his wounding is owing to truth⁴, and *his* annoyance owing to the truthful, and the evil spirit is lodging in him; *likewise* the advantage *to* the religion and the great reward of just judges, and the introduction

(see Farh. Oîm, p. 41, l. 1), or 10½ inches, each; so that the height here mentioned would be about forty-two English feet.

¹ The capability of expelling fiends.

² See Chap. XIX, 1 n; it is here written *ad-mâg-yûv* in Pahlavi.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 1 a.

⁴ Ibid. 2 a, b.

(madam-barisn̄h) of a desire for leadership in virtuousness¹. 4. About separation from the friendship of a wicked, ill-judging, unintelligent, and idle *person*, in whom wrath and envy are coiled up (*avar-pêkō*)². 5. About the good government of securers of their own necks (*kavarman*) from viciousness, and the bad government of those repeatedly culpable (*lakhvâr-âhûgân*) owing to viciousness. 6. And this, too, that the wicked themselves are wicked to their own and make them fit for hell, even as to those who³ are precious to them and more beloved than righteousness; and *their* reign, too, is a scanty protection (*gasûkō srâyisnō*).

7. About the praise of Zaratûst *there* is this, too, namely: 'Thy sweetness and mildness are shown to the worldly existences, thy leadership of the religion is through Vohûman, *and* thou art well conversant with righteousness⁴.' 8. About the praise of Fra-shôstar's ardour in the leadership of good works, in virtuousness⁵, listening *to* instruction, and truthful speaking, and in pasturing (*fshegîh*), cultivating the world, achieving benefit (*sûdō tâshîdârîh*), and not giving leadership to villains⁶. 9. About the praise also of the energy *and* high-priestship of Gâmâsp⁷. 10. About the protection of the good

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 3 b, c.

² Ibid. 4 a.

³ Assuming that amat stands for mûn, their Irânian equivalents being much alike.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 5 a, b, c.

⁵ Ibid. 8 a, b, c and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68 n.

⁶ Ibid. 9 a, b, in which Pt₄, Mf₄ have tâshîdâr instead of the khvâstâr of K₅, J₂; regarding fshegîh (=Av. fsheng'hyô) see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXII, 6 n.

⁷ Ibid. 9 d and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68 n.

creations by Vohûman, *and* that, too, of the souls of the righteous *by* Spendarmad also¹.

11. About the punishment of the wicked *ruler* who is seizing anything unlawfully in his realm.

12. Also about the grievous punishment of the wicked, evil-thinking, evil-speaking, evil-doing, heretical (dûs-dênô), evil ruler in hell². 13. About the reply of the archangels to Zaratûst, as to the reward begged by him, to make *him* satisfied about it³.

14. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The twentieth fargard, Kad-môî-urvâ⁴, is about anything whatever *being* begged *as* provision for the soul⁵, and as to the speaking of Shatraver⁶ to Zaratûst thus: 'Thou shouldst think thus, O Spîtâmân! that Aûharmazd assists thee.' 2. This, too, *is said*, that the creatures of Aûharmazd live through Khûrdad⁷, are immortal through Amûrdad⁷, possess complete mindfulness of Aûharmazd through

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 10 a, b, c and Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

² Ibid. 11 a, b.

³ Ibid. 12 b, d. In Pt4, Mf4, § b is as follows: 'Mûn Zaratûstô kîgûn lak Vohûman;' being correctly limited according to the Avesta text.

⁴ See Chap. XX, 1 n; it is here written kad-môg-ravakô in Pahlavî.

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 1 a.

⁶ An archangel who is a personification of the Avesta phrase khshathra-vairya, 'desirable dominion.'

⁷ For these three archangels see Chaps. XII, 25 n, XIX, 1 n, and Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

Spendarmad¹, and *possess* him as ruler through Shatraver.

3. About wealth *being* begged owing to virtuousness *there* is this, too, that, to him who, owing to virtuousness, begs that which is not allowed to him owing to the oppressiveness *of* the vile, or on account of *some* other opposition, they then give essentially that reward, in the spiritual *existence which* is greater *and* better than that wealth. 4. About the cattle suitable *for* that warrior who possesses virtuous habits *and* strength², through the assistance of the will of the sacred beings and *for* the benefit of Irân *and* the defeat of the diminishing foreign force (kâstârth-i an-Aîrânö).

5. About the seizure³ of mankind for the advancement of the admonition *and* command *of* the sacred beings, so far as force is an assistant to them in knowledge due to the sacred beings⁴; *and* their appropriation *of* the best existence through the advancement of that admonition *and* command. 6. About the assistance of the righteous, on the passage to the best existence, by the spirit of the wisdom of sovereignty, liberality, *and* truth, Aharisvang⁵ and the angel Hôrn⁶.

7. About the reason of the three steps walked forward *by* the Zôti from the place of the Zôti, while uttering the Avesta (*avistâkô-gôbisnâ*), after the

¹ See note 7, preceding page.

² See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 3 a, c.

³ Ibid. 7 d.

⁴ This proviso implies some faint perception of the absurdity of trying to assist almighty beings by human force.

⁵ See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

⁶ A personification of the Av. Haoma plant, an infusion of the dried twigs of which is used in the religious ceremonial. Yas. IX and X are devoted to his praise.

end of the ritual for the fire, on delivering (*parvâ-zisnō*) the offering of holy-water to the water¹, *being* the leading up of the archangels, always *at* the end of an assembly of conference *with* Zaratûst, by three steps from the earth to the sun station, through *the places of* good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds².

8. Advice to Zaratûst also as to the nature of the archangels; likewise a reminder to worship on *their*

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 8 a. This refers to the proceedings of the chief officiating priest in the ceremonial, after the conclusion of the Âtar Nyâyis (Yas. LXII) and just before the beginning of the Âbân Nyâyis (Yas. LXV), during the recital of Yas. LXIV which chiefly consists of a repetition of §§ 6-11 of this Gâthic hâ (Yas. L=XLIX of the Pahlavi version). These proceedings are detailed in the rubrics, partially in J2 and more fully in Pt4, Mf4, as follows:—After reciting Av. Yas. L, 7 d 'the Barsôm (Av. baresman, see Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 65 n) is to be taken up from the Mâh-rû,' or crescent-topped Barsôm-stand, 'and one step is to be set forth in the direction of the Frabarââr' (the imaginary assistant priest whose station is near the north-east corner of the ceremonial area, or to the left of the Zôti, see Chap. XXXIII, 5 n), 'at this place of taking up the Barsôm from the Barsôm-stand, and of going on to the position of the Frabarââr, a beginning of Yas. L, 8 a is to be made in walking towards the beginning of the fire place, until Yas. L, 11 d is to be uttered,' in the following manner:—After 'ma d va u one step is to be set forth, and homage to be offered to the holy-water;' after 'padâis one step, and homage to be offered to the holy-water;' after 'yâ frasrûtâ îzayau one step is to be set forth, and he is to go on to the position of the Âbard' (the imaginary assistant priest whose station is near the south-east corner, so that the progress of the Zôti towards the fire is along the left-hand side of the ceremonial area), and, after reciting the rest of the Gâthic text to the end of Yas. L, 11 d, 'homage is to be offered to the fire, and he is to go away to the position of the Zôti.'

² The three lower grades of heaven, intermediate between the earth and the best existence or supreme heaven (*Garôdmân*), and situated in the stations of the stars, moon, and sun, respectively (see AV. VII-X, Mkh. VII, 9-12).

account after separation from the sight of *them*.
 9. And this, too, *is said*, that *there* arises therefrom a conception (ham-giriftârih), *by* him whose disposition and character are sagacious¹, also as to the adaptation of his own deeds to that nature of his. 10. And about the good affinity of Zaratûst, even for abundance of good works, *there* is this, too, namely: 'So, *for* all those deeds which *thou hast* to accomplish, *and* which are also accomplished, there is reward for thee through their righteousness, O Zaratûst!'

11. And about the advice to Zaratûst *there* is this, too, namely: '*Thou hast* to become reverent to them², so that mankind *may* become reverent to thee.'

12. About considering the time of the days *and* nights *as* all for good accumulation in good works *there* is this, too, that whoever is diligent *and* always doing good works, *and* that whoever shall perform as many good works as is possible for him, is given as much reward³ as is his desire.

13. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. *In* the twenty-first fargard, Vohû-khshathrem⁴, *it* is said by Aûharmazd thus: 'I produced, O Zaratûst! the desire *for* a good ruler⁵;' and this, too, *is said*, that, when *there is* a desire *for* a

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 9 d.

² Ibid. 10 d.

³ Ibid. 11 d.

⁴ See Chap. XXI, 1 n; it is here written vohû-khshatar in Pahlavi, and is called the 22nd fargard by mistake.

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. L, 1 a.

good ruler suitable for a share of the world, whoever is suitable for a share of the world [is a development of that character also, owing to the share which is given him, and by him who is himself also developing the character, by giving him a share]¹, giving the share is producing a helper (*vigîdâr*), production of a helper is a perfect action², and superiority of action is owing to thought *and* speech.

2. About *the place* where the best wealth is the produce of water, earth, and plants; also its best supplication is lamentation for the religion, and the sovereignty is liberality. 3. About favours *being* begged from the sacred beings, even with words controverting the response of the sacred beings; the favours *for* the worthy are to be contended *for* worthily. 4. About the connection of the power of intelligent remembrance and wise discrimination, one with the other. 5. About the attraction of the mercy of the spirit *and* leadership³, together, into the supreme heaven (*garôdmânô*), for observation regarding the good creatures.

6. About the begging *and* teaching of that intelligence which is with the increase of good works; also the imperceptible acquirement⁴ of wealth occurs thereby. 7. This, too, that whoever gives himself up, with humility and reverence, to him who is a high-priest of the true religion, is proficient (*far'-zânakî-aitô*) in the religion⁵; and the benefit produced by him, for him who is good, is the liberality

¹ The passage in brackets was at first omitted in the MS. by mistake, and subsequently interlined and written in the margin with a different ink.

² See Pahl. Yas. L, 1 c.

³ Ibid. 4 a.

⁴ Ibid. 5 a.

⁵ Ibid. 5 c.

which is provided for the sacred beings¹. 8. About Aûharmazd *having* created water, plants, animals², *and* the law of the primitive religion *for* the nourishment, arrangement, and succession of the creatures. 9. About the comfort *of* the spirit *of* the liturgy of the religion when he who is a man of credible wisdom and superior disposition utters it³.

10. This, too, that the wicked *one* who does not believe the deception that he teaches to others, which is his through his own spiritual lord, yet, when he teaches multitudes (kabadân), is convinced by it, attains—as the end of that teaching—eminence (padgahîh) for bare-faced deceit (barâhnakö fradâpîh), public falsehood, and disjointed belief.

11. And about mankind *being* bodily prepared also for the future existence by fire and melted ore⁴; in the worldly *existence* the acquitted and incriminated, as regards the law, *have* become thereby manifest⁵, *and*, in the future existence, the torment of the wicked *and* the gratification of the righteous⁶. 12. About Vohûman *and* Ashavahist *being* invoked⁷ for assistance also in danger from the wicked, and about appropriating the best existence through righteousness alone. 13. And this, too, that a happy coming *of* men to the supreme heaven exists *for* the righteous, *but* no⁸ coming of any one from the wicked.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. L, 6 a.

² Ibid. 7 a.

³ Ibid. 8 c; nêvagtâr is written by mistake for nêvagtâr, 'superior,' in the MS.

⁴ Ibid. 9 b and Chap. XXXII, 25.

⁵ Ibid. 9 a.

⁶ Ibid. 9 c.

⁷ Ibid. 10 c.

⁸ Assuming that râf stands for lâ.

14. About the enmity of the Kaī¹ sodomite (vâêpö)² Akht, the heretic of the dark existence³, to Zaratûst; and the causing of disturbance (siklinîdanö), *by* him and the wicked of similar kinds to him, among those who *follow* Zaratûst is extreme, and the primeval hellish existence is *for* them⁴.

15. About the closing of the abode of the Kaī and Karap from virtuousness⁵; *and* this, too, that they do not develope the worldly *existences*, nor attend to the spirit, but they contract the world *and* dissipate the spirit⁶.

16. About the worthiness of the sovereignty of Kaī-Vistâsp⁷, on account of great ability and activity, apart even from superintending. 17. About the praise of Frashôstar⁸ for his *having* given Hvôbö⁹ in marriage to Zaratûst, the praise of Hvôbö for her complete reverence of Zaratûst, and admonition to Zaratûst as to making Hvôbö privileged for the post of house-mistress¹⁰. 18. About the praise of Gâmâsp¹¹ for begging fortune and *for* wisdom in appropriating the excellence of the primitive righteousness; *also* his affection for the sovereignty and *for* the recitation of revelation, in which *there* is assistance of Zaratûst through command of Vohû-

¹ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n.

² See Pahl. Yas. L, 12 a.

³ Akhtyô duzdau temanguhau of Yt. V, 82; the wizard Akht of the tale of Yôst-f Fryânö.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. L, 14 c.

⁵ Ibid. 14 a.

⁶ Ibid. 14 b.

⁷ Ibid. 16 a and Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1.

⁸ Ibid. 17 a and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

⁹ Ibid. 17 b. Av. Hvôvi of Yt. XIII, 139, XVI, 15; she was daughter of Frashôstar and wife of Zaratûst.

¹⁰ Ibid. 17 c.

¹¹ Ibid. 18 a and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

man¹. 19. About the praise of *Maīdōk-māh*² for his accepting *and* exercising—*and* on account of his exercising—the upholding and propagation of the religion; *also* the yelling, united assault, evil food, *and* other affliction owing to the wicked *in* the earlier half of the night, which is that which Zaratūst *had*, for a like reason, to bear; and the reciting of the law of *Aūharmazd*³, for the joy of the sacred beings, and his appropriation *of* the best existence.

20. About the abounding of Zaratūst in complete mindfulness of the origin of learning, and *its* development by him⁴; both the object and the advantage of knowledge—which is the reigning of Vohūman in the body—*being* the means *of* developing the world in righteousness⁵. 21. About the perfection of the ceremonial⁶ and obeisance of Zaratūst, *and* the superiority⁷ of his recompense⁸; *also* advice to him as to worshipping *Aūharmazd* pre-eminently, and the primeval angels by their own names⁹ according to their greatness.

22. It is the excellence *of* righteousness *that is* perfect.

CHAPTER XLV.

Varstmānsar Nask.

1. The twenty-second fargard, *Vahistōisti*¹⁰, is about the perfection of the prayers¹¹ of the good religion, and information thereon.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. L, 18 b.

² Ibid. 19 a and Chap. XXIV, 1.

³ Ibid. 19 c.

⁴ Ibid. 21 a.

⁵ Ibid. 21 b.

⁶ Ibid. 22 a.

⁷ Assuming that *avartfī* stands for *avartarfī*.

⁸ See Pahl. Yas. L, 22 b.

⁹ Ibid. 22 c.

¹⁰ See Chap. XXII, 1 n.

¹¹ See Pahl. Yas. LII, 1 a.

2. About the glory of a family of some houses *that* has come to the Spîtâmas¹, even before the coming of Zaratûst; the knowledge and habit of organization and priestly authority of those *arising* from that family; the existence therein of houses, villages, communities, *and* districts; *its* attracting *and* exalting mankind, from vice to virtue, by propriety of words and actions; *and* it convinces those of the world even till the arrival of the good religion. 3. And this, too, that the existence of Kaî-Vistâsp—that desire of Zaratûst²—and of Frashôstar of the Hvôbas³, is owing to it.

4. About the praise of Pôrûkâst⁴, daughter of Zaratûst, for loving the good religion with wisdom and acting *by* the advice of the religion, *having* given *herself* contentedly in womanly service (zanôih) to Zaratûst⁵; *her* complete accomplishment

¹ The family from which Zaratûst, Maîdôk-mâh, and Pôrûkâst were descended. Its name originated with Spîtâma, an ancestor of Zaratûst nine generations back. Compare Chap. XXXIX, 23.

² Perhaps we ought to read 'the Spîtâma Zaratûst,' substituting Spîtâmak for kâmak, 'desire,' which latter word is written on a patch by the repairer of the MS. who must have found the original word defective. See Pahl. Yas. LII, 2 c.

³ See Chap. XXI, 24.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. LII, 3 a. Av. Pourukîsta who became the wife of Gâmâsp, prime minister of king Vistâsp.

⁵ Ibid. 4 a. It seems unlikely that zanôih means 'marriage' here (the term being applied to her relation both to Zaratûst and Gâmâsp), unless we were to suppose that she married Gâmâsp after her father's death, which the phrase akhar min Zaratûst, 'after Zaratûst,' might possibly imply. And if zanôih means merely 'womanly service' here, its Zvâris equivalent nêsmânîh, applied to the seven sisters of Ardâ Virâf in AV. II, 10, may also not imply marriage, which is a view already suggested in S. B. E., vol. xviii, p. 398 n.

of duty and reverence *for* him, *and*, after Zaratûst, *her* also performing womanly service (zanîh) and reverence *for* Gâmâsp¹; *likewise* her great reward from Aûharmazd for religiousness and self-devotion (khvêstîh) to the sacred beings. 5. About the praise of Hûtôs² for the arising of the progress of the Mazda-worshipping religion through her, by the growth of righteousness and smiting *of* the primeval fiend; *also* the good works and advantage which have arisen in the world from *her* great possessions, and her equal praise and grand position here *and in* yonder world.

6. About the characteristics of those who are preparing the end *of time* and arranging *its* period *there* is this, too, namely: 'They are a manifestation *of* those, O Spîtâmân Zaratûst! who shall cause this renovation in the existences; they are observant, little afflictive in tormenting, *and* fully mindful, so that, when milk reaches them, they thoroughly digest *it*; they *have* no fear and accoutrements (afzâr), *nor* yet do they mention false *and* irreverent (anâstô) statements concerning those who are righteous through imploring righteousness.'

7. About the characteristics of those disturbing the end *of time* and opposing *its* period *there* is this, too, namely: 'They are a manifestation *of* those, O Spîtâmân Zaratûst! who are destroying the existences³; they are swiftly remedied, that is, they become very quickly devoured (khâîdô) and *are* in

¹ See Pahl. Yas. LII, 4 b.

² Ibid. 5 a. Av. Hutaosa, the wife of king Vistâsp, see Yt. IX, 26, XV, 35.

³ See Pahl. Yas. LII, 6 e.

the torment of the vicious *and* grievous abode; they are not fully mindful, so that *it* is not possible for them to digest milk, their fear is inevitable (*akâr*), *and* they mention even false *and* irreverent statements concerning those who are righteous through imploring righteousness.

8. About the craving for the fiend, the assistance of the fiend, and the gratification of the fiend *by* him who is an apostle of the demons, and his rendering the creatures of *Aûhar mazd* helpless¹ even through the want of progress (*anasakisnô*) which they lament; also the confusion owing to his speaking deceitfully in the world, *and* the connection with him of an awful and swift death², and the most grievous *and* hellish punishment. 9. About that wicked follower and assistant of theirs *in* defeating righteousness, and also in destroying the greater religiousness (*frêh-dênôth*) *of* the world and making the soul wicked in the end.

10. About the occurrence of the dissipation of the glory of him who is a well-ruling man, and the pacification (*âsûdanô*) of the creatures of the world by the sacred beings, it says this, too, namely: 'The persuader *to* evil³ and the organizer of distress (*veshisnô*)—where they shall make pain *and* distress current in the world—are the weakener (*nerefsinidâr*) and corrupter (*âlâyidâr*) for the

¹ Or it may be 'maintaining the affliction of the creatures,' if we read *âzârdârîh* instead of *akârgârîh*.

² See Pahl. Yas. LII, 8 d.

³ Ibid. 9 a. B has *avêhîh vêrenakînidâr*, but *avêhîh*, 'want of goodness,' ought to be *dûsîh*, 'evil,' which it resembles even more in appearance than in meaning, in Pahlavi letters.

righteous ; it is the ruler that is righteous who smites them and opposes them—that is, restrains them from sin—and causes hatred for them through *his* will¹ ; that, *O Aûharmazd!* is this dominion of thine *by* which you give benefits (vehîgânô) *to* him who is justly living *and* poor².’

11. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Varstmânsar Nask.

1. The twenty-third fargard, Airyaman³, is the Aîrmân supplication⁴:—‘That is the greatest, I tell thee, *O Spîtâmân!* of the pure sayings of every kind, in so much Avesta lore, this is the best, because *it* is given forth by him who is a very eminent producer (madam-kârtar) of sayings of every kind. 2. Which Aîrmân supplication they should recite who are beneficial⁵, *and* the benefiter⁵, through the recital of it aloud, *O Spîtâmân!* becomes pre-dominant. 3. The evil spirit, who is heretical (dûs-dênô), *O Zaratûst!* with his own creatures, *O Spîtâmân!* becomes buried *in* the earth ; the evil spirit is among *those* buried *in* the earth—who are the demons—where their bodily form (kâlpudô) is com-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. LII, 9 c.

² Ibid. 9 d. Compare Chap. XLVII, 17.

³ See Chap. XXIII, 1 n; it is here written Aîremanô in Pahlavi.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. LIII, 1 and Bk. VIII, Chap. XLIV, 81.

⁵ Pahl. sût-hômônd=Av. saoshyâs, referring to the future restorer of religion to the world, just before the renovation of the universe.

pletely shattered. 4. And up the dead are arrayed by it; through its assistance they give life back unto the body, and the embodied life they *then* possess is *such* that they do not die.'

5. It is perfect *is* the excellence of righteousness; it is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Bakō Nask.

1. Propitiation *for* the creator Aûharmazd and all angels.

2. The first of the twenty-two fargard's of the Bakō¹ is the Ahunavair² of the Bakân³, about the production *by* Aûharmazd, before every creation apart from the archangel⁴, *and* on the solicitation of

¹ The third of the Nasks and fourth of the Gâthic division (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 9, 12). It is an analytical commentary upon the Gâthas and the texts associated with them in the two preceding Nasks, devoting a separate fargard to each hâ, and selecting very short phrases, or portions (Av. bagha), for explanation and comment; so short that it is usually difficult to identify them in their Pahlavi disguise. The first three fargard's are still extant in Yas. XIX–XXI, and a translation of their Pahlavi versions will be found in the Nask Fragments at the end of this volume; but whether the Pahlavi versions, consulted by the writer of the Dinkard, were identical with those in the present Yasna is uncertain.

² The name of the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formula (see Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 7). This fargard is still extant in Yas. XIX.

³ That is, 'of the apportionments,' or 'of those analyzed.'

⁴ Possibly the archangel Vohûman, the first of the creatures, may be meant; although the Bundahis places his creation after the recitation of the Ahunavair (see Bd. I, 21–23). That it was

the archangel, of the form *of* words (rastakō mi-layâ) which is the innermost and most comprehensive encompassment (parvand) *and* best-congregated embodiment (vêh-ramaktûm kerpō) of the intelligent omniscience of the religion¹.

3. The divisions of *this* germ of germs, *and* the origin of the other primitive sayings of the good religion, are the divisibility of the portions (bakō) *of* the Ahunavair. 4. The Ahû of the Ahû-vairyô of the Ahunavair is the first creature² which, as regards the first, is specially that creature which is really *derived* from the creator Aûharmazd, and its adaptation is owing to mankind. 5. The thought (mit)³ that exists with the first is with the word that is Vairyô, his 'will,' which is in the second created existence (dâmth), which, as regards the first, is specially the primitive secondary state (dadt-garîh) of those who are specially characterised by it, who exist as *it were* with *that* character, *and* have become, *in* that way, in association *with* the second creature. 6. The conjunction of the first creature—whose origin (yehevûnisnō), which is the liturgy, is a co-existence whose origin *had* occurred—is the source for the saying; and the distribution of the portions thereof is the whole saying of a liturgical kind; also its name is Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, the spirit through which it is set going is the lore *of* the religion, needful among the creatures, the creations *arose* through wisdom for that purpose, and they, too, *were* produced on the solicitation of

recited before the other creations is clearly stated in Pahl. Yas. XIX, 2-5, 17-20.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 24-27.

² Ibid. 29.

³ Ibid. Pâz. mit=Av. maiti=manas.

the archangel¹; besides this, that archangels *are* wise in speaking, and through wisdom are they archangels.

7. And this, too, about the same words, that the statement is the best-worded which is spoken, *or* to be spoken²; and the obscurity is not about the sound of the word-elements, but about the manifold nature of the actual meaning (kabadîh-i sang-îkô), which is the character of the statement, in the words of the epitome. 8. This, too, that mankind guard the soul from hell by learning, reciting, and practising *it*, and the body from death³ by likewise perpetually persevering therein.

9. This, too, that, *as to* the first apportionment of the Ahunavair, whose name is the Bakân Ahunavair, when, thoroughly accomplishing *it* (ava-vidâr) unanxiously (asûdakîhâ), *one* chants *it* in a ceremonial, the good work is as when *one* chants a hundred authorities (radîh) of the Gâthas, thoroughly accomplishing *them* unanxiously⁴; and when, accomplishing *it* (vidâr) anxiously, *one* chants *it*, such a ceremonial amounts to *as much* as ten *with any other authority*⁵. 10. This, too, that, through the same apportionment, while *one* solemnizes the summing up of the first completion⁶, which is the Stôd-yast, as it becomes the rite of *one* newly initiated (navak-nâpar)⁷, on that day

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 20. ² Ibid. 24. ³ Ibid. 25, 26.

⁴ Ibid. 6, 7. The MS. has ۴۱۵ instead of ۱۰۰, '100,' by mistake.

⁵ Ibid. 8. The MS. has 'unanxiously' by mistake.

⁶ Possibly Yas. LIX, 32-34.

⁷ Commonly called Nônâbar (see Sls. X, 2, XIII, 2; Dd. LXXIX, 4, 11, 12).

they make the soul of the solemnizer pass three times into the supreme heaven ¹.

11. About the grievous sinfulness of imperfectly accomplishing (*avidâr*) the Bakân Ahunavair ².

12. This, too, that it is made by him in subjection to Aûharmazd, as the first creature made, who gives the body in service to him who is the ruler, *and* in discipleship to him who is the high-priest of the religion ³; for this reason, because they are suitable *for* lordship and mastership in the worldly *existence*.

13. He who is the highest lord *and* master is the creator Aûharmazd, and, owing to the same reason, when it made their subjection that *to* the creator Aûharmazd, he has made *it* as the first creature made.

14. This, too, that it is taught by it to keep the body in the service of the king of kings ⁴, whose origin Aûharmazd keeps in *his* possession; for this reason, because, when *his* origin is kept in the possession of Aûharmazd, Aûharmazd is over his own if a good ruler is made; him who is thus prepared, when also the worldly existence is necessary *for* Aûharmazd, he maintains as ruler when the creation is instructed.

15. This, too, that the reward of Vohûman is appropriated (*khvêsinîdô*) by him who indicates anything which is virtuous, who also utters virtuous recitation, *and* who likewise teaches perfect abstinence from sin to mankind ⁵. 16. For this reason, because the indication of anything virtuous, the utterance of recitation wisely, *and* abstinence from

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 9-11.

² Ibid. 12-15.

³ Ibid. 28, 29.

⁴ Ibid. 30.

⁵ Ibid. 31, 32.

sin are, as *it were*, a lodgment materially in good people owing spiritually to the archangels, Vohûman *being* more particularly the instigator therein; and, owing to the same reason, *he* in whom there is a like proficiency is of like good works with Vohûman, and adapted to the good works arises the like reward.

17. This, too, that the dominion is given to Aûharmazd by him who may perform those *works*, is manifest from *the phrase* Tad mazdâ tavâ khshathrem, &c. and its meaning, which is this: 'That, O Aûharmazd! is this dominion of thine, by which benefits (vehagânö) are given *to* him who is justly living *and* poor¹.' 18. *Which* is a deliverance for this reason, because Aûharmazd created no dominion for the more particular preservation of the poor *and* the creatures of the worldly *existence* from the destroyer; *but*, for the purpose of control over the dominion of *him* whose strength of rule is the cause of preservation for the poor—which is continually the wish of Aûharmazd—the dominion is given to Aûharmazd.

19. *And* this, too, that, through preservation from the adversary, he has assisted his poor who have preserved friendship for the Spîtâmân²; the adversity *of* the creatures is the advancement of religion, by supporting the religion; and a friend of the Spîtâmân becomes an assistant of the supporters of religion. 20. About the entrance (dên yâtûn-dakîh) of the destroyer of the creatures from without³, *and* the helplessness of the beneficent spirit owing thereto.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 35, Yas. LIII, 9 d, and Chap. XLV, 10.

² Ibid. 36.

³ Ibid. 39.

21. About the girding on of this saying of the religion of Aûharmazd by the three degrees (*pad-mân*), which are good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds; *by* the four classes, which are priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, and artisanship; and *by* the five chieftainships, which are house-rule, village-rule, tribe-rule, province-rule, and the supreme Zaratûstship; and the one summing up (*hangerdîkîh*) which is the liberality of the good ruler¹.

22. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Bakš Nask.

1. The second fargard is the Ashem² of the Bakân³; it is by it *that* perfect excellence is produced for every one who produces for any one else that which is suitable for him⁴; for this reason, because, for the sake of perfect production, *there is* much unprofitable production, *but* profitable production is suitably producing. 2. This, too, that the reward of every good work is given by it to mankind, which keeps mankind in diligence when it instructs⁵; because, as the business *of* all good works is that which instructs and keeps mankind in diligence, the reward of good works which man-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 44-55.

² See Chap. III, 1 n; it is here expressed by its Pahlavi equivalent aharâyîh. This fargard is still extant in Yas. XX.

³ See Chap. XLVII, 2.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XX, 1.

⁵ Ibid. 2.

kind can appropriate by diligence is appropriated by it. 3. And this, too, that advancement is given by it to every good work ¹.

4. He who is understanding good works, and *yet* a suppliant, has thereby made the learned foolish (*âzân akhant dln dâð*); whoever possesses authority through virtuousness ² is more particularly for rewarding the doers of good works; whoever, too, can make true decision ³ and adjudication is more particularly for causing the bridge *judgment* of a criminal, and *for* thrusting *him* aside owing to the exhaustion of *his* good works; and whoever, too, can exercise mediation *and* wisdom is more particularly for the good government of the world.

5. Of righteousness the excellence is perfect.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Bakō Nask.

1. The third fargard is the Yēnhê-hâtām⁴: there is here taught by it the worship of Aûharmazd, which is the law of Aûharmazd, that is, its law is virtuous⁵. 2. This, too, that the worship of Aûharmazd is occasioned by it, which is the asking for life for beings *by* mankind⁵. 3. *And* this, too, that the ritual of the males and females of the righteous occurs *through* it, which is the obeisance for the archangels⁶. 4. And the atone-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XX, 3.

² Ibid. 4.

³ Ibid. 5.

⁴ See Chap. IV, 1 n; it is here written Yēnhê-hâtām in Pahlavi. This fargard is still extant in Yas. XXI.

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XXI, 1.

⁶ Ibid. 2, 3.

ment *for* crimes (vagagânō), because it is a gratification, is all for Aûharmazd personally therefrom; and in connection therewith it amounts to a gratification for Aûharmazd.

5. Here *one* mentions three particulars¹ which are in one's worship of Aûharmazd of every description. 6. One is when the design (dâdō) of the person is virtuous, because it is restrained by some virtuousness of thought; this is that which amounts to worship and obeisance *for* Aûharmazd personally. 7. One is when it teaches an asking for life for mankind, and its ordinance is the protection, nourishment, *and* other assistance *and* gratification *of* mankind; a friend of the primitive worldly creation of mankind produced it, *and* it comes into connection *with* the bridge *judgment* of mankind, for the worship *and* gratification of Aûharmazd. 8. *And* one is when *one* would celebrate the obeisance *for* the archangels, which is for the sake of strengthening the archangels, each separately, in *their* control of the business of preparing *and* managing the world; because *it* is declared by revelation *that* to worship is this, that the ceremonial *may* reach this bridge² in company with *one* (padvand), for the worship *and* gratification of Aûharmazd; the archangel who is to be strengthened by the ceremonial is one, *and* mankind are developed by the strength of the archangel.

9. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXI, 3.

² The K'invad bridge (see Chap. XX, 3).

CHAPTER L.

Bakö Nask.

1. Propitiation *for* the creator Aûharmazd, and a scornful dole *for* the evil spirit.

2. The fourth fargard is the Yântm-manô¹ of the Bakö, about the praise of Zaratûst, that is, his jurisdiction, invocation of blessing (yânö)², and speaking *in* reply were such as are declared by the *sacred* text. 3. This, too, that that jurisdiction of his arose before the blessing, that is, this one decision is made by him about his own, that his own person is first made deserving by him through virtue, and then virtue is prayed for by him³.

4. This, too, that he has attributed the source *and* result to Aûharmazd, who gives joy to Aûharmazd; for the source and result *of* various advantages *and* various joys are desirable for joy itself, as joy is the acme (rôêsmân) of every happiness *of him* whose joy *has* made an offering (aûstôfrîdö) to Aûharmazd, because his decision is this, that by him whose joy arises from that thing which is the will of Aûharmazd, its source *and* result are attributed to Aûharmazd. 5. This, too, that the good work, which is a gratification *by* lawful gratifiers⁴, becomes appropriated by him who shall perform that which is truly reverent; even for this reason, because he who is a lawful gratifier of others, through true reverence, *has* intended to gratify through the practice of his reverence, and, when thus the gratifier of those persons, the good work of gratification

¹ See Chap. V, 1 n. ² See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, o. ³ Ibid. 1 a.

⁴ Ibid. 2 c.

by lawful gratifiers becomes appropriated. 6. This, too, that the wisdom of Vohûman¹ is advanced by him who utters a discourse through Vohûman; for this reason, because the wisdom of Vohûman and its advancement are mostly through discourse. 7. This, too, that the plentifulness and satisfaction of cattle¹ are taught by him who properly maintains the cattle which are in his possession; even for this reason, owing to the multitudes thus *belonging* to *him* who properly maintains the cattle which are in his possession, he gains his profit *and* pleasure therefrom, *and* others, who see that gain, are instructed, even as much as he, about the proper maintenance of cattle for their own profit *and* pleasure.

8. This, too, that benefit² *being* given for the benefit *of* the worthy *man* is taught by him who keeps the benefit that is his as the property *of* the sacred beings; even for this reason, because he gives the benefit that is his unto the worthy *man* for the purpose of keeping *it* for the advantage of the sacred beings, and others are instructed about it. 9. This, too, that prosperity³ *being* given, in both existences², to him who is generous *and* worthy is taught by him who gives benefit to a worthy *man* possessing body and life; even for this reason, because a worldly *existence* and a spiritual *one* are both his, also his worldly *existence* is in this existence, *and* the spiritual *one* in that existence wherefrom satisfaction *for* the giving of benefit arrives. 10. This, too, that by him who shall cause reverence⁴ of the good, even this is taught, that the sacred

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 1 c, where Pt₄ and Mf₄ have Vohûman instead of valman.

² Ibid. 2 b.

³ Ibid. 2 c.

⁴ Ibid. 4 b.

beings gratify him who is practising their will ; even for this reason, because good for him, by whom the reverence is practised, becomes the reply of satisfaction, *and* the throne of the sacred beings is certain.

11. This, too, that *he* who *was* at first has taught even this to mankind, that supplicants¹ *for* the favour of the sacred beings gratify the sacred beings by being contented (*padvâz*) ; even for this reason, because the welcome of a sacred being, supplied by command from the religion, is a virtuousness in the world distinct from that, and the production of a course of generosity, from the sacred beings to mankind, arises really through the contentment of the favoured ; *and* mankind thereby become freer from doubt, and believe more in the sacred beings.

12. This, too, that his soul is delivered, *or will* be delivered, into the supreme heaven², who *has* given something to him who praises the sacred beings *and* the good ; even for this reason, because even through liberality as to wealth, and the production of a way to the supreme heaven, *it* is manifest *that* anything given to the praisers of the sacred beings *and* the good is a greater liberality. 13. This, too, that the reverence³ of those needing reverence is occasioned by him who teaches the *sacred* word (*vâkakö*) to the good ; even for this reason, because he who is a good teacher of revelation (*dênô*) can bring *it* into use for the reverence, advantage, *and* joy of the sacred beings *and* the good.

14. This, too, that acquaintance with the religion of Aûhar Mazda³ is disclosed to his own by him who loves Vohûman ; even for this reason, because true

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 4 c.

² Ibid. 4 a.

³ Ibid. 4 b.

knowledge arises from the discrimination of pure wisdom, and the pure attainment of the most discriminative spiritual lord (ah vō) to the mind, through the purity that constitutes the way within the mind of a spiritual lord, the purity which becomes that way through the lodgment of Vohūman there.

15. This, too, that righteousness is taught¹ *by him* who keeps *his* mind connected with righteousness; even for this reason, because his mind attains to an effort for authority, and, ridden by the effort, *attains* to *its* acquisition. 16. This, too, that by him who gives commands about the progress of the concerns of Aûharmazd, this is also taught to mankind, namely, when *one* sees the throne of Aûharmazd²; even for this reason, because it is possible to see that throne through the complete progress of the will of Aûharmazd in the world; *and* whoever gives commands about the progress of the concerns of Aûharmazd, the will of Aûharmazd is necessary in him, the progressive share of those concerns for the people of the world *being* shown, which is seen even through that foundation of completeness that becomes the throne of Aûharmazd *for* mankind.

17. This, too, that by him who welcomes Aûharmazd in *himself*³, matters only known by even a high-priest are then taught to mankind; even for this reason, because instruction and knowledge are mostly those through a high-priest, and by him who welcomes Aûharmazd in *himself*, a spiritual lord is then prayed for, who becomes glorious and praised for that which is to be taught, and mankind are taught by him. 18. This, too, that by any one good, who

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 4 c.

² Ibid. 5 b.

³ Ibid. 6 a.

is a servant *and* pleaser of a good ruler, a good person may be brought forward, to him who is the ruler, for benefit¹; even for this reason, because a good *man* associates other good people with him in the benefit that happens to him, and *his* character, temper, *and* disposition are thus due to that; but when bringing himself forward to rulers, through reverence *and* gratification *of* the rulers, other good people may also be brought forward by him for that benefit. 19. This, too, that by him *who* shall virtuously make an accumulation, the way of prosperity² from the sacred beings is disclosed to his own; even for this reason, because virtuous accumulation is provided through unnumbered (*a pên avâ dō*) grants of a decider, and, when *it is* so, he becomes the treasurer of the sacred beings.

20. This, too, that by him who produces advantage for the archangels, the gift of him who is suitable for the sovereignty³ of the immature (*khâm*) world is solicited; even for this reason, because the advantage which is produced for the archangels *being* for the sake of his own, the advantage of the immature creation solicited—the supreme advantage of the primitive good creations—becomes a virtuous ruler. 21. This, too, that by him who is a praiser³ *of* an archangel, the good religion is praised; even for this reason, because the good religion is praise of the archangels, *and* the praise of the archangels is the good religion. 22. This, too, that the religion of the sacred beings is made progressive³ by him who shall make an offering (*aûstôfrîdō*) *to* the

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 6 b.

² Ibid. 7 a.

³ Ibid. 7 c.

sacred beings ; even for this reason, because making an offering *to* the sacred beings strengthens the upholders of religion, and the progress of religion occurs through upholders of religion.

23. This, too, that by him who shall make mankind quite zealous (gare m ôk ö) for doing good works, the reward of the good works is also made liberal for mankind ; even for this reason, because the producer of the origin is also the producer of the result.

24. This, too, that above the multitude is the praise of the man who is assisting those of virtuous will, who is also the nourishment of the creatures through virtuousness, and whose accumulation is also owing to virtuousness ; even for this reason, because whoever is assisting those of virtuous will is an increaser of virtuousness in the world, whoever is the nourishment of the creatures through virtuousness is a producer of the paternity of creatures, *and he* whose accumulation is owing to virtuousness becomes an improver of the world.

25. This, too, that by him who assists him who is ignorant (khast), is given *and* taught to supplicants that which is suitable for them.

26. To assist him who is ignorant is this, such as forming the province, district, domain, *and* family ; maintaining the abode *and* house of a follower of Vistâsp (Vistâspân ö), the fortress *and* stronghold, and the homestead (khân) of the agricultural peasant ; repairing a rugged road ; building bridges over rivers ; managing a river, aqueduct, *or* brook ; populating desolate places ; *and* doing other things, owing to which any retention (gtrift-a ê) of the comfort and advantage of mankind in the world occurs.

27. And by him who shall do these things, the assistance even of him who is born afterwards,

the making of that which is a very advantageous thing suitable *for* mankind, and also the doing of *this* for others, are taught.

28. This, too, that it is revealed (*kâshtô*) of the spiritual existence *that* that which is wisdom is for Aûharmazd, for him who is wisdom—that is, it teaches *that* acquired *wisdom* is for him whose innate wisdom is good—even for this reason, because the spirit, this that has come into his possession, which is acquired wisdom, is given by it to the progeny of Aûharmazd, which is innate wisdom, to increase *it*; and Aûharmazd is gratified thereby.

29. Of a summary about the continuance *that* was, the progress of the material *existence*, and the continuance *that will* be¹, *there* is also this:—about the continuance *that* was, which is the beginning, *there are* the essential thought and beneficent production of the good and evil material *existence* of its good goodness, and that of *its* evil vileness; about the progress of the material *existence*, which is intermediate, *there are* the dutiful doing of good works, righteousness, and having reward, the committal of crime, wickedness, and having the bridge *penalty*; and about the continuance *that will* be, which is the last, *there are* the government, with wisdom, of that supremely good *one* who is the origin of all the multitudinous *creatures* (*vasîkân*), the triumph of goodness over vileness, the admissibility of the good, the inadmissibility of the bad, and the purity of the restoration of the good creatures.

30. Of righteousness perfect is the excellence.

¹ The three periods of the universe:—the past eternity, the present existence, and the future eternity.

CHAPTER LI.

Bakō Nask.

1. The fifth fargard, Khshmaibyâ¹, is about this, that complaint is made by Gôš-aûrvan² *that there* did not exist *any one* who properly keeps the cattle that are in his possession; even for this reason, because cattle are increased by such, and others, through design (âhang) and a desire for that increase, act by his example *and* keep cattle properly; *but* the complaint of Gôš-aûrvan is *that* he does not exist. 2. This, too, that by him who gives orders about the advancement *of* the concerns of the sacred beings, the care of cattle is produced, and his soul attains to the sacred beings; even for this reason, because the care of cattle is a principal thing in the advancement of the concerns of the sacred beings, *and* also for the preservation *of* the soul. 3. This, too, that by him who keeps cattle with a controller (das-tôbar) who is a cattle-master³, even a friend of him who is the creator of cattle is taught to the cattle—the cattle-master and he who is wise in the nourishment, protection, and multiplication of cattle—even for this reason, because when his cattle are kept with a controller who is a nourisher, protector, and multiplier of cattle, the friendship of a nourisher for the nourished, *of* a protector for the protected, and *of* a multiplier for the multipliable is also exhibited by him; *and* the design of the creator for the creation, through affection, is that of a nourisher for the nourished, *of* a protector for the protected, *and of* a multiplier for the multipliable.

¹ See Chap. VI, 1 n; it is here written khshmaîbê in Pahlavi.

² See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1.

³ Ibid. 2 a.

4. This, too, that by him who maintains an animal with propriety, it is presented to the sacred beings; even for this reason, because when *it* is maintained by him with propriety, the will of the sacred beings drives him on, and when the will of the sacred beings drives him on, it is presented by him to the sacred beings. 5. This, too, that when *one* shall admit the male of animals at the *proper* time, the mastery (*sardârîniðanö*) of the animal is also taught by him; even for this reason, because the admission of the male *of* the animals is the essential business in the multiplication of cattle, and he who is a multiplier has also taught the mastery of the animals. 6. This, too, that by him who does not slaughter an animal until it attains to full growth, the formation of a store for cattle is also taught; even for this reason, because, from the increasing cattle produced, the profit of mankind arises, *and* on account of the liking of mankind for profit, they persevere more fully in cultivating cattle, and provide a store for them.

7. This, too, that *it is he* who is the more powerful of beings—that is, strength is what is more in use *by* him¹—whose proceeding is for him who is his own, so that he supplies that which it is necessary to supply; even for this reason, because needful bountifulness *to* one's own needy ones arises through lawful thoughts, lawful thoughts are provided by expelling greed, lust, wrath, disgrace, envy, *and* other fiends from the body, and a man expelling a fiend from *his* body becomes of efficient strength. 8. This, too, that he is a very powerful person, for invocation¹, supplication, and attaining to good works,

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 3 c.

who possesses wealth for the high-priest of the priests, who shall also procure decisions and judgment always justly, and who likewise becomes humble *and* reverent *to* the good; even for this reason, because the wealth of multitudes of mankind is for maintaining the desires and pleasure of the body, *for* procuring decisions and judgment whereto their wishes tend, *and for* others becoming humble and reverent *to* them even when *their* design is vicious; *but he* who possesses wealth *for* invocation *and* connection *with* the wisdom of the religion, through the high-priest of the religion, and shall procure just decisions and judgment, *and* becomes humble and reverent *to* the good, is a putter away of that design and *one* who, through the putting away of that design, becomes a capable *and* very powerful person.

9. This, too, that every one is made to persevere at *his* proper duty, *as to* any excellent thing, by him who holds the reward of the diligent, as the sacred beings are proceeding *with* a pure needy *one*; for this reason, because the toiling of the body of a person at *his* proper duty is induced *by* a desire of reward. 10. This, too, that by him whose mouth (yôṅg)¹ and *its* appliances *are* for virtue, the possession of Vohûman is then explained, through this mode, because the maintenance of the mouth and *its* appliances as virtuous becomes so, when, through protection and assistance *of* the good, *and* defeat and smiting of the vile, the reformation of the world occurs; and this, too, is so, when *there is* an existence of preparation of the friend of the good and the enemy

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 7 c.

of the vile, and of friendship of the good and enmity of the vile, through understanding good and evil; and the understanding of good and evil is through possession of Vohûman, *and* that possession of Vohûman becomes also an explainer of Vohûman.

11. This, too, that by him who gives commands about the progress of the concerns of the sacred beings, his own knowledge of every kind is also developed; even for this reason, *because* the command *being* necessary *for* the personal duty of the good, they also develop the knowledge of every kind for which that commanding of duty and *its* auspiciousness are suitable. 12. This, too, that by him who teaches the good, the good work is then appropriated which is also an assistance of Zaratûst through speaking of the religion; even for this reason, because, on account of those of the religion of Zaratûst who really constitute the renovation of *the universe*, the speaking connected with Zaratûst—through the teaching of the good *and* teachers not of the same religion—*and* the assistance through speaking of the religion become the good work appropriated.

13. This, too, that by him who gives anything to that person who praises the sacred beings *and* the good, a throne is appropriated *in yonder world*¹, even on the mention of *it*. 14. This, too, that by him who is teaching that which is for the propitious, the damage that is owing to want of resources² in religion is shut out of the world; even for this reason, because, owing to that, he increases the resources of religion of every kind, *and* the ad-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 8 c.

² Ibid. 9 b.

vantage therefrom, in the world. 15. This, too, that by him who is bringing him who is righteous forth to the rulers, for beneficence, the utmost assistance is then afforded; even for this reason, because an expectation of the utmost beneficence is further attached by him to the place of obtainment¹.

16. This, too, that by him who gives *himself* in service unto him who is the supreme king of kings, the way of good thinking², *of* the assistance of pleasure, and *of* the production of sovereignty by Aûhar³mazd is disclosed to his own; even for this reason, because the original reason of virtue is the worthiness *of* mankind owing to the creator *and* their service unto the creator, and, therefore, as he who is a well-ruling monarch is a creator in the worldly *existence*, *and* a recompensing (pa⁴dô-dahâk) leader of the creatures who steadfastly give *themselves* in service to him, it is then given by him to the creator also; and I teach, besides, *that* the origin of the virtue of worthiness, which is attached by the creator to his own, is the way that is stated above, and other virtue is also disclosed to his own thereby.

17. Righteousness is excellence *that is* perfect.

CHAPTER LII.

Bakô Nask.

1. The sixth fargard, Ad-tâ-vakhshyâ³, is this, that by him who is a wise upholder of the dignity

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 10 c.

² Ibid. 10 b; we should probably read hû-mânisnîh, 'pleasant dwelling,' instead of hû-mînisnîh.

³ See Chap. VII, 1 n; it is here written at-takhshê in Pahlavi.

of a priest's leadership, the priestly assembly¹ wanted for performing religious rites (dênô) is enlarged; for this reason, because the nature of the person, whose resources are bounty for the needy, eagerly becomes a causer of exertion for the teaching (âmûkô) of accomplishments. 2. This, too, that by him whose habits are virtuous the glorification of Aûharmazd² is accomplished and taught; even on this account, for the sake of whatever advantage *and* pleasure are due to virtue, they, indeed, whose habits are virtuous, glorify him, moreover, who is the creator of those virtuous habits, who is Aûharmazd himself. 3. This, too, that by him who speaks virtuous words the performance even of the worship of Vohûman³ is also taught; even on this account, because of the comeliness and desirableness of virtue, the good make it an example and speak virtuous words, *and* virtuous speaking is the worship of Vohûman. 4. This, too, that the ceremonial which he whose way is virtuous shall accomplish becomes greater⁴ thereby; even for this reason, because the sacred beings come more particularly to the ceremonial of those of pure dispositions *and* virtuous ways, and accept *it*.

5. This, too, that he who is a producer of benefit for promoters of good works becomes an extender⁴ of the teaching of religion; even for this reason, because from producing benefit for promoters of good works *arises* an increase of good works, from an increase of good works *arises* further progress of the will of the sacred beings, from further progress of the will of the sacred beings *arises* more progress

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 1 a.

² Ibid. 1 b.

³ Ibid. 1 c.

⁴ Ibid. 2 a.

of the good religion, *and* from more progress *of* the good religion arises an extension of the teaching of the good religion in the world. 6. This, too, that by him who possesses authority through virtue, discrimination¹ as to the regulation of duties is taught to mankind; even for this reason, because the possessor of authority through virtue is a man *who* becomes a decider *and* ruler, *and* mankind learn and practise to exercise the disposition, habits, and custom of rulers.

7. This, too, that *he* who is a giver of the needful *to* his own needy ones has given himself to Zaratûst; even for this reason, because the needful *being* given *to* one's own needy ones is the existence of true liberality, which is a compendium of the religion of Zaratûst; by him who is thereby ennobled (*vâsṣû-harakânt-aitō*) the religion of Zaratûst is then put on, and whoever *has* put on the religion of Zaratûst [has given himself to Zaratûst. 8. This, too, that by him who]² gives the leadership [to him who is suitable for the leadership]² even the wisdom *of* that man is increased; for this reason, because even the wisdom of the suitable, through which they accomplish that leadership, when the leadership comes to them, grows further with the glory of that duty.

9. This, too, that he who *has* to select the better of two ways, which are good and bad³, is assisted

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 2 b.

² The words in brackets are the translation of a passage that was inserted in the MS. at the time the folios were patched. The original copyist of the MS. has evidently omitted a passage, but whether the repairer has made the insertion merely by guessing from the context (which is quite possible), or by referring to some other MS., is uncertain.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 3 b.

to do *so* by the benefitters' ordeal of fire and ore ; even for this reason, because that is discrimination by the eye of wisdom, which is the way of good intention, *and* the benefitters are decisive declarers of acquittal and incrimination through fire and metal, the two good discriminators ; and when the business *is of* a different kind, even then both *are* associates in discriminating, and are powerful connections of one another. 10. This, too, that he who shall do that thing from *which* advantage of the sacred beings *arises*, is empowered to discriminate truly that which is sagacious¹ in thought, word, *and* deed ; even for this reason, because from doing anything for the advantage of the sacred beings *arises* the reign of the will of the sacred beings in the world, from the reign of the will of the sacred beings in the world *arises* the freedom from danger *of* the temporal existence of the world, *and* the freedom from danger of the temporal existence of the world contributes also to the power of him who is sagacious in discriminating truly as to thought, word, *and* deed.

11. This, too, that by him who thinks of the affairs of Aûharmazd the eternity (hamâytkîh) *of* Aûharmazd² and also the consideration of his own eternity *by* Aûharmazd are thought of ; even on this account, because mankind mind and serve Aûharmazd for the sake of even the hope² of eternal benefit from him ; *and* they who think of him, through the eternal benefit due to him, are themselves increasing that benefit which is eternal, and it is thought eternal by him that thinks of that eternal *thing* his own eternity. 12. This, too, that

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 3 c.

² Ibid. 4 c.

he who restrains a person from reverence of the demons, has diverted him from making the world sickly; even for this reason, because whoever *has* restrained a person from reverence of the demons, has diverted a demon from making the world anarchical *and* from making the world sickly. 13. This, too, that by him who shall practise liberality benefit for the sun is caused, and by him who shall cause benefit for the sun benefit is caused also for the nature of the body of mankind; even for this reason, because *it is* declared *that* the sun *has* progressed through the radiance and glory of the liberal, and the nature of the body of mankind is preserved by the sun.

14. This, too, that by him whose desire is for anything virtuous, and who possesses authority through virtue, mankind are controlled to persist (*māntiṇḍanō*) in virtue for receiving a reward¹; even for this reason, because *he* whose desire is virtuous seeks happiness for every one—a pre-eminent desire for the happiness of human existence *being* the desire of mankind for virtue—and by him who requires that, *and* strives for *it* fully, so far as possible for him, any one whatever is brought to persist in virtue and to constrain the spirit for reward; and by him who possesses authority through virtue the continuance of mankind in authority *and* *their* persistence *and* instruction in virtue are attached to good works and are brought to reward. 15. This, too, that by him who possesses happiness through appropriation of the sacred beings mankind are attached to the sacred beings for receiving a reward²; even for this reason, because, on account of the possession of

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 10 b.

² Ibid. 10 c.

happiness through appropriation of the sacred beings, he possesses *it* through the assistance and gratification of the good, and mankind shall therefore make him an example; it also becomes a good work for them, *and* they adhere to the sacred beings for receiving a reward.

16. This, too, that by him who produces the benediction *of* him that is a conductor of investigation *and* a righteous judge, and who shall also occasion the reverence of the good, the teaching of the advantage of the righteous¹ is likewise performed; even for this reason, because the essentials (*mâdîgân*) of the advantage of the world are two—one owing to justice, *and* one owing to generosity—and it is declared *that* the advantage of *him* who possesses the blessings of the judges is owing to the justice of the judges, and the advantage of *him* who is reverent *to* the good is owing to the generosity of the good in developing the world, and the righteous teach about *it*.

17. Righteousness is perfect excellence.

CHAPTER LIII.

Bakš Nask.

1. The seventh fargard, Tâ-ve-urvâtâ², is *that* by him who possesses advantage through virtue, the world of righteousness is *freed* from³ destruction⁴; even for this reason, because the possession of advantage through virtue arises through the non-participation of the demons *and* the vile therein, and the participation of the sacred beings *and* the

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 11 c.

² See Chap. VIII, 1 n.

³ Assuming that *mûn*, 'which,' stands for *min*.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 1 b.

good; and, when *one* shall act so, the advantage of spiritual origin becomes more powerful through guarding the advantage from the destroyers. 2. This, too, that, by him who welcomes Aûharmazd in *his* person, apostates are likewise forced to make the religion of Aûharmazd progressive¹; even for this reason, because owing to² the apostasy of apostates *being* a religion produced *by* Aharman, *they are* only able to make the religion progressive through the appellation of Aûharmazd; apostasy *and* priesthood, *and* the apostates *and* priests, are fraternal opponents, and whenever the priesthood and multitudes of the priesthood are triumphant, multitudes of the apostates of apostasy perish (aôshênd), and when the multitudes of the apostates of apostasy are bold, the priests of the priesthood are weak; and the priests are superior *in* power *and* success when their priesthood is properly limited, and their properly-limited priesthood, too—which can arise through mankind—consists in the welcome precedence of Aûharmazd.

3. About the completeness (spôrikîh) of the priesthood in that quality now, when the priests of the multitude are the habitation (mêhônô) of Aûharmazd, *and* the power of the priests of the priesthood *has* increased, the valour of the apostates of apostasy is smitten, and the apostates are defeated *by* the abundant splendour of the priests, also their power as regards making the religion of Aharman progressive through the appellation of Aûharmazd is fettered, *and* they keep apostasy concealed³.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 1 c.

² Assuming that lâ, 'not,' stands for râf.

³ The passage in the Pahlavi commentary on this Nask, which

4. And then also they, with the appellation of priests, truly speak and teach the religion of Aûharmazd, and make *it* progressive, just as it is solemnized and made easy by them, even though the will of the sacred beings *be* unheard *and* undesired through apostasy.

5. This, too, that he proclaims the miraculousness of Aûharmazd¹, who shall appoint for ordeal that which is certainly a doubt; even for this reason, because, through accomplishing an ordeal, that which is doubtful is forcibly rendered visible (*vênâvda-hakî-attö*) to the eyes, *as* certain clearness, through the power of the spirit, *which* is itself a miracle of Aûharmazd. 6. This, too, that by him who shall make a public decision thereon, *as to* the acquitted and convicted², gratification is afforded to him whose maintenance of the dispute² is righteous; even for this reason, because the needful is delivered by him to its own requirer *who* thereby becomes even renowned. 7. This, too, that even the rite of ordeal [is produced]³ by him [who is an advantage to the righteous; for this reason, because the rite of ordeal is for the advancement of the ordeal, and the religious ordeal] proceeds through sovereignty; these righteous are those of the good religion, and their advantage is that belonging to the multitude, which is the sovereignty now, *and* every one who is given for that advantage, to the

is here described, must evidently have been written shortly after some great triumph of the priesthood over some heresy, probably either that of Mânî, or that of Mazdak.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 2 b.

² Ibid. 3 a.

³ Ibid. 3 b. The words in brackets translate a passage inserted in the MS. at the time the folios were patched, like that in Chap. LII, 7, 8.

righteous *of* those of the good religion, becomes the performer of any rite of ordeal really produced, because the origin of that giving of advantage is even the rite of ordeal. 8. This, too, that by him who gives a priest and righteous *man* for propagating the religion, the rite of ordeal is also proclaimed; even for this reason, because the teacher and *one* rightly merciful (hû-âmûr'ztâdâr) give¹ the sacred text by which even the rite of ordeal is declared.

9. This, too, that *he* who recites the revelation of Aûharmazd, and who shall do *it* with exceeding goodness, becomes an increaser of wisdom; even for this reason, because the wisdom of a man increases in these two ways, either he speaks *and* teaches himself, or he exemplifies the excellence of a portion to the wise who become speakers and teachers of wisdom. 10. This, too, that his homage is for Aûharmazd, who thoroughly teaches a righteous employer *of* animals and human beings (kîrâ vavîr) that he considers *him* as their controller (dastôbar); because, since the productiveness of the completion of the creatures is produced through the nourishment of the creatures *by* Aûharmazd through his fulfilling his own productiveness, that righteous employer *in* the world is *intended* for the nourishment of his creatures, owing to that outward subjection and propitiation of theirs, *and* the righteous employer is connected with *their* subjection and propitiation *for* the creator.

11. This, too, that by him who gives thought to the religion of Zaratûst, the soul is given to Zara-

¹ Assuming that yehevûnd, 'they are,' stands for yehabûnd.

tûst; even for this reason, because with a man's *having* given thought to the religion of Zaratûst is connected the receiving of his soul *by* Zaratûst for preservation from hell. 12. This, too, that by him who teaches the nature of the sacred beings to mankind, consultation with Aûharmazd is also further taught; even for this reason, because the nature of the sacred beings is consulting a spiritual lord, *and* becomes also the consulting of Aûharmazd.

13. This, too, that by him who keeps the produce of sheep as the property of Aûharmazd, a sheep is given to him who is diligent *and* moderate¹; even for this reason, because produce kept as the property of Aûharmazd is for *being* given for good works, *being* given for good works is *being* truly kept as a beginning for the possession of produce, and a beginning truly kept is kept even through a sheep, as a beginning of excellence, in the control (dastôbarîh) of him who is a diligent *and* moderate shepherd².

14. This, too, that by him who is liberal to the liberal the increase owing to developers is brought into the world; even for this reason, because a liberal *man*, on account of even that gift given back to the worthy, becomes even for us—through the development of the world—him who is first praised therein with the sacred beings. 15. This, too, that whoever shall form a store for sheep, becomes an agent even in the development *of* sheep *by* the creator; because, on account of the increase of sheep through the existence of nourishment for them *having* arisen, whoever has arranged nourishment for sheep, becomes an agent even in the de-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 10 a.

² Ibid. 10 b.

velopment *of* sheep *by* the creator. 16. This, too, that by him who teaches *inward* prayer (*vākakō*) to the good, it is also taught *to* eaters; even for this reason, because, everything connected with eating *being* declared by the religion, when the religion is taught by *any* one to the good, in which even that information is proclaimed, even eaters are taught about it. 17. This, too, that whoever maintains a sheep, *or* human being, as our property, is taught to maintain it through the high-priest of Zaratūst; even for this reason, because it *is* so maintained as the property of the sacred beings, when he maintains *it* as the property of Zaratūst.

18. This, too, that by him who gave predominance to those of the nature of Gâyōmard¹, the sovereignty also of those of the religion of Zaratūst is desired; even for this reason, because the religion of Zaratūst is the nature of Gâyōmard, and the nature of Gâyōmard is the religion of Zaratūst. 19. This, too, that when *one* is alone among rulers a way of speaking to the rulers such words *as are* really true is thereby provided; even for this reason, because the utterance *of* blessings *by* a solitary *person* is for advantage. 20. This, too, that by him who keeps the sovereignty which is his within the will of Aûharmazd, the best thing is done unto Aûharmazd; even for this reason, because a sovereignty is so kept within the will of Aûharmazd when he who is the ruler gives to Aûharmazd the individuality in which is the sovereignty, and when its proximity and closeness have given to Aûharmazd that thing which is best *and* supreme.

21. This, too, that when *one* teaches the sayings

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 11 b, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 1.

(*vâkakô*) of the beneficers, the information which is owing to the religion is illustrated¹ by him to his own; even for this reason, because the knowledge of religion, which is in *its* causing liberality by him, is increased even by the repeated enquiry of disciples. 22. This, too, that by him who teaches an applicant the virtuous way and doctrine (*pand*) the liturgy is then taught; even for this reason, because knowledge arises through the virtuous course of the liturgy². 23. This, too, that by him who thinks of the affairs of virtue, the liturgy is maintained *and* taught with virtuousness²; even for this reason, because the maintenance of the liturgy with virtuousness arises through virtuous thinking.

24. This, too, that whoever shall provide the nourishment of creatures with propriety, his Vohûman (*good thought*) is Aûharmazd's progeny³; and whoever properly maintains those which are in his keeping, his position becomes Aûharmazd's fatherhood of Vohûman⁴; even for this reason, because every proper nourishing is that in which the nourished becomes an offspring such as Vohûman unto Aûharmazd; and every proper protection of the creatures, over those which are protected by it, is a fatherhood such as *that of* Aûharmazd over Vohûman. 25. This, too, that by him who shall provide nourishment with propriety *for* the creation which is good, it is taught *that* the good creation *was* produced *by* Aûharmazd; even for this reason, because from the nourishment of the creation with propriety, *together* with the discriminating action of the nourisher, the goodness of the nourished is also

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 6 a.

² Ibid. 6 b.

³ Ibid. 8 a.

⁴ Ibid. 8 b.

evident, from the goodness of the nourished creation the goodness *of* him who is its creator is evident, and the creator of the good creation is Aûharmazd himself.

26. This, too, that whoever shall spiritually make Aûharmazd the ruler over his own person becomes a ruler as to actions¹; even for this reason, because whoever is making Aûharmazd ruler over *his* person is a leader of wisdom, a leader of wisdom is a decider taking account of sin and good works, taking account of sin and good works is abstaining from sin *and* practising good works, and owing to abstinence *from* sin and practising good works *one* becomes a ruler over actions. 27. This, too, that Spendarmad² is given to Aûharmazd by him who is as reverent unto Aûharmazd as a daughter unto a father; even for this reason, because the Spendarmadic nature (*Spendarmadîh*) is provided by him *for* Aûharmazd.

28. This, too, that for him *who* thinks of the care of cattle *there* arises that wisdom³ which the control (*patîh*) of cattle gives; even for this reason, because the nature of the wisdom *for* a production of cattle is provided in mankind, and, when mankind apply *their* thoughts to seeking that wisdom, they obtain *it*. 29. This, too, that by him who is admitting the male *to* cattle at the *proper* time, the care of cattle is also thought of; even for this reason, because the admittance of the male becomes productiveness, and whoever⁴ would cause productiveness thinks also of nourishment.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 8 c.

² Ibid. 9 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

³ Ibid. 9 a.

⁴ Assuming that *min*, 'from,' stands for *mûn*.

30. This, too, that by him who *has* prepared *himself* for the priests the way to yonder¹ *world* is taught; even for this reason, because the way to yonder *world* is declared by the religion, and its indicator is the priest; therefore, by him who is prepared for the priests, through discipleship, that way is known and is made known. 31. This, too, that *in* him who shall do that which is something that is an assistance to the renovation *of the universe*, thoughts of the bounty (dahîh) of the creator arise; even for this reason, because creativeness is through thinking of the renovation, thinking of the renovation arises through the renovation, the renovation arises through anything which is done that is an assistance of the renovation, the doing of anything that is an assistance of the renovation is through thinking of sagacity, and thinking of sagacity becomes thoughts of the bounty of the creator.

32. This, too, that by him who loves the affairs of the archangels a heart and mind², *for* not being misled from the way of the sacred beings, are recommended to mankind; even for this reason, because from the religion of the sacred beings *being* loved *arises* increasing power of the sacred beings, from the increasing power of the sacred beings *arises* their greater authority among mankind, *and* from the greater authority of the sacred beings among mankind arises the resistance of heart and mind of mankind, even in their not being misled by the very demons. 33. This, too, that whoever shall act with reverence *to* Vohûman sees the sin which is concealed in *him* mingled with good works there-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 9 b.

² Ibid. 12 b.

by¹; even for this reason, because reverence for Vohûman becomes submission (hêrth) in virtuousness, with virtuous submission are connected freedom from Kikship and from Karapship², and with freedom from Kikship and from Karapship *is connected one* sound of life *and* eye, whereby *he* is an observant decider, and atonement *for* sin arises from good works.

34. This, too, that by him who shall provide liberality for the liberal, the giving of a loan³ to mankind is also taught; even for this reason, because liberal giving by any one is accounting for his own debt, and he endeavours to repay *it* fully observantly and with complete gratification; besides that, the power of liberality becomes extendible among mankind, *and* through loans and other gifts³ of generosity (dahisnikth) they become ardent.

35. This, too, that by him who pays homage (franâmêdô) to the affairs of Aûharmazd, as much as he is able, the non-injury of the innocent is also taught; even for this reason, because to intertwine further (frôvâftanô) with the affairs of Aûharmazd, as much as possible, is first *to commit* no sin *and* to perform as many good works as possible, *and* abstaining from the essentials of sin is non-injury of the innocent. 36. This, too, that by him who possesses a ruler and high-priest Aûharmazd is

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 13 c, where, after hômaniš, J₂, Pt₄, and Mf₄ insert the following words: vinâs dên avô kirfakô gûmîkhtô yekavîmûnêdô, madam aharâyih ak sardâr hômaniš.

² Pahl. akîkth va-akarapth; see Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 13 n for the two idolatrous priestly tribes here alluded to. On its second occurrence the first word is corrupted into âkâs which closely resembles akîgth in Pahlavi letters.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 14 b.

spiritually made ruler over his person¹; even for this reason, because, through the requirement of *Aûharmazd*, the angels are lord and master of the worldly *existence* of that *man*.

37. This, too, that whoever decides duty and opinion becomes also an informer of others; even for this reason, because it informs others that *he* is possessing wisdom, and this is what is said, that 'the wisdom of a man is evident from *his* deciding as to affairs.' 38. This, too, that whoever shall provide nurture with propriety becomes also an indicator (*dakhshakintdâr*)² *for* others; even for this reason, because the happiness of the nurturer becomes also a happy indicator even *for* thee; and this, too, is what *one* says, that 'always good, happy, *and* free from serfs³ is he who is not a master of vagabonds (*padô-t pûân*).'

39. This, too, that by him who is a ruler who, by a command given, appoints him who is liturgical (*mânsarik*), and gives anything to him which it is desirable to give, the necessary demeanour for true *and* virtuous statements⁴ is taught; even for this reason, because the uttering of true *and* virtuous statements, in fearlessness⁴ of rulers, is owing to a well-established sovereignty, and their well-established sovereignty is more particularly through these two *things*, good commanding and helpfulness; when they establish that liturgical *one* by a command given *it* is good commanding, and when they give

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 16 a.

² Ibid. 17 c.

³ Pahl. *avârûnô*; but, as freedom from servants is not exactly an Oriental idea of happiness, the word may also be read *anâlônô*, a possible variant of *anâlânô*, 'unlamenting.'

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 19 b.

anything to him which it is desirable to give the helpfulness is provided; also, owing to their good commanding, the helpfulness is a good establishment *of* the sovereignty, owing to a well-established sovereignty *there* is fearlessness also in uttering true *and* virtuous statements, and, owing to freedom from concealment in uttering true *and* virtuous statements, the necessary demeanour for true *and* virtuous statements arises. 40. This, too, that *he* who gives personal service unto the king of kings, and who considers the product (bar) as the property of Aûharmazd, is empowered for indicating the acquitted and convicted¹ *by* the spirits, his indicators of the acquitted *and* convicted; even for this reason, because the person *being* given in service to the king of kings is the preparation (ntvârisnô) of subjection, and the product *being* considered as the property of Aûharmazd is to consider the innocence of *its* origin (bûn) and to make the product well-selecting (hû-kînakô) through virtuousness; owing to the progress of these two, the virtuousness in the world becomes great *and* increasing productiveness for all the good spiritual and worldly *existences* which are in it, even those who are angels indicating the acquitted and convicted.

41. This, too, that by him who becomes immortal progress² for him who is immortally progressive, complete progress² is given to him who is completely progressive; and its routine (dâdîstân), too,

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 19 c.

² Ibid. 21 a; amarg-rûbisnîh and hamâk-rûbisnîh are Pahlavi translations of Av. ameretâd and haurvatâd, as may be seen in Ibid. 6 b.

is even this, that by him who wishes¹ to make that which is his own soul immortal, *and* would afford *it* assistance, every benefit is given to him who is a suppliant *for* every benefit *and* becomes a giver of every benefit which he begs, which becomes an assistance to him whom he asks in attaining thereto. 42. This, too, that whoever gratifies that which is enjoyment renders *his* soul immortal; even for this reason, because the soul subsists through good works, and good works are all those which gratify enjoyment. 43. This, too, that whoever keeps himself always in good works² has produced perfection and happiness by any goodness *and* worthiness of his; even for this reason, because keeping oneself always in good works becomes perfect diligence in industry, within perfect diligence in industry is also comprised opposition to any harm whatever, and it is opposition to harm and perfect goodness that are worthy of every happiness.

44. This, too, that by him who possesses wealth as high-priest of the priests, predominance as their high-priest is maintained³ *and* taught; even for this reason, because the provision of sovereignty and *its* progress are really through wealth. 45. This, too, that by him who would act for the pleasure of others, owing to virtue, the growth *and* increase owing to Vohûman⁴ are produced; even for this reason, because that which has given virtuous pleasure is the nourishment of the creatures by the producer of increase and growth.

46. This, too, that by him who welcomes Aûhar-

¹ Written yetîbunêd with mû above it as a partial correction into yezbemûnêd which is evidently the proper word.

² See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 21 a. ³ Ibid. 21 b. ⁴ Ibid. 21 c.

mazd in *himself*¹, and teaches good works to mankind, every virtuous instruction is taught; even for this reason, because the welcoming of Aûharmazd in *oneself* is the non-committal of sin, *and* the teaching of good works to mankind is more particularly the performance of good works oneself; innocence and the practising of good works are the end of every instruction, and *he* in whom they exist becomes a teacher of every goodness. 47. This, too, that by him who shall occasion benefit through him who is a propagator of good works, the evidence of him *who is* well-informed² is taught through *one* well-informed; even for this reason, because the chief evidence as to sagacity is to occasion benefit for the good. 48. This, too, that by him who gives commands as to the affairs of Aûharmazd, Aûharmazd is made welcome in *his* person¹; even for this reason, because the throne of Aûharmazd in the worldly *existence* is more particularly in a ruler of well-commanding person.

49. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

CHAPTER LIV.

Bakō Nask.

1. The eighth fargard, *Hva êtumaiti*³, is *that* by him who teaches wisdom to others the not being deceived by an apostate into confusing a righteous *one* (aharûbō-barîstih) is also taught⁴; even for this reason, because he who *has* taught is not deceived.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 22 c.

² Ibid. 22 a.

³ See Chap. IX, 1 n; it is here written khvamaftō in Pahlavi.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 1-4.

2. This, too, that by him who is as reverent *unto* Aûharmazd as a daughter *unto* a father, and who is also a gratifier of virtuous doers, Spendarmad¹ is *made one* of the archangels, and *one* is also made to love *her*; even for this reason, because through that Spendarmadic *one being* reverent *unto* Aûharmazd, and the gratification of the good *by* him, the archangels love and preserve her Spendarmadic nature (Spendarmadīgih). 3. This, too, that he who is loving Vohûman is taught by his wisdom not to destroy (nasâninīdanō)² the religion of Aûharmazd; even for this reason, because wisdom maintains the religion in virtue, and others are taught about it.

4. This, too, that by him who gives *himself* in discipleship *unto* the priests, *and* who asks again that which he does not understand, learning (âmûkō) is taught; even for this reason, because the asking *for* knowledge again *by him* who *has* given *himself* in discipleship to a wise priest, increases knowledge; and the friends of knowledge, therefore, make him an example, and shall practise asking again, that which they do not understand, *from* the disciples of the priests.

5. This, too, that whoever is *in accordance* with Zaratûst, through pure affection, becomes, in like manner, *him* who is giving strength *to* the will of the archangels and the commands *of* the good; even for this reason, because these two capabilities *are* of the special nature of Zaratûst. 6. This, too, that through the discrimination of him who loves³ Vohûman Aû-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 2 c, and Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

² Ibid. 4 c.

³ Ibid. 8 c. It is possible to read the verbal stem gōsh, 'hear,'

harmazd is gratified ; even for this reason, because *one* loving Vohūman is loving wisdom and *has* taught wisdom, wisdom taught is discrimination, and the discriminator becomes a gratifier of Aûharmazd.

7. This, too, that whoever gives thought to the religion of Zaratûst is taught wisdom ; even for this reason, because all the wisdom of the good religion is taught to him by giving thought. 8. This, too, that whoever *has* kept wealth in the control¹ of Zaratûst becomes taught, *and* is *one* who is reverent *to* the benefitters ; even for this reason, because whoever is reverent *to* the supporters of religion keeps wealth in the control *of* the supporters of religion, *and*, when kept by him in their control, it is kept by him in that of Zaratûst.

9. This, too, that his destiny is connected with himself who practises industry. 10. This, too, that his good works *for* arranging the creation become his own who has fully prepared his own person.

11. The excellence *of* righteousness is perfect.

CHAPTER LV.

Bakō Nask.

1. The ninth fargard, Yathâis², is *that* by him who praises Aûharmazd *his* work in the Gâthic lore³ is taught ; even for this reason, because the reason of the praise even of Aûharmazd is for *his* works, *and* by him who extols any work the performance

instead of dōsh (Av. zush) ; but this is hardly possible in § 2, and gōshîdanō is not the usual Pahlavi for 'to hear.'

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXII, 9 b.

² See Chap. X, 1 n ; it is here written yatâyîs in Pahlavi.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 1 a.

of that work is also taught; *moreover* the work of Aûharmazd, *which is* the Gâthic lore, is pure goodness. 2. This, too, that by him who increases the propagators of good works priestly-controlled action (radîk-kûnîsnîh)¹ is taught; even for this reason, because the advancement of merit and the action of priestly chieftainship are the two maxims (vâkākō) of one who, when *there is* reason, exalts progressive merit when he increases the propagators of good works; and when progressive merit is exalted priestly-controlled action is praised and also taught.

3. This, too, that what is worthy, *and* what is coveted for every worthy *man*, is produced by him for whom the command of the liturgy is the reckoning for him who is habitually sagacious; and this statement also indicates the explanation of rulers *and* all who are needing those of the world for one combined effort, who, in the immature world, *have to* trust a command that is *at* one time sagacious.

4. This, too, that personal assistance is liberally given (râdînîdō) to the creatures of the good *beings* by him whose deeds are an assistance of the renovation *of the universe*; and this statement, too, also indicates the great power *of* any good work whatever, because every good work, *being* an assistance of the renovation, becomes liberality *to* the immature (khâm) creation.

5. This, too, that whoever teaches to a son reverence unto *his* father has also appropriated the reward for reverence unto the creator for teaching that person; even for this reason, because express reverence unto parents and service to them are connected

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 1 b.

with reverence unto the creator and service to him. 6. This, too, that whoever is personally progress for him who is his own¹—that is, for any one whatever among those who are needing him—becomes the happiness of the creator who is the maker of the original good creations; and this statement also indicates as to whom *it is*, when, through him whose decision is progress—which *arises* through that which *occurs* when the decision is given that becomes for every one that which is needful for him—there is happiness that is concentrated. 7. This, too, that by him who is causing benefit for him who is a cultivator cattle² are multiplied; even for this reason, because a gratifier of the performers of tillage is multiplying tillage, *and* cattle are the chief tillage of the world.

8. This, too, that the religion which is the way of righteousness is made his own³ by him who is a good thinker about the religion of righteousness; and this statement, too, also indicates the limit of reliance (*astisnō*) upon the good religion; because whoever is not a good thinker about the good religion, even though he be a reciter of revelation, becomes really an apostate; whoever is a good thinker, *but* not about the good religion, becomes really an infidel; and whoever thinks truly becomes a good thinker about religious righteousness and the statements in the good religion. 9. And about three statements, the bringer forward *for* all mankind is your submission to the sacred beings; one is of the produce (*bar*), one of the origin (*būn*), and

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 3 a.

² Ibid. 3 b, c.

³ Ibid. 5 c.

one of the body and life ; that of the produce is the exertion from which *there* is produce, that of the origin is the advantage for which the origin is requisite, and that of the body and life is the thought of the proposer (râyīnīdār), which considered both as submission *to* the sacred beings. 10. This, too, that connected with the sitting-place of the sage is the excessiveness *of* the pleasure¹ for those causing pleasure, for the upper classes (*avarīgānō*) of Irân, *and* for the energy (patûkīh)¹ of the diligent.

11. Excellence *that is* perfect is righteousness.

CHAPTER LVI.

Bakō Nask.

1. The tenth fargard, Yâ-shyaothanâ², is *that*, for him who is practising good works³ as much as *it* is possible for him *to do*, an efficacious reason *for* the renovation *of the universe* is afforded assistance ; even for this reason, when every good work is an assistance *to* the renovation, then—according to the declaration *that* whoever *does* much more good work is more assisting the renovation—by him who is practising good works as much as *it* is possible for him *to do*, an efficacious reason for the renovation is afforded assistance. 2. This, too, that the apostate⁴, who is the seduction of mankind, is injured by him who devotes himself to Aûharmazd ; even for this reason, because he is dislodged *and* is elucidated

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 13 a.

² See Chap. XI, 1 n ; it is here written yâ-shâôtnō in Pahlavi.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 1 a.

⁴ Ibid. 8 a.

(adivâgi-aitō rôshant-aitō), *and there* arises a class of mankind *who* see the admission (parvânakih) of the apostate into hell, and he is disabled when *it* is seen by them.

3. This, too, that by him who is eager¹ for knowledge, knowledge is grasped *and* taught; even for this reason, because knowledge is taught through that which is the instruction of every science *and* the original desire for it, and mankind shall extol his knowledge; it is also coveted by them for *being* taught, and they mount and grasp *it*. 4. This, too, that to slay² an apostate is taught by the good *one* who is united (hami-ait) with a good *man*; even for this reason, because the destruction (aôsh) of Aharman arises from the union of the good. 5. This, too, that by him who is a disturber (vishûftâr) as to Vohûman the production of development through Vohûmanic rule³ is taught; sinners lawfully subjected to the bridge *judgment* (pûhalînidō) *for* Vohûmanic disturbance, and the command for it by rulers and high-priests, being a preparation *for* the development of the world.

6. This, too, that a great ordinance⁴ is taught by him whose ceremonial⁵ is for Aûharmazd; even for this reason, because a comprehension of Aûharmazd and serving him are the foundation of joy (parkân bûn), and the ownership and concentration (hangerdîkih) of all good works are themselves the great ordinance of the faithful whose preparation is through the ownership, and their welcome is more particularly in the ceremonial; owing to the same

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 9 a.

² Ibid. 11 b.

³ Ibid. 12 a, b.

⁴ Ibid. 10 c.

⁵ Ibid. 12 a.

reason, the original possession of the great ordinance of the ceremonial which is Aûharmazd's own, and of other good works—even though *relating* to the ceremonial of Aûharmazd of every kind owing thereto—is necessary for the manifestation of the great ordinance, and is incorporated (ham-tanû) *with it* when it becomes manifest as a great ordinance, or as more than a great ordinance; even then its extent (vâlisnô) is over this joy. 7. This, too, that the performance (sakhtârîh) of a ceremonial¹ of the needy is a gift to the worthy of the creation, and a gift to the worthy of the creation is the attraction (hâkhtârîh) of a ceremonial of the needy.

8. This, too, that the way of righteousness², also that through which that way is seen, *and* likewise the reward of those lonely-labouring (aêvar'zîkân) therein are taught by him whose deeds are an advantage to the sacred beings; even for this reason, because the advantage of the sacred beings is the advantage of the multitude, and the advantage of the multitude, which is itself the religion of the sacred beings that is a guide, is the way of righteousness and also that through which is the reward of those lonely-labouring. 9. This, too, that even the reward of a teacher of professionals, which is the profit of the profession, is liberally given and appropriated for the professionals taught; even for this reason, because the business of the sacred beings has profited by the instruction (âmûkô).

10. Excellence *that is perfect* is righteousness.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 12 a.

² Ibid. 12 c.

CHAPTER LVII.

Bakō Nask.

1. The eleventh fargard, the Yasna¹, is *that* the whole of the good works *which are* to accomplish, *and* those, too, which are accomplished², are appropriated *by* the righteous *man* who teaches virtue³ to the righteous; even for this reason, of the good works which *one* accomplishes, *and* those, too, which are accomplished, *there* is all one store (anbâr), from the work (var'zō) of the original good creation even to the renovation *of the universe*, *and* ever afresh the teaching of virtue *by those* who are righteous comes to the accumulation of the righteous and the accomplishment of that store, *and* they, too, are in possession of that store, *in* partnership with the other righteous. 2. This, too, that *it is* because he would do the best for his own⁴, whose meditation of the liturgy is for those who are archangels, and who also maintains, for the assistance of the good, the strength which is his for the existences. 3. And this statement indicates the great participation of any one in that store, because when that store is really an accumulation of work on the way, for the partners in that store who *have done* more, and also *those* who *have* accomplished less, *and* remains, moreover, in the possession of them all, then, *as to* those accomplishing more of it, through the original possession of most of that work, and also through that which *occurs* when the accomplisners have attained to that plenty more particularly owing to their more labour, and likewise through the property, liberally,

¹ See Chap. XII, 1 n; it is here written yastô in Pahlavi.

² See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 5.

³ Ibid. 4.

⁴ Ibid. 6.

largely, and lordlily, of those accomplishing more, and the indigence, unafflictedly¹, scantily, and subordinately, of those accomplishing less, *it is* reasonable to speak of that store *as* in their possession, and *of their* superiority *as* greatly over those accomplishing less. 4. This, too, that his work is good work whose liberality is for the archangels; even for this reason, because through a little labour *for* the sacred beings, which is itself that liberality, he contributes duty and good works.

5. This, too, that it becomes best for him, in both existences², who teaches a wishing for living in diligence to mankind; even for this reason, because he is a preserver of them through the wishing for living, and *his* soul, through the diligence owing to him, attains perfection, here from mankind *and in* yonder *world* from the sacred beings. 6. This, too, that the ceremonial and obeisance of Aûharmazd³ are performed by him who is in the way of like thinking and like praising of the law of Aûharmazd with all the worshippers of Aûharmazd. 7. This, too, that he is in the leadership of his religion⁴ who makes the knowledge of religion ever afresh; even for this reason, because every item of knowledge which he provides increases some greatness of it. 8. This, too, that he is in the service of his religion⁴ who demands the knowledge of religion ever afresh; even for this reason, because so long as he demands more, he becomes nearer to a knowledge of religion.

¹ Pahl. abêshîhâ, but it should perhaps be avêshîhâ, 'unabundantly.'

² See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 9.

³ Ibid. 19.

⁴ Ibid. 22.

9. This, too, that mankind's wishing for life is authorised (dastovarīntāð) by him who authorises the production of anything for mankind; even for this reason, because authority (dastōbarīh) over the production of anything is conjoined with that which is for the wishing for life; so that whosever production of anything is authorisedly, their life is *free* from any discomfort; and whosever wishing for life is authorisedly, his production of anything is also authorisedly. 10. This, too, that acceptance, hints, and words are given¹ to Aûharmazd by him who asks again, that which he does not understand of the religion, from him who does understand; even for this reason, because knowledge is completed through these three *things*: obtainment, hints, and speaking, and all three are asked again by him who does not understand. 11. This, too, that the words of Aûharmazd² are taught by him who teaches the acceptance, remembrance, and speaking *of* the religion; even for this reason, because this is the recital of that compendium (hangerdīkīh).

12. This, too, that the care³ *and* reverence of fire are provided by him who is liberal to a fire as regards anything he supplies *for* the care *and* reverence which *others* shall provide *for* the fire, and he becomes equally rewarded for it. 13. This, too, that by him who teaches the religion of Aûharmazd with joyfulness⁴, the care *and* reverence of fire are

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 25.

² Ibid. 27.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XXXVI, 1. This section implies that the attendant who feeds a fire with fuel supplied by others, obtains an equal share of merit with them.

⁴ Ibid. 4, 5.

provided as declared by the religion; even for this reason, because even that *which* is taught by him combines with the action due to that teaching.

14. This, too, that the obeisance¹ to those requiring obeisance is arranged *by him* who loves Vohûman.

15. This, too, that fire is strengthened—for that work, achieved in the future existence, which is the greatest² that exists—by him who invokes fire with the title of fire; even for this reason, because the title is put by him upon a nature that is laudable, and when invoked by him with that title the praised *one* is then strengthened by him.

16. This, too, that he becomes informed as to the religion of Aûharmazd³, who teaches the religion of Aûharmazd with pleasure; even for this reason, because every knowledge is exercised *and* increased by teaching. 17. This, too, that Aûharmazd is propitiated by the excellent sagacity of him who teaches virtuous words and actions⁴; even for this reason, because sagacity *has* two parts, the speakable and the workable. 18. This, too, that the bodily form (kerpö) of Aûharmazd is praised as perfection (nêvakötûmth)⁵ by him who elevates (bâlistînédö) his own soul⁶ to the station of the sun⁷; even for this reason, because that bodily form of Aûharmazd exists, and becomes the loftiest *and* most perfect in the station of the sun.

19. This, too, that all excellence is purely produced for Aûharmazd by him who has root in the

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXVI, 5.

² Ibid. 6.

³ Ibid. 7.

⁴ Ibid. 11.

⁵ Ibid. 14.

⁶ Ibid. 15.

⁷ Ibid. 16; the highest grade of heaven below the supreme heaven, which latter is called Garôdmân (see Sls. VI, 3 n).

possession of *Aûharmazd*; even for this reason, because, when a root is given to him, fruit is also produced by him, and all excellence is *both* root and fruit¹. 20. This, too, that *Aûharmazd* is invoked with the title 'lord²' by him whom *Aûharmazd* calls; even for this reason, because the interpretation of '*Aûharmazd*' is really with *the words* 'greatly wise lord' (*mas dânâk khûdâi*). 21. This, too, that the names of the sacred beings *which are* invoked³ are the praise glorified by *any* one, and by him who glorifies them they are named; even for this reason, because the names of the sacred beings are the glorification due to their names of praise. 22. This, too, that among those of the same class (*ham-gôharân*), when he shall do *it* for one race⁴, benefit is produced by him for other races within that class; among those of the same races (*ham-tôkhmakânân*), when he shall produce benefit for one species, *it is done* by him also for other species within that race; and among the same species (*ham sarâd'akö*), when he shall produce benefit for one individual (*kerpö*), *it is done* by him for other individuals within that species.

23. This, too, that his personality (*khûdîh*) is the sacred beings' own⁵, who maintains the rites⁶ with the assistance of the righteous. 24. This, too, that his own is in the guardianship⁷ of the sacred beings, whose vehemence is through Good Thought;

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXVII (=V), 2.

² Ibid. 6.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XXXVIII, 10-12.

⁴ Ibid. 13-15.

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIX, 13.

⁶ Assuming that *𐭠𐭣* atân stands for *𐭠𐭣* âyinân, as *mûn atân* is ungrammatical.

⁷ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIX, 15.

even for this reason, because his bravery is for the law. 25. This, too, that life is given to mankind by him who shall do that which is able to remain good for them. 26. This, too, that the friendship of Aûharmazd is appropriated by him who has Aûharmazd as a guardian, and perpetual guardianship is appropriated by him who teaches to mankind that thing which becomes their perpetual guardianship *in yonder world*.

27. This, too, that he causes righteousness¹ who thinks of anything which is virtuous. 28. This, too, that he has caused the good commands and propitiousness² of Aûharmazd, who gives *his* body and life³ to the sacred beings; and body *and* life are given to the sacred beings by him who affords friendship to the religion of Zaratûst. 29. And this, too, that to him who affords friendship to Aûharmazd it occurs owing to the guardianship of Aûharmazd; and that guardianship is perpetually⁴ connected with him who teaches to others that thing which always constitutes their companionship with the sacred beings.

30. Excellence *that* is perfect *is* righteousness.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Bakō Nask.

1. The twelfth fargard, Ustavaiti⁵, is *that* the benefit of him who is reverent *to* the benefiter is the benefit of any one whatever⁶; even for this

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XL, 7.

² See Pahl. Yas. XLI, 6.

³ Ibid. 7.

⁴ Ibid. 17.

⁵ See Chap. XIII, 1 n; it is here written aûstâtō in Pahlavi.

⁶ See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 1 a.

reason, because the benefit of the immature creation is owing to carrying *out* the commands of a benefiting spiritual lord. 2. This, too, that whoever pleases superiors by submission, is pleased by inferiors. 3. This, too, that by him who gives thought to the religion of Zaratûst, that which is best for his own in every mode¹ is produced, because he has attained to the religion who is listening best. 4. This, too, that virtue is taught by him to all the creatures of the beneficent spirit, *to* the righteous whose stepping forth (fravâmisnō) is for the righteous; even for this reason, because the creatures of the beneficent spirit are all *of* one nature, *and* the stepping forth (fragâmisnō) and hastening of the limbs of one body become those of the whole *of* that body. 5. This, too, that his spirit is connected with Aûharmazd², and his knowledge is accepted, who loves Vohûman; even for this reason, because the spirit *who* is the original spiritual lord of knowledge is Vohûman. 6. This, too, that just giving is taught by him whose words are through Vohûman³; even for this reason, because the speaking of virtuous words becomes the teaching of knowledge in which *there* is also just giving.

7. This, too, that joy which is of long duration is produced⁴ for his own by him who brings forth strength through virtue, *and* who also assists him who is unborn; even for this reason, because joy which is perpetual increases by both. 8. This, too, that by him who is an assistance of those in the proper way, the proper way is taught to mankind⁵;

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 2 a.

³ Ibid. 2 d.

² Ibid. 2 c.

⁴ Ibid. 2 e.

⁵ Ibid. 3 b.

even for this reason, because *he is* making mankind long for *that* way. 9. This, too, that heat is given to fire¹ by him who *tells* truth to the invokers; even for this reason, because the adversary—owing to the heat of the fire achieved *by* the indicator of truth—is more particularly subdued by the strength of that just *one*.

10. This, too, that the assistants for the renovation *of the universe* are the decrees of Vistâsp²—which are through Vohûman—*of* Sôshâns³ and Kai-Khûsrôî⁴; even for this reason, because the fragments are possessing a renewer which is their own completion⁵, and the completion—which is through the assistance of the renovation by Vistâsp—is through what *occurs* when the religion is set going by him, through which the renovation arises; and the triumph of the completion, which is through an ordinance by Sôshâns, is through what *occurs* when through the ordinance *there* is thus a decree which sets aside all distress from the creatures, *and* gives the ordinance *to* the whole material existence, that which is living and also that which is dead. 11. This, too, that whoever intrusts it with a command given—which command given intrusts him who supplies the command from revelation—and it worships what is

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 4 d.

² See Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 4 e, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 14.

⁴ In the MS. the letters srô are omitted from this name which might, therefore, be read Kayânag; but Kai-Khûsrôî (see Chap. XXIII) is considered as one of the assistants of the renovation (Dd. XXXVI, 3), probably on account of his opposition to idolatry (Bd. XVII, 7).

⁵ Pahl. maman bâharânô kashtâr-hômônd-î nafsman spôrikîh.

necessary to worship, is thereby displayed among the existences *as* the progeny of Aûharmazd¹.

12. This, too, that the defeat of the bad and the acceptance of the good² are taught by him who shall provide a righteous gift for the worthy; because both are therein. 13. This, too, that ability for even the transformation of the creatures³ of Aûharmazd is taught by him who loves Vohûman; even for this reason, because the forward-dragging, and also the backward-dragging, power—which is in mankind—is qualified, through changeableness of will, for even the actions of the Vohûmanic nature. 14. This, too, that power is taught, to that spirit through whom the creatures are changed, by him whose wisdom is for that which is wisdom; even for this reason, because that spirit is wisdom, *and* increases in mankind through instruction. 15. This, too, that by him who praises the religion like a disciple, and who also teaches *it* like a priest⁴, it is shown *that* Sôshâns⁴ really comes; even for this reason, because the religion, from the first praiser and teacher *down* to the last praiser and teacher, is connected by discipleship and priesthood, *and* Sôshâns becomes a disciple *in* the end, and the last priest.

16. This, too, that the wisdom of Aûharmazd⁵ is taught by him who shall supply decisions and adjudication from the religion; even for this reason, because the decision of religion is the wisdom of Aûharmazd. 17. This, too, that complete mindfulness, so that they are not deceived⁵, is taught

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 5 b.

² Ibid. 5 d.

³ Ibid. 5 e; assuming that dâm-var'zishn, 'accomplishment of the creatures,' stands for dâm-var'dishn.

⁴ Ibid. 6 d.

⁵ Ibid. 6 e.

through wisdom by him who is as reverent *to* Aûhar-mazd as a daughter *to* a father; even for this reason, because the reverence of a daughter unto a father arises mostly through natural sympathy (âhang-i êitrik), *and* through the intellectual complete mindfulness of the daughter.

18. This, too, that maintaining the destinies (vakhtân) of the body through the command of the creator is taught by him who teaches the righteous *man* and the wicked *one* that thing *which* becomes comfort to them, *to* the righteous *man* as *to his* body, *and to* the wicked *one* as *to his* soul; even for this reason, because he becomes a friend of the creatures, a friend of the creatures is also a friend of creativeness, *and* a friend of the creator maintains body *and* wealth through the command of the creator, *and* others are taught by him. 19. This, too, that joy owing to him who is powerful is taught him who is righteous only by him—that is, *he* is conveying him to the rulers for benefit¹—who is an assistance of him who is righteous through capability, that is, he shall do it through exertion of power; even for this reason, because, when he *has* provided as much assistance as *it* is possible for him *to do*, his praise arises through that benefit which is pre-eminent through his exertion. 20. This, too, that the benefit *of* sovereignty for that which arises² is taught only by him who always thoroughly teaches authority (patîh) up to dictatorship (vispô-farmânîh); that is, he teaches to others that thing which always arises for them up to dictatorial authority; this is where it is connected by them with the

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 8 c.

² Ibid. 8 d.

renovation of *the universe* through the control which is in the tree of germs¹.

21. This, too, that he becomes liberal to fire² who shall perform work for fire that is its protection, and so it is taught about *it* through the obeisance by him whose liberality—that is his through the obeisance—becomes liberal, *and* whose declaration, that arises as to Vohûman, possesses wealth through virtue.

22. This, too, *that* this thinking as to righteousness³ is taught only by him—that is, he thinks—whose petition for righteousness is ever afresh. 23. This, too, that the religion is interrogated⁴ by him who is submissive *to* superiors and similarly situated (*ham-gâk*) *to* inferiors.

24. This, too, that the state of the present *world* (*latammanh*) for the Mazda-worshipping religion is thoroughly taught where whatever becomes a progress⁵ of the religion is whatever is purification for mankind; even for this reason, because the want of progress of the religion is owing to the want of purification of mankind as to the fiend, and when a human being is purified from the fiend, the progress of the religion becomes different. 25. This, too, that pleasure is taught to him who is a friend⁶

¹ Evidently the many-seeded tree of all germs, opposed to harm and called the proper-curing, energetic-curing, and all-curing; it is renowned in *Afrân-vég* and grows in the wide-formed ocean near the *Gôkerenô*, or white-*Hôm* plant, which latter is one of the ingredients of the elixir producing immortality in the future existence (see Bd. IX, 5, 6, XVIII, 9, XXVII, 2, XXIX, 5).

² See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 9 d which Pt₄ and Mf₄ supply as follows:—*Aêdûnô avô hanâ-î lak âtâr râdô hômônânam pavan nîyâ-yisnô*.

³ Ibid. 9 e.

⁴ Ibid. 10 c.

⁵ Ibid. 11 d.

⁶ Ibid. 14 a.

only by him—that is, he gives it—who is a pleasure to him who is a friend ; and its routine is really this, that by him who causes pleasure to friends, his *having* caused pleasure is taught also to them. 26. This, too, that, owing to him whom Aûharmazd teaches joy, it is taught *that* gratification¹ comes from Aûharmazd ; even for this reason, because he is exalted, even in the worldly *existence*, through that joy which is supreme, and mankind are thereby taught.

27. This, too, that the augmentation of indications as to intellect is taught to him who is a vigorous-minded (tûstō-minisnō) man², by him whose own progress is that towards his own sacred beings ; even for this reason, because he fully considers, *and* delivers the decision, of his own powers, of those, too, of *his* contemporaries (ham-budî-kânō), *and* likewise of the chivalry (êlrth) of the age ; and others are taught about *it* by him. 28. This, too, that the spirit of Aûharmazd³ is expounded only by him—that is, he loves *it*—whose close exposition is of Aûharmazd ; even for this reason, because he becomes similarly loved with Aûharmazd, so that⁴ . . . 29. And this, too, that the reward is taught in the publicity of the sun⁵ by him whose friendship is for the Spîtāmān, which also increases in the day—that is, it is necessary to perform duty and good works in the day—but he does not put *it* aside the second day ; even for this reason, because friendship for the religion is through kind regard ;

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 14 b.

² Ibid. 15 c.

³ Ibid. 16 a.

⁴ Some clause appears to be omitted here.

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 16 d.

and duty in *one* day, only to put *it* aside for the second day, becomes affliction (*vêsh*) *at* the bridge of judgment; also the sun is the most kindly-regarding and swiftest of those visible.

30. Excellence *that* is perfect *is* righteousness.

CHAPTER LIX.

Bakō Nask.

1. The thirteenth fargard, *Tad-thwâ-peresâ*¹, is *that* the obeisance² of the archangels is performed by him who is educated in the recitation *for* the archangels of *one* learned in the religion, which is when *he has* to understand the recitation and to maintain the recitation of revelation with propriety, which is when an enumeration, or form (*âinakō*), as to the qualities of the archangels exists, which is the obeisance *for* the sacred beings. 2. For, on this subject, *one* mentions seven kinds of *men*³, educated, or well-educated, or ill-educated, who are connected with it in statements by those of the world; the merely educated *man*, particularly also the physician, explains this which is not mentioned *and* does not occur, that *it is* well, or ill, disposed⁴; the merely well-educated *man*, particularly also the physician, explains this which is mentioned *and* occurs, that *it is* well-disposed; the merely ill-educated *man*, *and*

¹ See Chap. XIV, 1 n; it is here written *tad-spâg-peres* in Pahlavi.

² See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 1 b.

³ These appear to be the four kinds of ordinary men, and the three kinds of physicians, detailed in the following clauses.

⁴ *Khu* (Pâz.) *ayôv dūsîm*.

also the physician, explains this which is mentioned *and* occurs, that *it is* ill-disposed; and the merely uneducated *man* explains anything whatever that is really life¹. 3. *One* educated in the recitation *for* the sacred beings, who when—on account of the necessity of speaking evil about a learned man—he is mischievous (anâg), so that he keeps in viciousness, *and has* remained in the obeisance *for* the sacred beings, is called not ransomed (lâ tâkhtîk). 4. *One* ill-educated in the recitation *for* the sacred beings, which is when *it happens* that he keeps in viciousness, becomes even an apostate who is acquainted with the religion. 5. *One* uneducated in what *pertains to* the sacred beings is of two kinds, either good² and void of learning, or an evil *one* who is void of knowledge; the good *and* void of learning worships the sacred beings unobservantly with the proper rites, and the evil *one* who is void of knowledge thinks to worship the sacred beings unobservantly with improper rites, and *has* no means of trustworthy reliance upon the religion of the sacred beings and their obeisance. 6. And *one* well-educated in what *pertains to* the sacred beings, through the three words of the connected series (ham-paḍvandisñh) which is good (khu) and learned³, and through what *pertains to* the sacred beings, expounds faithfully the object of the obeisance *for* the sacred beings.

7. This, too, that, by him who teaches to mankind that thing which becomes their hope of eternity, mankind are taught to come to the religion of

¹ Apparently khayâ-â badly written in B.

² Pâz. khu.

³ Probably 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.'

the sacred beings ; even for this reason, because the Vohûmanic attainment¹ to the religion of the sacred beings is to be required wisely for them, its requirement wisely for them is a benefit for the steadfast and becomes a consideration (mînth) for them, and the consideration of the benefit of the steadfast is through hope of the eternity which is provided for the benefit, on account of which the hope of eternity—which is the basis—is the reason even of the acceptance of the religion.

8. This, too, that the perfection of the first among the existences² is taught by him who *has* retentively remembered his words ; even for this reason, because remembrance is the acme of every perfection.

9. This, too, that he becomes a nourisher of good works who shall perform good works publicly ; even for this reason, because others are taught thereby, and good works increase in the world. 10. This, too, that by him who has fruit in the possession of Aûharmazd the development of the world in virtue³ is taught ; even for this reason, because a lawful preserver and a producer of liberality arise through the fruit, they enlarge the root of the power of the angel *of* liberality, and pluck *its* fruit ; the world is improved thereby, *and* mankind are taught about *it*.

11. This, too, that, through complete mindfulness, words *and* actions⁴ are truly taught by him whose ceremonial is for complete mindfulness ; even for this reason, because there are both words *and* actions in the ceremonial.

12. This, too, that the sagacious creativeness (far'-zânak dahîh) of Aûharmazd is taught, which is

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 1 e.

² Ibid. 2 b.

³ Ibid. 2 d.

⁴ Ibid. 6 c.

the exposition, to Aûharmazd¹, of the production of the renovation; even for this reason, because the advantage of the sagacity of Aûharmazd is the consequence of its beginning, and *its* middle is through the power of the goodness and knowledge of him himself, and because *it is* destiny as regards the creations; and whoever possesses that power for the assistance of the renovation, is extolled for that sagacity, and *people* are taught thereby. 13. This, too, that the reward of Zaratûst is appropriated by him who decides about duty and opinion²; even for this reason, because, through that discrimination, *he is* similar to Zaratûst.

14. This, too, that the recitation of revelation is performed *for* mankind by him who extends the propagation of the religion³; even for this reason, because, owing to the gratification of virtuous practisers, virtue increases. 15. This, too, that the religion of Aûharmazd is made progressive² by him who shall perform the ceremonial of Aûharmazd; even for this reason, because through that performance of his occurs the blessing of the provider of the rite (nîrangîndâr). 16. This, too, that that perfectly righteous *man* of just judgment is protected from the annoying spirit⁴ by him who possesses the resemblance (ângûnagîh) unto Vohûman that they behold and resources through virtue; even for this reason, because the vexation which is partaken by him (*the spirit*), owing to the just judgment among those of the nature (êtharîkân) of mankind, is redoubled (dôkânî-aitô) by their pleasure owing to the Vohûmanic resemblance, *and* the annoying spirit

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 8 b.

³ Ibid. 15 d, 17 c.

² Ibid. 17 c.

⁴ Ibid. 11 e.

is disabled (akârt-hênd)¹ by that accumulated vexation *which* occurs for his annoyance.

17. This, too, that the exploits of the archangels are taught by him who is really capable in what *pertains to* the archangels; even for this reason, because they become the hope of a consoling (vêdvar) end, and are also indicative of the renovation *of the universe*, the hope of a virtuous end.

18. This, too, that the words of him who is Zaratûst, that '*people* shall become supplicant,' are taught by him who is for the benefitters; even for this reason, *because* they who are benefitters, on account of an inclination for the religion, make others eager for the religion, and make them mount for prayer.

19. And this, *too*, that by him who gives anything to a righteous man, this is also done that some one else *may* give even to him who is vile; even for this reason, because a foundation of liberality is thereby prepared for him².

20. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

CHAPTER LX.

Bakō Nask.

1. The fourteenth fargard, *Ad-fravakhshyâ*³, is *that* whatever is instruction is to be listened to⁴ here as much as is possible, *and* he who is not to be

¹ The Pâz. equivalent of akârîh-hômand.

² Implying that he is himself vile who gives to the righteous merely to induce others to give to himself.

³ See Chap. XV, 1 n; it is here written *ad-fravakhshê* in Pahlavi.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 1 a.

taught is allowed an opportunity *for* listening by Zaratuštr.

2. This, too, that by him who would be a causer of procreation for performers of labour, the perfect nature of the performance of the first next-of-kin marriage¹ is praised; because causing the procreation of performers of labour is the fatherhood of mankind, the proper fatherhood of mankind is through the proper production *of* progeny, the proper progeny of the producer is through the accomplishment of progeny among his own, according to the disposition of the first creatures, and the accomplishment of progeny among one's own is next-of-kin marriage; and that which *occurs*, when a causer of the procreation of performers of labour praises the fatherhood of mankind, *is that* next-of-kin marriage is also praised by him.

3. This, too, that by him whose creatures are in virtue, owing to his virtuous nourishment *of* the creatures, the performance of next-of-kin marriage² is taught, *and* the virtue is his virtue; even on this account, because, for the sake of keeping the creatures in virtue, he allows (andâzêdô) for the virtuous disposition pertaining to the multitude, *and* that which is born he produces (dahêdô) as lineage from the next-of-kin marriage pertaining to the multitude.

4. This, too, that Spendarmad is in daughterhood³ to Aûharmazd is taught by him whose wisdom is through complete mindfulness; even for this reason,

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 4 a.

² Ibid. 4 c. §§ 2-5 have been already translated, somewhat differently, in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 395, 396.

³ Ibid. 4 d. For Spendarmad see Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

because *his* wisdom *and* complete mindfulness are within limits which are Aûharmazd and Spendarmad, the wisdom *being* that of Aûharmazd, the complete mindfulness that of Spendarmad, and the complete mindfulness *being* the offspring of the wisdom just as Spendarmad is *of* Aûharmazd; and, owing to this, the assertion is reasonable that, by him whose complete mindfulness is connected with wisdom, it is taught *that* Spendarmad is in daughterhood to Aûharmazd. 5. This, too, that thus the exercise of that daughterhood is taught by him whose righteousness is through complete mindfulness, and whose ceremonial is also through complete mindfulness; that is, he shall perform the ceremonial and other good works fully mindfully.

6. This, too, that mankind are attracted to religious good deeds by him who shall provide benefit for the people through actions *and* words; even for this reason, because those actions are religious good deeds, and, when instituted by him, *others* are also taught by him. 7. This, too, that reverence *for* Vohûman¹ is taught by him who shall make that which is contaminated obvious to the eye, so that what is dark *becomes* light; even for this reason, because the display of the work of Vohûman thereby has also taught the offer of reverence *for* Vohûman. 8. And this, too, that the ceremonial is taught with complete mindfulness² only *by him* who teaches words and actions with complete mindfulness.

9. Perfect righteousness is excellence.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 9 e.

² Ibid. 10 a.

CHAPTER LXI.

Bakō Nask.

1. The fifteenth fargard, Kamnamaêza¹, is about the reply of Aûtharmazd to Zaratûst, as to that which *was* asked by him thus: 'To which lands *do* I step²?' and it is *thus*: 'Do thou march (sagîtûn) there where the man, in whose person righteousness is *connected* with complete mindfulness, is welcome; this, too, is where happy is he from whom there is no complaint.'

2. This, too, that mankind are made diligent in good works by him who produces progress for good works; even for this reason, because mankind attain progress *in* manifest duty who engage more particularly *in* good works. 3. This, too, that the teaching of religion is the public action which is prescribed by him who would produce exertion for the righteous, that is, benefit for those of the good religion; even for this reason, because the multitude (kabadân) approach the religion, and are taught and practise *it*, on account of a desire *for* benefit.

4. This, too, that *it is* in a province of even exhausted production³ that it is taught by him who appoints a virtuous governor over the province; even for this reason, because a virtuous governor of a province becomes a teacher of ability and good works to those of the province.

¹ See Chap. XVI, 1 n; it is here written kâmnamaêzō in Pahlavi.

² See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 1 a; reading *val kadâr damîkân vâmam* (=gâmam, see Chap. LVIII, 4).

³ Ibid. 4 b.

5. This, too, that the good protection of fire¹ is taught by him whose words are through Vohûman, *and* who also would provide a time for the ordeal of that which is doubtful; even for this reason, because *he* whose words are utterable through Vohûman, *and* who would provide a time *for* the ordeal of that which is doubtful, teaches the provision of care *for* the operative fire, owing to that *which occurs* when *what is* accomplished, about *one* acquitted *or* convicted *by* the fire, is declared, *and* mankind shall provide more particularly for the brilliancy of the fire, and the wicked more *for* assistance and protection from it.

6. This, too, that whoever shall provide about him who liberally gives *himself* in discipleship² unto the priests, has thereby taught even by the mention of the high-priest; even for this reason, because the person *being* given in discipleship unto the priests, the religion practised by the high-priest arises also *for* mention, *and* whoever shall provide generosity for that person, has increased *and* also taught that action, which is religion, even by the mention made.

7. This, too, that men and women³ are taught *as being* given in discipleship⁴ to Zaratûst by him who keeps his own males and females in the control of Zaratûst. 8. This, too, that goodness is taught by him to those (valman) who are good, so that they produce it who give to that righteous *one* the worthiness which is through that wealth; the righteous *one* who is worthy is *one* of the good religion for whose production of the worthiness which is through that wealth it is sought, and that wealth which is

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 7 c.

² Ibid. 10 a.

³ Ibid. 9 d.

⁴ Ibid. 10 b.

coveted is wealth of little trouble *and* much advantage, through the goodness and idea of virtue of the giver to the account of him who is the acceptor of the good worthiness. 9. This, too, that through his *Kinvad* passage (*Kis-vidarg*) it is taught that they shall step forth (*frôvâmând*)¹; *and* by him who goes on through anything (*kis*) openly, when he *has* proceeded publicly on the right path, *one* passed *away* on the *Kinvad* passage is taught.

10. This, too, that by him whose ceremonial is through complete mindfulness it is taught that the world produces abundance through complete mindfulness²; even for this reason, because it is taught by him, through that disposition of his *for* the sacred beings (*pavan zak-î valman yazdânô khtm*), *that* the developed world is shown *to be* theirs; *and* here *below* it is fully taught by him, *that* *Khûrdad* and *Amûrdad*³—that is, the sacred beings—produce *it* for the beneficers. 11. This, too, that thus he who is wicked, even he who is privileged, becomes unprivileged at that time when every one understands, that is, when righteousness is aloft. 12. This, too, that when he who is privileged is *Vistâsp*⁴, likewise he who is privileged is the righteous *Zarâtûst*⁵, *and* so he who is the wicked *Argâsp*⁶ is unprivileged.

13. This, too, that creation is taught by him to

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 10 e, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 8.

² Ibid. 12 c.

³ See Chap. XIX, 1.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 13 e.

⁵ Ibid. 14 a, which is supplied by Pt4, Mf4, thus:—*Zarâtûstô mûn lak aharûbô dôstô*.

⁶ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 4.

Aôharmazd, so that he creates, and this, too, that the archangels are taught by his will, whose contentment¹ is through that of the archangels, so that he observes the conclusion in the affairs of the archangels. 14. And this, too, that wisdom is taught to him who is Zaratûst—so that it becomes his—by him whose thoughts are for Zaratûst² *and* for the religion of Zaratûst.

15. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

CHAPTER LXII.

Bakō Nask.

1. The sixteenth fargard, Spentâ-mainyû³, is *that* the religion is lodging in him who is himself wise, or becomes a hearer of the wise. 2. This, too, that the deeds of complete mindfulness are practised⁴ and taught by him who becomes himself completely mindful. 3. This, too, that *whoever* shall openly perform good works becomes a nourisher of good works.

4. This, too, that the spirit of fatherhood becomes lodging in him who nourishes the creatures with propriety⁵. 5. This, too, that pasture is given⁶ to cattle is taught by him who shall provide care *for* cattle, because the giving of pasture to them with care is advantageous.

6. This, too, that all for his good who becomes a benefit to him who is good⁷—*through* that which

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 19 e.

² Ibid. 19 b.

³ See Chap. XVII, 1 n; it is here written *spendmatō* in Pahlavi.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 2 c.

⁵ Ibid. 2 d.

⁶ Ibid. 3 c.

⁷ Ibid. 5 b.

has come to him—is every benefit which occurs to him who is good; all *for* his good every benefit is given to every *one* good by way of similarity in race, species, and nature, and every benefit is given in the way of complete giving which is possible for it.

7. This, too, that whoever shall justly inflict sentence and judgment, really according to the declaration regarding *one* acquitted *or* convicted¹, becomes praiseworthy; even for this reason, because the origin of the judgment is the ritual of the ordeal. 8. And this, too, that by him who gives to him who is wise that which is needful for him, an immense² *and* strong foundation for learning is produced, *and* the knowledge in the world is augmented.

9. Perfect excellence is righteousness.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Bakš Nask.

1. The seventeenth fargard, Yêzi³, is *that* whoever maintains the benedictions of the religion⁴, and shall uphold its commands, has thereby made even others learn it; even for this reason, because through this *it* is much more possible for him to attract others to the religion; *and, as to* the origin and means of attraction, the attraction is this, that he himself maintains the benedictions of the religion, and the means of attraction are this, that he is an upholder of the commands of the religion.

2. This, too, that by him who shall perform the ritual of an ordeal which is accomplished, the *Kin-*

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 6 b.

² Ibid. 6 c.

³ See Chap. XVIII, 1 n.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 1 d.

vad passage¹ is made known; even for this reason, because those even *who have* accomplished what is a work of the spirit become witnesses, one about the other, as to the facts. 3. This, too, that by him who shall perform that thing whereby a change occurs from evil to good², even that change which is the renovation *of the universe* is made known, by means even of the evidence of a partial change as regards a perpetual change.

4. This, too, that by him who shall produce generosity for the tillers³ of the world it is then developed; even for this reason, because they become more diligent *in* tilling the world. 5. This, too, that by him who shall produce benefit for the poor, a development⁴ of the world is produced for them; even for this reason, because through that reason they increase more.

6. This, too, that the creature-forming (*dāmth*) of *Aûharmazd*⁵ is occasioned by him whose rule⁶ is for *Aûharmazd*; even for this reason, because he becomes a holder and attendant of good works. 7. This, too, that the devastation by *Vohûman*⁷ is taught *by* him whose rule is for *Aûharmazd*; even for this reason, because he smites sinners *and* destroys among villains.

8. This, too, that virtuous people are increased in a province⁸ by him who appoints a virtuous governor of the province. 9. This, too, that virtuous instruction is provided *and* explained by him who loves *Vohûman*⁹. 10. And this, too, that vir-

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 2 b.

² Ibid. 4 a.

³ Ibid. 5 d.

⁴ Ibid. 6 c.

⁵ Ibid. 7 d.

⁶ Ibid. 8 a.

⁷ Ibid. 9 c.

⁸ Ibid. 12 a, and compare Chap. LXI, 4.

⁹ Ibid. 12 b.

tuous deeds¹ are set going by him who teaches learned sayings *and* virtuous deeds to him who is good; even for this reason, because the reception of the progressive supply of virtue by the learned becomes more complete.

11. Perfect is the excellence of righteousness.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Bakō Nask.

1. The eighteenth fargard, *A d-mâ-yavâ*², is *that*, through his complete mindfulness³, the teaching of mankind in virtue is by him, and they become properly intelligent³ through him, whose actions are those which are more daughterly, that is, as reverent unto *Aûharmazd* as a daughter unto a father; even for this reason, because his display of the complete mindfulness which is instinctive (*âsnik*) is through action, *and* that action, acquired (*srûtik*) for the thoughts of mankind, is kindled by him and *has* become properly intelligent. 2. This, too, that proper intelligence of things arises for *one* completely mindful³, even for a daughter to a father, through that complete mindfulness which is instinctive, whereby that lust is excluded which is most violently revered by the male (*kûsnö*), and, devoid of that, the reverence is assimilated (*âgunthtntdö*) most strongly to one's reverence unto the creator.

3. This, too, that discrimination of the affairs of the sacred beings through wisdom⁴ is taught by him

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 12 c.

² See Chap. XIX, 1 n; it is here written *a d-mâ-yâv* in Pahlavi.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 5 c.

⁴ Ibid. 6 b.

whose learning is in the affairs *of* the sacred beings ; even for this reason, because discrimination of the affairs of the sacred beings is specially that which is advantageous *in* the end, and the advantageousness *in* the end is seen through learning ; *and*, apart from that, he who is learned in the affairs of the sacred beings has taught discrimination of the affairs of the sacred beings through his wisdom ¹.

4. This, too, that the joyfulness in righteousness is taught to Frashôstar by him—that is, he would make him ardent in the performance of duty and good works ²—who *has* thoroughly expounded Khûr-dad and Amûrdad to Frashôstar ³, that is, he maintains *him* as his high-priest. 5. This, too, that he who shall perform good works ever afresh, has taught him to become ardent in duty and good works ². 6. This, too, that Aûharmazd supplies guardianship ⁴ to him who gives pleasure to Aûharmazd ; even for this reason, because a giver of pleasure to Aûharmazd is any one *who is* a true servant of Aûharmazd, *and* Aûharmazd becomes the guardian of a true servant.

7. This, too, that they ever amount to a master of all commands ⁵ for him who is a benefit *and* sovereignty for that which arises ; even owing to this reason, because, in establishing *and* arranging that which is an absurd (âskûn) or a virtuous law, the command issued, which is another *and* further observation of the advantage of the creatures, prepares

¹ Assuming that ar'gô, 'value,' stands for khiraðô, which is very similarly written in Pahlavi letters.

² See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 8 a.

³ See Chap. XIX, 1, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 8 b.

⁵ Ibid. 8 d.

that which is ever an attainable benefit among the creatures, by means of which, even after symptoms of the life of one's body, it is governed through setting going the usage of that law, and is connected *with* his mastery of command and *his* sovereignty.

8. This, too, that Vohûman's *having* guarded the creature-forming (dâmîh) of Aûharmazd¹ is taught *by him* whose rule is for Aûharmazd; on this account, because he whose rule is for Aûharmazd has taught the inclination for (padîsât) *being* guarded, on this account, because the inclination of the creatures of that ruler for *being* guarded by the power of goodness, *and* the creatures being guarded by the power of goodness have published the power of goodness, which is Vohûman, to the multitude.

9. Here is about the reply to Zaratûst concerning the wicked, thus: 'Upon arrival in the fiend's abode², through an immature (khâm) death, they are unprivileged, so that every misery is theirs, and *it* is not possible for them to seek a remedy.'

10. This, too, that the spirit of reverence comes through invocation to the assistance³ of him who is reverent unto the benefitters; even for this reason, because the spirits respond more particularly to that invoker who becomes their worshipper preponderantly (vâspôharakânîhâ); and for each one of the spirits there is preponderantly a *form of* worship, as the spirit of liberality is more particularly worshipped through helpfulness (vigîdâr-dahisnîh), the spirit of truth through exact truth (hû-râstîh), the spirit of a promise through true promising (hû-mitrôîh),

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 10 a, b, and Chap. LXIII, 6.

² Ibid. 11 d.

³ Ibid. 12 a.

and the spirit of sovereignty through good sovereignty; and, even so, the worship of the spirit of reverence consists preponderantly in reverence unto the benefiter. 11. This, too, that he whose rule is for Aûharmazd becomes a suppliant *for* that which is coveted (1stð) *from* Aûharmazd¹; even for this reason, because *what* is wisely begged from the sacred beings *and* rulers, for rendering one's own self worthy, occurs as a benefit owing to the sacred beings *and* rulers.

12. About the reply of Aûharmazd to Zaratûst, when asked by him about his own, *his* confederate², and *his* serf, thus: 'He is thine own, he *thy* confederate, and he *thy* serf, even when *and* where *he is* a righteous offspring who produces the progress of this thy religion of Mazda-worship, *and* recites it openly even unto *him* he knows, who provides the public benedictions, this good practice of thine, that is, he maintains *what is* provided *by* thee as benedictions³.'

13. Perfect is the excellence *of* righteousness.

CHAPTER LXV.

Bakš Nask.

1. The nineteenth fargard, Kad-mô-i-urvâ⁴, is *that* the sheep-nature (pâhîh)⁵ is taught to him *who*

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 12 d. ² Ibid. 7 c. ³ Ibid. 7 d.

⁴ See Chap. XX, 1 n; it is here written kad-môk-ravð in Pahlavi.

⁵ See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 1 b. The distinction made in the Pahlavi text, here and in § 3, by using the scriptural term pâh and the general word gôspend for the sheep, might perhaps be imitated in English by using the word 'flock' for pâh, but this would not express the meaning exactly.

is a sheep (gôspend), even for this reason, because the sheep is still among sheep (pâh-iê dên). 2. This, too, that by him who provides pasture for sheep, mankind are nourished (srâyinîdô)¹ through the sheep; even for this reason, because the nourishment of mankind is through the sheep, and *that* of the sheep through pasture. 3. This, too, that the sheep of the present *worldly* state is expounded to him who is a sheep (pâh) to Zaratûst, that is, he has Zaratûst as a high-priest; even for this reason, because still a sheep (pâh-iê) is a sheep.

4. This, too, that strength in virtue is increased *and* taught by him who produces joyfulness² through seeking gradual development, so that he would do that thing which gives him joyfulness, that is, he would do that thing which becomes his long-continued joy; even for this reason, because increase of strength arises more particularly from pleasure, the pleasure that *one is* gradually attaining (dêr-padâi). 5. This, too, that by him who shall provide the ceremonial of the sacred beings, the joyfulness² owing to the sacred beings is then connected with his own; even for this reason, because the coming of the sacred beings to it occurs.

6. This, too, that the wisdom³ of Zaratûst is taught *and* displayed by him who gives thought to the religion of Zaratûst. 7. This, too, that the tongue³ is instructed (farhângîndô) in speech by him who becomes discriminating through wisdom. 8. And this, too, that preparation⁴ is taught to them who are benefactors of Zaratûst, *or* who are *so* of the religion; even for this reason, because, owing to

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 1 b.

² Ibid. 5 b.

³ Ibid. 6 c.

⁴ Ibid. 6 d.

that action, disposition, and attraction which are now theirs, they prepare mankind for the religion of Zaratûst. 9. This, too, that whoever teaches the virtuous way to others, they become his through the knowledge of being instructed; even for this reason, because through the enlightenment of that way, they see and act, and are thereby instructed.

10. This, too, that the obeisance¹ *for* the archangels is performed by him who is a praiser *of* the archangels. 11. This, too, that assistance is taken² from the sacred beings by him who gives to him who is a supplicant that which is dear to him, because he himself is made worthy by his assistance, and, when made worthy by it, it is then taken by him; and the supplicant is he who is not a supplicant through his mouth, but through worthiness, and *what is dear* is that which is good about him.

12. This, too, that *its being* within the day till dawn (*val aûsh*)³ is taught by him—that is, he would make *it* as a signal (*dakhshakô*)³—who is in obeisance, so that he *may* not neglect till another day the duty and good works which it is requisite for him to perform within the day; even for this reason, because to cause the preservation of the dawn from debased incompatibility (*hêr hanbêshth*) of duties, it is made exalted by him over the duties.

13. This, too, that complete mindfulness is taught among the existences⁴ by him whose thought among the existences is that he shall perform that thing which is possible to remain good in the world, such as the provision of good sovereignty, orthodoxy, the

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 7 b.

² Ibid. 10 c.

³ Ibid. 7 d.

⁴ Ibid. 11 c.

law of virtuous usage, *and* others, through which the dwelling, preparation, and living of mankind in the world arise, *and* the appropriation of any complete mindfulness of that performer is the exaltation which is his owing to that great performance.

14. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

CHAPTER LXVI.

Bakō Nask.

1. *In* the twentieth fargard, Vohû-khshathrem¹, *it is* also stated by Aûharmazd to Zaratûst the Spîtâmân thus: 'They who are now in sovereignty are privileged, the human being who is a wicked lying tyrant *being* not now in sovereignty; moreover, thou shouldst cause *some one* to thoroughly smite (barâ vâñn-aê) him who is causing deception in the embodied world by lamentation (sîvan), and they cause the preservation of death, ruin, and falsehood because they would cause the preservation of his effects (mamanas var ae bôgînênd).' 2. And this, too, namely: 'When the sovereignty should be given by them unto him who is good², *they* would be preserved through that sovereignty of his; moreover, thou shouldst cause *some one* to thoroughly smite him who is made deceitful by lamentation, and *so also* death, ruin, and falsehood.'

3. This, too, that by him who shall provide complete mindfulness³ for his own, righteousness is produced; even for this reason, because, through

¹ See Chap. XXI, 1 n; it is here written vohû-khshatar in Pahlavi.

² See Pahl. Yas. L, 1 a.

³ Ibid. 2 b.

complete mindfulness, the discerning eye of life, which is righteousness, is enlightened. 4. This, too, that the coveted *thing* (īstō) which it is expedient for sovereignty to give away¹ is taught by him who shall provide sovereignty for him who is all-progressive (hamâk-rûbisnō); even for this reason, because the observation, consideration, and action of him who is an all-progressive ruler are about that which is coveted *by* the multitude and is an advantage for the sovereignty which it is expedient to produce.

5. This, too, that *what* is produced by the words of Vohûman² is taught by him who shall perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings with the thoughts of Vohûman; even for this reason, because, the mind *being* with the thoughts of Vohûman, the tongues of the faithful are habituated (khûkintakō) in the statements of Vohûman. 6. This, too, that innocence from discontinued (amând) good works is taught by him who remains in virtue; even for this reason, because *they are* atoned for by him even among important good works.

7. This, too, that the original causer of goodness is assisted in causing goodness by him whose fundamental gift (bûn dahisnō) among the existences is that he supplies that which it is requisite for him to give; even for this reason, because *in* a work, upon which *one* remains with a thousand men, when one *man* is bringing his own strength to the labour therein, the 999 *other* men are assisted by him in that work.

8. This, too, that the way of righteousness³ is

¹ See Pahl. Yas. L, 2 b.

² Ibid. 3 b.

³ Ibid. 13 c.

not concealed, *but* taught, by him who is a good considerer as to righteousness; even for this reason, because the sap and root of his righteousness are owing to undiverted thought. 9. This, too, that its *being* unnecessary to provide repletion for those who are cattle¹ is taught by him who keeps cattle as a controller *for* benefitters; even for this reason, because they teach and command him.

10. This, too, that housewifery² *being* performed is taught by that wife who shall joyfully pay reverence *to her* husband; even for this reason, because her housewifery is for the satisfaction of the husband, the satisfaction is through her reverence, and the reverence arises through joy. 11. This, too, that to love the religion through knowledge³ is taught by him who is peaceful (*padmântk*) and Vohûmanic *to* it; even for this reason, because Vohûmanic peacefulness is understood *as* religion. 12. And this, too, that the gratification of Aûhar-mazd⁴ is caused by him who teaches for Aûhar-mazd.

13. It is righteousness *that is* perfect excellence.

CHAPTER LXVII.

Bakš Nask.

1. *In* the twenty-first fargard, Vahistôisti⁵, it is proclaimed by the righteous Zaratûst, that the ceremonial is performed by him owing to whom our

¹ See Pahl. Yas. L, 14 b.

² Ibid. 18 b.

³ See Chap. XXII, 1 n.

⁴ Ibid. 17 c.

⁵ Ibid. 20 c.

worship is good thinking. 2. This, too, that Vohûman and the liturgy are lodging in the body of him in whose body the religion is lodging; *and so is* the spirit of goodness, which is peace (padmân). 3. This, too, that the good religion is taught in word and deed by him who shall achieve the giving of thought (mînîsn-dahîh) *to* Vohûman *in* the ceremonial. 4. This, too, that the archangels become lodging in the body of him who loves Vohûman; even for this reason, because their lodging is in light, purity, and perfume, and the body is illuminated, purified, and perfumed by Vohûman.

5. This, too, that mankind are made diligent in the performance of good works by him who shall provide gifts for the doers of good works. 6. This, too, that by him who loves the beneficial way¹, even others are put *in* the same way *and* taught. 7. This, too, that he gives his daughter in daughterhood to *his* fatherhood², who teaches to the daughter reverence towards *her* father; even for this reason, because she is made steadfast in daughterhood by him. 8. This, too, that the authority of Vohûman is taught by him who keeps the talent which is his for virtue; even for this reason, because from the authority of goodness arise the advantage *and* freedom from strife of the sciences (h ûnarânö).

9. This, too, that a daughter is given to a father for womanly service (nêsmânîh²), *and* so also a wife to another man, by him who teaches reverence, towards father and husband, to the daughter and the other woman; and so, too, *by him* who instructs

¹ See Pahl. Yas. LII, 2 d.

² Ibid. 4 a. In § 9 (as in Chap. XLV, 4) there appears to be no confinement of the meaning to matrimony.

the wife of a man in housewifery ; because the advantageous womanly service of a woman *for* a man arises through reverence towards *her* husband and good training in housewifery. 10. This, too, that even the reverence *of* a wife towards a husband is produced by him *who* gives a woman unto a man ; because the giver of possession (khûdîh) becomes praiseworthy even by the act of *having* given that possession.

11. This, too, that origin and effect (bûn va-bar) are produced for Aûharmazd by him who gives *what* is necessary unto Aûharmazd and teaches perpetual preservation ; *what* is properly necessary *being* the origin of the preservation *which* is the effect of *what* is properly necessary. 12. This, too, that dominion is acquired for the house of him who keeps the door of the house an opening for the wise ; the house *being* the body, *and* the door of the house *being* the ear, eye, and mouth.

13. It is the excellence *of* righteousness *that* is perfect.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Bakō Nask.

1. The beginning of the twenty-second fargard, the Airyaman¹, is the last question (frasnō) beyond the five Gâthas ; it is taught for the dominion of Aûharmazd only by him—that is, it is making him ruler of himself—who shall do that which is declared by the passage:—Yâ erezegyôî dâht

¹ See Chap. XXIII, 1 n ; it is here written airemanō in Pahlavi.

drigaovê vahyô¹: who gives delights (vâyagânô) to him who is a right-living poor *man*²—preservation from the destroyer, *and* the consummation of every happiness.

2. It is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

CHAPTER LXIX.

1. About a selection from the whole Yast³ referring to the developer (vakhshîntââr-hômônd).

2. Those are beneficial who increase for the developer, that is, they shall occasion benefit (nê-vakth) for him who would occasion that benefit which is for others⁴. 3. Thus the righteous *man* who produces perfect thought is *he* who comes upon it through Vohûman⁵, *and* the benefit of him who is an open annoyer⁶—the righteous man who is a smiter *of* the wicked, *and* who developes as to what is Aûharmazd's and as to what is Zaratûst's—is that he slays in moderation.

4. Regarding him who is an oppressive man who is righteous, the reply spoken is *thus*: 'The reward of the smiter and developer—that man of whom *one*

¹ See Yas. LIII, 9 d.

² See Pahl. Yas. LII, 9 d, and Chaps. XLV, 10, XLVII, 17.

³ The twenty-first Nask, or original Yasna (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XLVI, 1). It is not very clear, from this chapter and from what is stated about it in Chap. I, 2, whether this selection was compiled by the author of the Dînkard, or by some earlier writer. So far as its statements have yet been traced, nearly all of them originate in the Gâthas, or in the Yasna Haptanghâiti; but § 45 quotes a passage from the Bakō Nask (Yas. XIX).

⁴ Compare Pahl. Yas. XLII, 1 a.

⁵ Compare Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 2 a, where J₂, Pt₄, Mf₄ have *barâ yehamtûnânê pavan Vohûman*.

⁶ Compare Pahl. Yas. XLII, 8 b.

knows the smiting and developing—is the very evil reward *of* him who is wicked; just as his smiting, as an evil reward for him from those two spirits, is that very evil practice loved by him who is wicked; even for this reason every righteous individual is Gâthic¹, because, when privileged (pâdôkhshât), he who is wicked is thus he *who* is righteous, *and* also he who is privileged is unprivileged².’

5. Zaratûst proceeded with the smiting at the wicked, *and* as to that proceeding Aûharmazd spoke thus: ‘Thou shouldst thus proceed with smiting at the wicked by ordinance (dâdîstân), because thus they have thee and the righteous of every kind as ruler. 6. Also through my decree (pavan-ik man vigîr) *one* produces the ritual of ordeal, which realizes that which is real, so that *one* may make that which is dark fully light. 7. Thine, too, is so much the sovereignty of Aûharmazd, thus through worship, that its requisite (khvâstakô) privilege is thus maintained through virtue, because thou, who *art* thus, *art* more unconfined (anâkôsidar) to the world through the furtherance *and* development of righteousness; great, indeed, is he who trusts the righteous *man* for righteousness, and great is he who *trusts* the wicked *man* for wickedness.’

8. As to that utterance (farmâyisnô) Zaratûst spoke thus: ‘An open annoyer is the righteous man—the benefiter disclosed *by* Aûharmazd—that loves the embodied world of righteousness, and demands its reverence (tarsakâyîh) for the proportion of righteousness therein, that is, he knows the proportion of duty and good works.’ 9. Re-

¹ See Bk. VIII, Chap. I, 5 n.

² See Chap. LXI, 11.

garding the worldly *existence*, the reply spoken is thus: 'That which is again contaminated (*gûmîkht-êd*) by the demons becomes abundant so long as that which is proper is again contaminated with the demons; *and*, so long as *there is* a developer, they subsist for their own substances, so that *it* is possible for them to seek benefit for their own, *and* they are smiters of the righteous.'

10. Regarding him who is a wise smiter, Sôshâns¹ spoke *in* reply thus: 'It arises through his way when it is again contaminated.'

11. As to that mischief (*drûgisnô*) Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Happy is he from whom there is no mischief.' 12. Regarding² him who has come, the Yim of splendour³, he spoke thus: 'He attains his reward who is no smiter and no developer, not privileged and not unprivileged.'

13. As to that disclosure (*hâkîsnô*) Vohûman⁴ spoke thus: 'I aggrandize that spiritual lord and that priestly master who is my righteousness in person.'

14. As to that utterance Spendarmad⁴ spoke thus: 'So do thou perfect (*barâ vadîdûn*) him whose information subsists—a man that becomes wise—who is as an emblem of my religion; because he *has* worshipped that which is ours, so that he has retained property in our possession, through whose words *there* is a furtherance of the world of righteousness. 15. That is my arrangement, and that my wish—that is, what is necessary for me—and I

¹ See Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 14.

² Assuming that lâ, 'not,' stands for râî.

³ Av. Yimô khshaêtô (see Bk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 6, 7).

⁴ See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3.

love that which thou fully understandest, that is, that arrangement which is righteousness; also whatever discourse and perfect performance, thou askest of us, *O Zaratûst!* in complete mindfulness, I now practise by the work of each hand; observe thoroughly that which I *am* performing, *and* thou, too, *art* accomplishing. 16. In worship thou, *O Zaratûst!* art liberal, who art liberal in ceremonial; *for* thee, whose body believes, controversy is not lavish (*râd*) for the sake of the wealth bestowed; the reward of Zaratûst the developer is for developing, the reward of Zaratûst the smiter is for smiting, *and* the reward of Zaratûst the smiter and developer is for smiting and developing. 17. At the bridge *judgment* of him whose name the fire calls for participation, as when they repeatedly pour the melted ore upon him in the throat, thou shouldst pray near him alive—him whose love is for virtue—so that he may perform duty and good works with fearlessness; with his desire, too, it is expedient to know that *it is* done by him on account of necessity.’

18. As to that utterance *Aûharmazd* spoke thus: ‘Such is the upward attraction (*lâlâ-hangisnîh*) of Shatraver¹ for him who is ours.’ 19. As to that question (*frashnô*) *Aûharmazd* spoke thus: ‘Such has happened to him who is ours through *Vohûman*; he ought to come to our religion through virtue. 20. Truly he, *O Zaratûst!* is privileged for the sovereignty, who confines *his* ears to this religion, that he may make *it* fully progressive; who is given immortality through this, and kind regard *for* the will of him *who* is the best of that religion of mine,

¹ See Chap. XLIII, 1. It is here written *Shatrôver*.

O Zaratûst! and who assists the furtherance of this world of mine in righteousness.'

21. As to those of that *other one*¹ Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'As regards that which is great evidence, when wicked they consider *it* as unattested for him who is wicked himself; *and* the thoughts² of him, whose deeds are those of that *other one*, are due to Akômanô³. 22. Owing also to this, when both Khûrdad and Amûrdad⁴ are given to thee, *it is* in that way—when thou art of the propitious spirit and the best thought—that what thou understandest thou shouldst be accomplishing, and what thou dost not understand thou askest again.'

23. Of him whose wisdom exists (aitō)—of Aûharmazd—he whose wisdom arises (yehevûnêd)—Zaratûst—enquired concerning him who is unreal (an-aitō) *and* who does not subsist (yehevûnêd) *hereafter*, who *has* thus never become a material existence for those *on* the side of virtue, and does not subsist for them henceforth.

24. As to that reverse description (padtrakō-nisânisnē) Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Among men of every kind say unto the righteous who are smiting the wicked, *that* we improve the measure of any milk they propitiate, even by the holy-water which is the sustenance (barisnō) of milk, *in order* to cause much happiness of life.'

25. As to that utterance Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Happy is he from whom there is no complaint, and a life which is like this the text Gerezōi ...

¹ The followers of Aharman.

² Assuming that mânisnō, 'dwelling,' stands for mīnisnō.

³ See Bk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3 n.

⁴ See Chap. XIX, 1.

ākhsô . . .¹ implores. 26. To thee, *O Zaratûst!* my protection is given *in* the reply of the *Kem-nâ*² which, before the companionship of *Kat-Vistâsp*³—that righteous friend of mine⁴—*was* a published thing of those which are used, *and* of those such as it is requisite to use. 27. The talk of a man which is immoderate is false, everything immoderate is *so* for this reason, everything is not that which the good man possesses, because, when privileged, the wicked *one* is he who is righteous, and he who is privileged becomes unprivileged; he who is righteous is thus he who is wicked, and becomes him who is privileged and unprivileged, so that he is fully incriminated, and they shall carry off his possessions.'

¹ Yas. XLVI, 2 c-e; its Pahlavi version (Pahl. Yas. XLV, 2 c-e) may be translated as follows:—'I complain to thee, behold it and this *one*, *O Aôharماسد!* (that is, seek a remedy for me); *that* pleasure is my desire, which a friend gives to his friend; through the instruction of *Vohûman* (when I am instructed in virtue) is the coveted *thing* of righteousness (thou shouldst give me).' The words in parentheses have no equivalents in the Avesta text.

² Yas. XLVI, 7; its Pahlavi version (Pahl. Yas. XLV, 7 a-e) may be translated as follows:—'Who is given to me (and mine, my disciples) *as* protector by thee, *O Aôharماسد!* when that wicked (*Aharman*) retains malice *for* me in possession (that is, maintains malice with me? Who shall provide me protection), other than thy fire and *Vohûman*? (Because I know that they would provide me protection for your sake) when I nourish righteousness through deeds *for* them, *O Aôharماسد!* (that is, should I perform duty and good works, who shall provide me protection?) Thou shouldst proclaim to me that high-priest of the religion; (this thou shouldst state thus: "Maintain the religion as high-priest").'

³ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 13 e, and Bk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

⁴ Compare Ibid. 14 a which is given in Pt4, Mf4, as follows:—*Zaratûstô mûn lak aharûbô dôstô.*

28. Regarding the benefitters the reply spoken is *thus*: 'They are owing to the reward of the smiter and developer; those are beneficial whose smiting and developing are those of the developer Aûharmazd, who understands smiting and development.'

29. When through smiting by Aûharmazd, on account of the wicked, a question (frashnō) about *it* arose, the reply spoken, as to the smiting of the present *world* by means of him who is ruler, *was*: 'The reward which the judgment that is perfect teaches is thus, that he who is the smiter and developer, Sôshâns¹, shall make the decision.' 30. Zaratûst spoke *in* reply thus: 'He gives a reward.' 31. And that wise smiter, Sôshâns, spoke *in* reply thus: 'He shall inflict punishment.'

32. Even he who is an ox of many cattle has openly *and* publicly wailed this complaint² on account of the righteous *one*: 'How long *is it* till *the time* when a developer arises, even he who is an irresolute ruler (akâmakō khûdât)? How long is the time till he arises, until the wicked *one* who is a smiter *and* privileged corrupter is he *who is* unprivileged?' 33. Because, for the sake of producing resolution (kâmak-dahth), he complains that, until the developer shall arise, even he who is irresolute is ruler, that is, until he who is the developer shall become privileged.

34. As to that complaint of his Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Not so *as by* this complaint is the obtainment of spiritual lordship (ahûtkih), for this reason, when they do not consider the ruler as a ruler, and *there is* no giving of priestly authority (radōth) by any

¹ See § 10.

² Compare Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1, 9.

righteousness whatever¹, it is requisite, on account of the many righteous, to speak henceforth, until *the time* when the developer arises, even *of* him who is an irresolute ruler.'

35. On account of the many statements of the spirits, even as to thought, word, *and* deed, it is requisite to say that they shall always render an account until even some obtainment *of* a smiter and developer, privileged *or* unprivileged. 36. Some arise *of* whom it is requisite to ask this question (frashnō)² while he who is righteous *and* he who is wicked are two witnesses, *and* they make the righteous *one* manifest by his evidence, *or* they molest him who is righteous by smiting. 37. Some arise when it is requisite to speak this reply³ during the smiting *of* the maintainer of strife and *of* the kinsman. 38. *And* some arise while that individual⁴ is loved, though a righteous *one and* a developer arise, *and* it is requisite to produce a provider of benefit on account of the many, both wicked and righteous, so long as a wicked *one* of the smiting which is maintaining strife is privileged.

39. Because, regarding the production of resolution, *it* is proclaimed that *it is* so that they shall fully understand that Aûharmazd discriminates truly, *and* Aharman does not discriminate truly. 40. And that *it is* so that they shall fully understand that the punishment of the wicked is for teaching *them* that they *will* attain to the existence of darkness, that even *to* him who belongs to the ever-stationary they *may* give his reward, that they are for smiting the wicked *one*, that they are very powerful to give, that

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 6 b.

² That in § 32.

³ That in § 34.

⁴ The irresolute ruler.

they *should* kill the apostate, that *one has to be* converted from vileness to goodness, that he who would be wicked is made to believe by the tongue, that for the sake of proper nurture of the creatures next-of-kin marriage is provided, that the demons are despised, that thus he who is evil-ruling is wicked, and that they are approaching *the place* where Aûharmazd shall provide for the account of sin and good works.

41. They shall become more diligent in the performance of duty and good works, and abstain more from sin, always until *one* attains even to some acquirement *for* those in life and those in a lifeless state¹. 42. And they shall not inflict their punishment completely in the embodied state, and the fiend does not pity the worldly *existence*; every individual is counted up, and every one is fully completed for the affairs of Aûharmazd, *but* the fiend is not smitten, and they shall not fully inflict the punishment.

43. No one thinks thou shouldst remain for the propitious Aûharmazd, and no one completely presents *himself*; they attack through the fiend, and arise for the foolish *one*. 44. No one arises for the goodness of him who is good, *but* for the vileness of the fiend they destroy *what is* good, and do not understand evil *and* good; they recite the revelation for a wicked *one*, they do not bestow friendship for labour, *but* are for the evil-doer.

45. And the righteous *one*, who is the best of spiritual *and* worldly *existences*, becomes a privileged

¹ By accumulating more good works than are necessary to balance one's own sins.

developer, even he who is an irresolute ruler¹; and so he who is wicked, even he who is privileged, becomes unprivileged, at that time when *one* gives the soul of every one unto the supreme heaven², and when thou shouldst, every one, know that the affliction of the annoyers arises³, so that when, owing thereto, they beseech the sacred beings, *it is* only hell that they supply.

46. When every one shall provide the ceremonial of the archangels unworriedly, and when every one knows that Gôš-aûrvan complained⁴—so that he who is the fashioner of cattle enquired thus: 'Whose is the guardianship of cattle⁵?' *and* 'Not without annoyance' *was* the reply of Ashavahist, 'that is, they shall inflict his punishment⁶'—every one *also* knows that in their light is joyfulness for the sight⁷.

47. When every individual (ko/â ats-1) becomes aware *of* the priestly authority of Aûharmazd; and when every individual knows that his remedy *for* the devastation owing to the evil spirit is comprehensibly stated⁸; when every individual knows that Aûharmazd fashioned the propitiousness in the liturgy⁹; and when every one knows that the priest is perfect, that Aûharmazd enhances both of them in spirituality¹⁰, that Vohûman is the offspring of Aûharmazd¹¹, that Spendarmad is Aûharmazd's own¹², that all three of them are the life *of* him who

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XIX, 58, XX, 10.

² See Pahl. Yas. XXVIII, 4 a.

³ Ibid. 6 c.

⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 1 a, and Chap. XV, 3.

⁵ Ibid. 2 a.

⁶ Ibid. 3 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14.

⁷ See Pahl. Yas. XXX, 1 c.

⁸ See Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 6 a.

⁹ Ibid. 7 a.

¹⁰ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 7 c.

¹¹ Ibid. 8 a.

¹² Ibid. 9 a.

has wandered forth¹—that is, life is given by the thought and wisdom² which are his own—and that the sacred beings are they who are supporting *it*.

48. When every one of this existence must act for the sake of that *other* existence, *and* knows *how* to act; when every one is a friend, through deeds, of the spirit which is his own³; and when every one becomes a person supporting Aûharmazd⁴. 49. When every individual knows that they give no reward to him in whose body a demon is lodging who is not listening⁵; when every one shall make his own soul immortal⁶; and when every one has advantage through possession of Aûharmazd⁷.

50. When every one becomes a Zôti unsullied in righteousness⁸; when every one gives a sacred cake to the archangels⁹; when every one knows that co-operation is due to him who is their servant; and when they are together *in* soul¹⁰. 51. When every individual gives *his* body¹¹; when every one proceeds to their ceremonial and glorification¹²; when every individual knows that 'other than they' is *meant by* naêkîm tem anyem¹³; and when every one knows

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 10 a.

² Ibid. 11 b, c.

³ Ibid. 21 c.

⁴ Ibid. 22 c.

⁵ Compare Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 4 a, XLIII, 13 c.

⁶ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 1 a.

⁷ Ibid. 3 a.

⁸ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIII, 6 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. VII, 5.

⁹ Ibid. 8 c.

¹⁰ Ibid. 9 c.

¹¹ Ibid. 10 c.

¹² See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 6 c.

¹³ Yas. XXXIV, 7 c, the Pahlavi version of which may be translated as follows:—'I am aware of no one (above), other than you (that is, I know no one from whom my benefit is such as from you, and when they shall cause) righteousness (that is, they shall perform duty and good works, it) thus produces shelter for us.' The MS. has naêkîd.

that, through that sovereignty of his, the renovation of the universe is produced by *his* will among the existences¹.

52. When every one knows the elucidation (rô-shanô) of the religion; when every one considers the religion as governor and serf²; when every one knows that the manifestation of this ought to arise in him; when every one thinks Aûharmazd auspicious³; and when every one knows that, when it occurs, benefit is produced, through resolute sovereignty⁴, where and when it gives him a reward for the performance of the duty and good works they should call for. 53. When every one gives⁵ the sacred beings *and* the good a sheep; when every one knows that, for him whose righteousness is in action, immense *and* complete mindfulness arises⁶; when every one thinks of much assistance from Aûharmazd⁷; when every one speaks to restore *his* temper⁸; when every one speaks to provide the ceremonial⁹; and when every one produces that advantage by liberal giving¹⁰. 54. When every one knows that *one* grants him the obeisance which is *due* to him when in a condition for the supreme heaven (amat dên garôdmânîkîh)¹¹; when every one knows that *it* is done by those in the realm of Aûharmazd¹²; and when every individual knows

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XXXIV, 15 c.

² See Pahl. Yas. XXXV, 22.

³ See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 7 a.

⁴ Ibid. 8 d.

⁵ Assuming that yehevûnêd, 'becomes,' stands for yehabûnêd.

⁶ See Pahl. Yas. XLIII, 6 c.

⁷ Ibid. 7 d.

⁸ See Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 3 a.

⁹ Ibid. 6 a.

¹⁰ Ibid. 7 a.

¹¹ Ibid. 8 e.

¹² Ibid. 9 c.

that, so long as the religion of the first creation¹ shall exist (ae), this characteristic is to be considered thus: Hvô zi dregvau, &c.²

55. When every individual keeps no wealth for a high-priest of the apostates³; when every one knows that, when above, *there* is righteousness⁴; when they shall make intercession⁵ *for* every individual, and when every individual becomes aware⁶ *of it*; when every individual sees that he is a father of righteousness⁷; and when every individual knows that the propitious spirit is in him⁸. 56. When every one knows that, when a supplicant, he is more a smiter of the wicked⁹; when every individual utters the salutation (nīyâyisnō) of Aûharmazd¹⁰; when every individual knows that that is our comfort¹¹, *and* that it is Aûharmazd's own creature¹²; and when every individual is taught¹³, *and* every individual joins in the perfect religion¹⁴.

57. When every individual knows that Vohûman

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 6 e.

² Yas. XLVI, 6 c-e; its Pahlavi version (Pahl. Yas. XLV, 6 c-e) may be translated as follows:—'For he is wicked whose best nature is for the wicked, and he is righteous whose homage (franâmisnō in Pt4, Mf4) is for the righteous (in any doubtfulness, whoever gives anything to the wicked is to be considered as wicked, and whoever gives to the righteous is to be considered as righteous) so long as the religion of the first creation, O Aûharmazd! (until the time when Sôshâns arrives *one* is ever to be considered in this way).'

³ See Pahl. Yas. XLV, 8 a. The MS. has 'the righteous' by mistake.

⁴ Ibid. 12 a.

⁵ Compare Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 6 a.

⁶ Compare Pahl. Yas. XLV, 17 e.

⁷ See Pahl. Yas. XLVI, 2 d.

⁸ Ibid. 3 a.

⁹ Ibid. 4 d.

¹⁰ See Pahl. Yas. XLVII, 1 d.

¹¹ Ibid. 6 a.

¹² Ibid. 7 d.

¹³ Ibid. 12 c.

¹⁴ See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 9 c.

guards the creatures¹; when every individual becomes privileged by will² for the reward; when every individual knows that gain is through giving away³; when every individual transacts, *or* shall transact, the affairs of the archangels⁴; and when every individual knows that when he who is intelligent speaks to him⁵, it becomes a possession for the benefit of righteousness⁶.

58. When, for equal meritoriousness, it is necessary to give sooner to Magian men⁷—so that on account even of the Magianship of Kai-Vistâsp *he was* suitable for the sovereignty⁸, that Zaratûst *was* given a wife by Frashôstar⁹, that *it was* the learned Gâmâsp¹⁰ that Aûharmazd gave—and that every individual shall provide the ceremonial of Aûharmazd¹¹. 59. And when every individual knows that *they are* the best prayers which are the words of Zaratûst¹², and, even so, his is a wise reward for those which are yours¹³.

60. It is perfect *is* the excellence of righteousness; it is perfect excellence *that is* righteousness.

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLVIII, 10 a, b.

² See Pahl. Yas. XLIX, 9 c.

³ See Pahl. Yas. L, 1 b. The MS. has bûn, instead of barâ, by mistake.

⁴ Ibid. 3 c.

⁵ Ibid. 8 a.

⁶ Ibid. 8 b.

⁷ Ibid. 15 a.

⁸ Ibid. 16 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1.

⁹ Ibid. 17 a, and Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

¹⁰ Ibid. 18 a.

¹¹ Ibid. 20 c.

¹² See Pahl. Yas. LII, 1 a.

¹³ Ibid. 7 a.

DETAILS OF THE NASKS

FROM

OTHER SOURCES.

OBSERVATIONS.

1-5. (The same as on page 2.)

6. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

B (written A. D. 1659), see page 2.

B₂₉ (written A. D. 1679), a Persian Rivāyat, No. 29 in the University Library at Bombay.

DH (written A. D. 1813), a Dīn-vigirgārd in the library of Dastūr Hōshangji Jāmāspji at Poona.

K₃₅ (probably written A. D. 1572), a Dāʾistān-i Dīnīk, No. 35 in the University Library at Copenhagen.

Mf₄, Pt₄ (written about A. D. 1780), in the Mullā Fīrūz Library and in that of Dastūr Peshotanji Behramji in Bombay, respectively, both copied from a Yasna with Pahlavi, written in Irān and brought to India about A. D. 1478, which was a descendant of an ancestor of J₂ and K₅, and independent of those two authorities.

MH₁₀ (about 150 years old), a Persian Rivāyat, No. 10 of Haug's Collection in the State Library at Munich.

O₂₂₅, a Persian Rivāyat in No. 225 of Ouseley's Collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

FROM THE SELECTIONS

OF

ZÂD-SPARAM¹.

1. About the three divisions of revelation there is a condensed medium, beneficial *and* small, of whose subdivision one category (ragistakö) is collection together; that is, the Ahunavair² itself is a symbol of the Nasks.

2. First, the Ahunavair is apportioned into its three degrees (padmân), as shown in another chapter; *and* by a like system (ragistak) the Gâthas³, too, are into three, which are the three-lined, four-lined, and five-lined⁴; even so the Nasks

¹ Who was high-priest of Sirkân, in the south of Persia, towards the end of the ninth century, being contemporary with the last reviser of the Dînkard (see S. B. E., vol. xviii, p. xxvii). This extract from his Selections constitutes the 'particulars about the Gâthas and the connection of the Ahunavair with the Nasks,' mentioned in the final footnote to Zs. XI, 10. For the Pahlavi text the translator is dependent upon a single MS., copied from K₃₅ when this latter MS. was complete, and said to be now in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay.

² See Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 7.

³ The word gâsânö is usually written like dahisnö in the MS.

⁴ The three-lined stanzas of the Gâthas are 100 in the Ahunavairi (Yas. XXVIII-XXXIV), 40 in the Yasna of seven hâs (Yas. XXXV-XLI), and 22 in the Vohû-khshathra (Yas. LI), altogether 162 three-lined stanzas; the four-lined are one in the Ustavaiti (Yas. XLVI, 15), 41 in the Spentâ-mainyô (Yas. XLVII-L), and nine in the Vahistôisti (Yas. LIII), altogether 51 four-lined stanzas;

are denominated Gâthic, Hadha-mâthric, and Law. 3. Then the Ahunavair is apportioned into six which they call half-lines (nêm-gâs); so, too, the Gâthas are into six, which are called the Ahunavaiti Gâtha, the Yasna, the Ustavaiti¹ Gâtha, the Spentâ-mainyû (Spetamatō) Gâtha, the Vohû-khshathra Gâtha, *and* the Vahistōisti Gâtha; even so the Nasks are into six, as the Gâthas are into two, which are called one the Gâthic creation—which is the Yast²—*and* one the rest *of* the Gâthic; also the Hadha-mâthric into two, one the Mâthra of the arranger—which is the Pâkīnō and Radō-dādō-aitō³—*and* one the Mâthra full of good tokens, which is the rest *of* the Hadha-mâthra; and also the Law into two, one the law against the demons—which is the Vendīdād⁴—*and* one the law of Zarātūst, *which* is the rest *of* the Law. 4. Then it is apportioned into twenty-one, such as the twenty-one words (mârik) of the Ahunavair; *also* the Gâthas are *into* twenty-one, which are the Ahunavair, the praise of righteousness, the performance of the good, *and* from Yânm-manô unto Airyaman⁵ which, *being*

and the five-lined stanzas are the remaining 65 in the Ustavaiti (Yas. XLIII–XLVI); making the total of 278 stanzas mentioned in § 5. Yas. XLII is a later supplement to the Yasna of seven hâs, and, in the MSS. Pt₄, Mf₄, it is headed as follows:—*Avar vaharakō-î haft hādō Yastō yazisnīk būn*, ‘the beginning of worshipping as regards the portions of the Yasna of seven hâs.’

¹ The MS. corrupts these two names into the one word asnavatō by omitting the syllables aûsta.

² The Stōd-yast, or first of the Gâthic Nasks (see Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 9).

³ The third and fourth of the Hadha-mâthric Nasks (ibid. 10).

⁴ The fifth of the Legal Nasks (ibid. 11).

⁵ The three sacred formulas, Yathâ-ahû-vairyō, Ashem-vohû,

accomplished (*âkarðö*), are twenty-one; and the Nasks are twenty-one.

5. Then the Gâthas are apportioned into 278¹ stanzas (*vêhêstö*); and the Nasks also into 278 categories, every single category *having* borne a form like a single verse², as regards how much and how *anything* good is indicated, such as the Patkâr-radistân³, in which *what* is legally disputable is reported (*pêdâkö*); the Zâkhmistân⁴, by which the penalty of assault (*zâkhm*) is reported; the Stôristân⁵, by which the sin and amount of penalty *for* a wound, as regard beasts *of burden and* cattle, are reported; the Aratêstâristân⁶, by which battle is reported; the Pasûs-haûrvastân⁷, by which the customary keeping of sheep in control is reported; the Gûrdâit-zarîttunistân ('*corn-sowing code*')⁸, by which agriculture is reported; the Varistân⁹, by which an ordeal *being* accomplished is reported; *and* others of a like description.

and Yênhê-hâtâm, with the seventeen hâs of the five real Gâthas, and either the Yasna of seven hâs, counted as a single item, or the Airyaman, will make up the twenty-one divisions (compare the names applied to each fargard of the Sûðkar, Varstmânsar, and Bakö Nasks in Dk. IX).

¹ See § 2 n; here the MS. has 288, by miswriting, in both occurrences of the ciphers.

² Doubtful; the text appears to be as follows:—*ko/â ragistakö-âê bûrðö san mânâk ak gâh.*

³ See Dk. VIII, Chap. XVI.

⁴ Equivalent to Zatamistân (ibid. Chap. XVII), see Darmesteter's suggestion (ibid. Chap. XVI, 8 n).

⁵ Ibid. Chap. XXIV; here spelt Stôritân by mistake.

⁶ Ibid. Chap. XXVI.

⁷ Ibid. Chap. XXIII; here written Pasûs-haûristân.

⁸ Ibid. Chap. XXXI, 30-32.

⁹ Ibid. Chap. XLII; here written Varistân.

6. Then the Gâthas are apportioned into 1016¹ metrical lines (gâs), and the Nasks into 1000 Hâs *and* Fargards², *and*, since the Hâdôkht³ is the priestly master (radô) of the Nasks, *and* the remedy⁴ (darmôn) which is a perfect statement about the master of the resurrection, the existence of *its* fargards about the other fargards is therefore 1000 remedies fully combined, *being* the corn and fodder that are shut up (bastakô) when, over that thousand, they supply one that is great, which *in* every way protects *them* from hail and rain, *from* the wind which is hot *and* that which is cold.

7. Then the Gâthas are apportioned into 6666 words (mârîk)⁵, and *as to* the Nasks, too, their own 6666 ordinances (dâdistânô) are therein severed.
8. And the 6666 words, which are in the Gâthas, are

¹ See Sls. XIII, 50; that this number is correct may be seen from the details given in § 2 n.

² See Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 20; here the MS. has âyûînô instead of hâtô, by miswriting.

³ The sixth of the Gâthic Nasks (see Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 9).

⁴ See Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 13, where the word used is bêshâzô.

⁵ According to Sls. XIII, 50 the six Gâthas (including the Yasna of seven hâs) contain 5567 vâkâk, 9999 mârîk, and 16,554 khûrdak; which enumeration makes the meaning of mârîk doubtful. In our present text, however, it must have its usual meaning of 'word,' as the number of 6666 words in the six Gâthas can be obtained by including the customary repetition of the first stanza of each Hâ of the five real Gâthas, with the text of the Airyaman and of the introductions to Yas. XXVIII, XXXV, and probably the homage formula prefixed to each Gâtha; also by considering each component of a compound as a separate word, and all verbal prefixes as separable; and by counting all enclitics except -kâ, in accordance with the different modes of treating -kîd and -kâ in counting the words of the Ahunavair. If the three sacred formulas were included, and the Airyaman and five homage formulas were omitted, the total would be nearly the same.

an indicator of *the period* from the adversary *having* come to the creatures, as far as unto the end of the six millenniums¹—each millennium *being* ten centuries—which amount to 60 single centuries—a century *being* ten tens²—and up to *the time* when its³ cold and distress arrive, which become awful; the 600, including the excess as far as one ten⁴, are years of the 6000 years which are the words of the six Gâthas that are the first indicator of the six millenniums; therefore of the 60 centuries are then the 600 and those which are *added to them* (zak-ī ghaḥ).

9. And after those 6000, which are the 6000 years, are the Airyaman⁵ of Ashavahist and the accompanying sayings (ham-vâkō) which are at the end of the Gâthas; those are the 57 years of Sôshâns⁶, and for the sake of them, too, are the Airyaman and from the praise of righteousness at *its* end to the consecration of the Airyaman, originally 57 words (mârik), because the praise of righteousness for the Airyaman is 12, and the consecration of the Airyaman is 21, of the original 57⁷.

¹ The three millenniums during which Aûharmazd and Aharman had nearly equal influence, and the last three millenniums during which the power of Aharman diminishes (see Bd. I, 20).

² Assuming that 𐬨𐬀 stands for 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀.

³ Assuming that mûnas, 'whose,' stands for a matas.

⁴ As the cipher for 'one' precedes that for 'ten,' it may possibly mean 'one less than ten,' as in the Roman IX. At any rate, 6609 years with the 57 accounted for in § 9 make up the requisite total of 6666; but the mode of making this number correspond with the six millenniums is not very clear.

⁵ Yas. LIV, 1.

⁶ See Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 14; Bd. XXX, 7.

⁷ The Airyaman contains 24 words, its Ashem-vohû 12, and its consecration (Yas. LIV, 2) 21 words, making altogether 57 words.

DĪNKARD.—BOOK III.

CHAPTER VII¹.

The ninth question.

1. Another apostate enquired thus: 'When there is Māthra that is said *to be* all in the words of Aûharmazd to Zaratûst, *whether* it be in the words of Frashôstar and Gâmâsp², *or* be in the words of Vohû-man³ and the sacred beings, *or* be in words of theirs published before *the time of* Zaratûst, *or* even after *that of* Sênô⁴, is *it to be* considered *by* us, as to that which is relating to us, *that* what is the utterance of Aûharmazd to Zaratûst is only the Gâthic, and the rest is composed *by* Zaratûst and his disciples from the world, even statements due to a good inclination for conversion (vastakth)?'

2. The reply is *that* the other Māthra which is separate from the Gâthas, if it *be apart* from the Gâthas, is *still* owing to the composition of the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁵; *and* the same separate Māthra, which is from a witness about *it*, is the evidence with Aûharmazd himself in vigorous omniscience and composition, and not owing to the knowledge of mankind, which shall not attain even to an atom of the atoms thereof. 3. The arising of the Māthra, through the speaking of many voices, is not all the speaking of Aûharmazd to Zaratûst through those

¹ According to Peshotan's notation; the text followed is that of the MS. B, written A. D. 1659.

² See Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 68.

³ This seems a more likely reading than 'Hôm' for the imperfect word 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌.

⁴ See Chap. CXCVII, 6 n.

⁵ See Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 7 n.

voices, but the speaking of several separately, through which the speaking of the voice would be evidently *that of Aûharmazd*; that is this Māthra. 4. *And* just as the speaking forth of Zaratûst and other good *men*, as well as evil *ones*, likewise *of* those who are demons, even as far as the evil spirit, is stated by Aûharmazd in public, that statement would become even that of the evil spirit and demons, *and* the Māthra and Law against the demons *would* likewise *become* spoken *by* the demons. 5. And the Māthra is all *confided by* Aûharmazd to Zaratûst through many voices, *being* an avowal of Aûharmazd to Zaratûst, and an existence which is not inconsistent (han-bêshin); just as the Gāthas, which even you *admit to be*, as a whole, *confided by* Aûharmazd to Zaratûst, are spoken through the voice of Zaratûst, be they through the voices of the archangels, be they through the voice of Gôs-aûrvan¹, or be they *through* the voices of other sacred beings, to all *they* are spoken *by* Aûharmazd to Zaratûst, *and* are not inconsistent. 6. *But* owing to the disposition of an apostate *there* is a longing scrutiny about his own *statements*, *and* evil-thinking scrutiny about the statements protecting the spiritual lord.

CHAPTER CLXI.

1. About *one* supremely² acquainted with the three³ codes (dâdō) of the Mazda-worshipping religion there is *this*:—*One* supremely acquainted

¹ See Dk. IX, Chap. XV, 3.

² Perhaps we should read *avîrtar*, 'more particularly,' instead of *avartar*.

³ B has 'four' by mistake here, but not afterwards.

with the three codes of the Mazda-worshipping religion is he *of* the primitive faith whose insight into the good religion is even such that he knows *how* to discriminate *and* announce the statements (*vâkakö*) of the Hadha-mâthric and Gâthic from *those of* the Law, *those of* the Legal *and* Gâthic from *those of* the Hadha-mâthric, and *those of* the Hadha-mâthric and Legal from *those of* the Gâthas. 2. Also to the statements (*vâkakö*) in the Law—which is superior¹ knowledge about the worldly *existences*—is allotted (*vakhtë*) the worldliness *of* the Hadha-mâthric and also *of* the Gâthic; *to those* in the Gâthas—which are superior knowledge about the spiritual *existences*—is *allotted* the spirituality *of* the Hadha-mâthric and even that of the Law; and *to those* in the Hadha-mâthra—which is superior knowledge about *things* intermediate *between* the spiritual and worldly *existences*—is *allotted* the intermediate matter (*mîyânîkîh*) *of* the Gâthic *and* also *of* the Legal².

CHAPTER CLXV.

1. About the purport *of* the evidence of the three codes of the Mazda-worshipping religion, one as regards the other, there is verbal evidence of the Gâthic from the Hadha-mâthric and the Law, and about the Hadha-mâthric and the Law from the Gâthas. 2. The purport, too, of the statement *that* occurs is this of a ruler putting aside the commands of an enemy—which are declared, *in* many passages (*dîvâk*) of the Hadha-mâthric and even of the Legal, *to be* worthiness of death—the purport *being* in the words of a Gâthic phrase (*nisang*) *that* is

¹ See p. 407, n. 2.

² Compare Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 13, 14.

even this :—‘ He who is a good ruler is a desire *and* bringing on of fortune for me (va/am)¹.’ 3. All rulers also for the world have arisen *for* their own, and for maintaining him who is high-priest; they are submissive, and *any one* accomplishing their commands—which are putting aside the commands of their enemy—is, owing to their submissiveness, authorisedly maintaining his own person *and* wealth *in* the world thereby, *and* in the world there is no place, *nor* yet a share of anything therefrom, on account of which he becomes offended by the world.

4. The evidence of the Hadha-māthric and of the Legal about a Gāthic statement is the purport *of* these words in a Gāthic phrase, that ‘ not *for* him who is rightly proceeding is *there* further ruin²;’ *and* the evidence from the Hadha-māthric is even this which states that ‘ rectitude assists a man like a regiment a thousand strong³;’ also for the proportion of rectitude in *his* possession there is no disturbance whatever, and from the hurtful (vinâsīgânō) from without *he* is thus protected, because fully-worshipping (pûr-yazân) performance is freedom from danger from the want of freedom from wickedness (*a*-adarvandih) of the enemy, as regards benefit, through the doing of injury by him.

5. And on account of the superior knowledge of the spiritual *existence*, moreover, for the Gāthas, above the intermediate Hadha-māthric *and* the lower knowledge of the Law, the purpose of the Gāthic *was* for the statements of the Legal *and* the Hadha-māthric, and the provision of the Hadha-māthric

¹ Pahl. Yas. L, 1 a.

² Pahl. Yas. XXIX, 5 c.

³ Dk. IX, Chap. XX, 4.

and the Legal was evidently for the statements of the Gâthas.

CHAPTER CXCVII.

6. One¹ is *that*, on account of him who gave the Legal, and is also the protector of a priestly master who is given over to the Hadha-mâthric, *and* the Gâthic, through which the purity of the good creations arises, *one* is more steadfastly to aggrandise and develope *them*.

DĪNKARD.—BOOK IV².

1. Obeisance *to* the Mazda-worshipping religion which is opposed to the demons *and* is the ordinance of Aûharmazd.

¹ This is the fourth of 'the ten admonitions of the righteous Sênôv about the law of the Mazda-worshipping religion.' In the seventh book of the *Dînkard* it is stated that 'as regards the high-priests this, too, is said on the subject of Sênôv, that one hundred years of the religion elapse when Sênôv is born, and two hundred years when he passes away; he was also the first Mazda-worshipper with a life of a hundred years (100 khayâ), and who walks forth upon this earth with a hundred disciples.' This last clause clearly identifies him with the 'Saêna, son of Ahûm-stud, who first appeared upon this earth with a hundred pupils,' as stated in Yt. XIII, 97 (see Darmesteter, *Textes pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme*, première partie, p. 3, n. 2).

² This book commences with an account of the seven arch-angels, and, illustrative of the 'desirable dominion' personified in Shatraver, the fourth of them, a statement is made of the legendary history of the efforts made by the good rulers, from Vistâsp to Khûsrôî Anôsharavân, for the preservation of Avesta and Pahlavi

2. The fourth *book* is matter for instruction from the statements selected, from the instruction of the good religion, by the saintly (hû-fravardō) Âtûr-farnbag¹, son of Farukhō-zâd and leader of those of the good religion.

3. From the Selection of Customary Instruction² there is *this*:—*Number* one is the actual original evolution³, resembling only himself and not designed (kimik). 4. *Number* two, the duplication of the first among those akin (khvēstgân) owing to the consciousness of creation—which is the first—is Vohûman; but *it is* his origin, concealed from the destroyer, which is the reason of the creation.

10. *Number* three is the original creature Ashavahist⁴—due to development among those akin, one out of another—who possesses the third place among the archangels, for the reverence of the first.

12. *Number* four, the perfect sovereignty among

literature. Most of this statement has been already translated at the end of Haug's Essay on Pahlavi, from a less perfect MS. than B, but, as some of the accompanying text is obscure, it has now been necessary to translate the whole of it to ascertain its connection clearly, although only so much of this translation is here given as will indicate this connection in a general way.

¹ Who held a religious disputation with the accursed Abâlis in the presence of the Khalifah Al-Mâmûn (A. D. 813–833), as stated in the Mâdîgân-i Gugastak Abâlis. He appears to have been the first compiler of the Dînkard, especially of its first two Books which are still undiscovered (see Dk. III, Chap. last, 9, in Introduction; Sg. IV, 107, IX, 3, X, 55). Dk. IV, V are taken from his statements, as well as a portion of Dk. III, Chap. CXLII.

² Âyûtnō âmûkō vigîñō, evidently the name of a treatise compiled by Âtûr-farnbag.

³ That is, Aûharmazd.

⁴ See Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14.

those akin, is named Shatraver¹, the necessity of the stored-up (*avar-gûdô*) nature of a spiritual lord arisen from the reverence of the perfectly just doer Ashavahist, who is the third in arising from him who is the second, Vohûman, who is the first creature. . . . 19. So, too, the sovereignty of the religion is ever specially good sovereignty *and* triumphant, and the true religion is confident; the will of the sacred beings in the world is progress, and the comprisal of every knowledge is in the *Mazda*-worshipping religion; the correct attainment of its good sovereignty and their joint statement are together really on account of their concealed good protection and progressive production, one for the other. 20. They strive for the powerful maintenance of the religious good monarchy of rulers, trusty *in* religion through practising *Mazda*-worship; the law of the rulers is custom, and their custom is religious.

21. Vistâsp², the king when he became relieved (*pardakhtô*) from the war with Ar'gâsp³, sent to the chief rulers about the acceptance of the religion, 'and the writings⁴ of the *Mazda*-worshipping religion, which are studded with all knowledge through resources and learning of many kinds, and *also* the tongue of a Magian man (*Magôî-gabrâ*), arisen *in* the very same instructed duty, it is expedient you *should* send (*sedrûnêdô*) *therewith*.' 22. Now

¹ See Dk. IX, Chap. XLIII, 1.

² See Dk. VIII, Chaps. XI, 1, XIII, 15.

³ Ibid. XI, 4.

⁴ Haug's MS. omits this passage: *va/ sar-khûdâyân madam padîrôstanô-î dênô firîstakô, va-nipikîhâ-î*; and, even when it is supplied from B, a few more words appear to be still wanting.

*Arezrâspô*¹, and others from outside of Khvanîras², came to Frashôstar for religious enquiry, with complete intelligence *for* the most who did so.

23. Dârâi³, son of Dârât, ordered the preservation of two written copies of the whole Avesta and Zand, according to the receiving of it by Zaratûst from Aûharmazd; one in the treasury of Shapîgân⁴, and one in the fortress of written documents.

24. Valkhas⁵, descendant of Askân, in each district, just as he had come forth, ordered the careful preservation, and making of memoranda for the royal city (shatrô shahag), of the Avesta and Zand as it had purely come unto them, and also of whatever instruction (âmûkô-k), due to it, had remained written about, as well as deliverable by the tongue through a high-priest, in a scattered state in the country of Irân, owing to the ravages and devastation of Alexander and the cavalry and infantry of the Arûmans⁶.

¹ Evidently the same person as *Arezrâspâh* (Dk. IX, Chap. XXI, 24), the supreme high-priest of the northern region Vîdazafsh (Bd. XXIX, 1). In Dk. VII it is also stated that *Spîtdôis* and *Arezrâspô* came to Frashôstar, seeking information about the religion, 57 years after it had been received by Zaratûst who appears to have departed to the best existence ten years before.

² See Dk. VIII, Chap. VIII, 2.

³ According to Bd. XXXIV, 8 and the Persian Rivâyats, which teach a chronology of their own, this Dârâi was the predecessor of Alexander and reigned fourteen years; his father reigning twelve years.

⁴ It is hazardous to read 'the royal (shâyagân) treasury' because the name, which occurs seven times in the *Dînkard*, is five times spelt *Shapîgân*, and twice *Shasîgân*.

⁵ Probably Vologeses I, who was a contemporary of Nero and appears to have been a *Mazda*-worshipper (see S. B. E., vol. iv, p. xxxiv).

⁶ The older Greeks were so called by the Persians in Sasanian

25. That (valman-1-1) Artakhshatar¹, king of kings, who *was* son of Pâpak, summoned Tôsar, *and* also all that scattered instruction (âmûkǝ), as true authority, to the capital; Tôsar *having* arrived, him alone he approved, and, dismissing the rest of the high-priests, he also gave this command, namely: 'For us every other exposition of the Mazda-worshipping religion becomes removed, because even now there is no information *or* knowledge of it below.'

26. Shahpûhar², king of kings *and* son of Artakhshatar, again brought together also the writings which *were* distinct from religion, about the investigation of medicine and astronomy, time, place, *and* quality, creation (dahisǝ), existence, *and* destruction (vinâsisǝ), the submission of a wild beast³, evidence, and other records and resources *that* were scattered among the Hindûs, *and in* Arûm⁴ and other lands; and he ordered *their* collocation again with the Avesta, *and* the presentation of a correct copy of each to the treasury of Shapîgân⁵; and the settlement (astînidanǝ) of all the erring upon the Mazda-worshipping religion, for proper consideration, *was* effected.

27. Shahpûhar⁶, king of kings *and* son of Aûhar-mazd, instituted a tribunal (âvân âhankǝ kardǝ) for the controversy of the inhabitants of all regions,

times, because they came from the same quarter as the later armies of the eastern empire of the Romans.

¹ The first Sasanian king, who reigned A. D. 226-240.

² The second Sasanian king, who reigned A. D. 240-271.

³ Doubtful; but it is difficult to find a more probable meaning for dadakǝ hêrîh.

⁴ The eastern empire of the Romans.

⁵ See § 23.

⁶ The ninth Sasanian king, who reigned A. D. 309-379.

and brought all statements to proper consideration and investigation; *and* after the preservation of Âtûrpâd¹, through the statement which he maintained (pasâkhtö) with all those *of* different sects, and the Nasks *were* enumerated, he also spoke this even *to* those who *were* heterodox, namely: 'Now, when the religion is recognised by us in the worldly *existence*, we do most diligently endeavour *that* they shall not allow the infidelity (agdênôih) of any one whatever;' and he acted accordingly.

28. This (le-denman-1-i²) Khûsrôï³, king of kings *who is* son of Kavâd, as apostasy and tyranny *were* fully antagonistically smitten by him⁴, and information and redoubled proper consideration *were* abundantly augmented—through a declaration from the religion unto every apostasy *of* the four classes (ptsakö)—also spoke even this as to winning the sacred beings (yazdân kharîdih), namely: 'The truth of the Mazda-worshipping religion is fully understood, *and* the intelligent *are* steadfastly capable through proper consideration; but recognition by the worldly *existence has* mostly become exceedingly scattered, *and* the particulars are not possible through proper consideration, but through purity *of* thought,

¹ See Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 22.

² Literally 'this one who is,' which, applied to a person near at hand, is a phrase analogous to valman-1-i, 'that one who is,' applied in § 25 to a person more remote. The oblique case le-denman of the demonstrative pronoun, which occurs very rarely, is analogous to the oblique cases li, lanman, lak, lekûm of the personal pronouns, which occur constantly.

³ The twentieth Sasanian king, who reigned A. D. 531-579; he was surnamed Anôsharavân, 'immortal-souled.'

⁴ Referring to his extirpation of the heresy of Mazdak, A. D. 528, before he came to the throne.

word, and deed, and the statements of the good spirit, the liturgical ceremonial of the sacred beings with purity.

29. 'We also call, each of those called by us, a priest of *Aûharmazd*, whose perception of the spiritual *existence* is manifested unto us; and our wide resources, the perception of the spiritual *existence* and the example of the worldly *one*, are likewise indications *of* both natures *that are* complete. 30. And we invite (*bavîhûnêm*) those invited¹, even with that excellence *and* efficiency which are due to them, on account of which the sacred beings are predominantly over Irân; the country of Irân *having* proceeded onwards through instruction from the *Mazda*-worshipping religion which the ancients celebrated. 31. The knowledge *of* the sociable ceremonial (*ham-yazisnîh*)—for which, indeed, those of the intelligent of disunited *Khvanîras* are not in a dispute of antagonism—is, *in* that way, mostly the sonorous (*aêvâzîk*) *Avesta*, in the pure statement *of* the writing adornable by memoranda of particulars; and even the simple wordless (*avâkîk*) mode is maintained in the announcement of the statement.

32. 'Even then all the domestic (*khânîk*) knowledge of the *Mazda*-worshipping religion is really on this account, which is understood by us, that, when all are intellectual (*vîr-hômônd*), and the proper consideration of a stranger (*bîgânakô*) is owing to the world of the *Mazda*-worshipping religion, they arrive at this place. 33. *But* through the new possession and proper consideration *of* the stranger, owing to the *Mazda*-worshipping religion, they are

¹ As in *Yas. II.*

not capable of bringing about so much acquirement *and* manifestation of knowledge, for the advantage and open duty of the worldly *existence*, as is in the recitation of a priestly master through much investigation, and is abundantly well-considered. 34. And if we command, with the utmost solicitude, the proper consideration of the Avesta and Zand of the primitive Magian statements (Magôf-gobisnô), which are more humbly observant, better disposed, good, *and* ever renewed uneffacedly, *as well as* an increase of acquirement worthily therefrom, for the knowledge *of* those of the world, *there is* no necessity of first acquiring the quality of creation from the creator, *by* those who are worldly *existences*, for understanding the creator and the marvellousness *of* the spiritual *existences*; or all necessity of acquiring is said *to be* longing through scanty knowledge.

35. 'They who are a counterpart (aêdûnôih) of manifestation from the religion—and even through the resemblance *there* is a possibility of the existence of understanding—are mentioned as effecting proper consideration (hû-sikâl-gar); and he who *has* to exhibit enlightenment (rôshanô) through knowledge, *has* to maintain acquaintance *with* the religion. 36. And since the origin of every knowledge is the religion, alike through spiritual power, and alike through worldly manifestation¹, that which any one *has* wisely spoken—even though not considered by him *as* similarly beheld (ham-dîdô) by any Avesta declaration—is still then accounted as a manifestation from the religion, whose business is

¹ Assuming that pêdâkîh-inîdârîh stands for pêdâkinîdârîh.

bringing forth offspring for the sacred beings through instruction.'

37¹.

FROM PERSIAN RIVÂYATS².

I. FROM THE RIVÂYAT OF BAHMAN PŪNGYAH³.

The names of the twenty-one Nasks, from the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô:—Yathâ, the Stûdkar; ahû, the Varstah-mânthrah; vairyô, the Bagh; athâ, the Dâmdâd; ratus, the Nâdûr; ashâd, the Pâzûn; kîd, the Ratustâyîd; hakâ, the Baris; vangheus, the Kassrôb; dazdâ, the Vistâspâd; mananghô, the Dâd; shyaothananâm, the Kîdrast; anghêus, the Spentah; mazdâi, the Bayân-yast; khshathremkâ, the Niyâdâm; ahurâi, the Duvâsarôgîd; â, the Hûspârâm; yim, the Sakadâm; drigubyô, the Gud-dêv-dâd⁴; dada, the Hâdokht of the Dvâzdah-hâmâspah; vâstârem, the Yast⁵.

¹ Then follows a briefer account of the remaining three arch-angels.

² These extracts from the Persian Rivâyats are taken from MS. 29 belonging to the Bombay University Library, which is a copy, made A. D. 1679, from a long Rivâyat said to have been compiled by Barzû Kâmdîn. The same extracts are to be found in many other MSS.

³ Bahman Pûngyah of Surat, a layman whose father's name appears to have been Isfendyâr, returned from Persia A. D. 1627, with letters and MSS. from priests in Irân in reply to letters from priests in India.

⁴ The Vendîdâd.

⁵ The order in which the Nasks are here arranged is the same as that employed in Dk. VIII, Chap. I, 12, and was in general

II. FROM THE RIVÂYAT OF KÂMAH BAHRAH¹.

1. The name of the first of these books is Stôd-yast², and this is a book of thirty-three compilations (îûrat), that is, of thirty-three subdivisions (kardah). The sending down of this book *was* for the description of the Lord³ and his angels; *and* he made *it* an indispensable duty for the whole world that they learn this book by heart, and for this purpose they form an assembly. Of this total of twenty-one Nasks it is one Nask of the Avesta, and in that mode they recite this.

2. The name of the second is Stûdgar⁴, and this is of twenty-two subdivisions, which God, the praise-

use 600 years ago, as we find that Rûstâm Mitrô-âpân (the writer of the original from which K1 was copied A.D. 1324) considered the Vendîdâd as the nineteenth Nask, corresponding to the Avesta word drigubyô in the Ahunavair. In Olshausen and Mohl's *Fragments relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre*, a similar list of the Nasks is extracted from Anquetil's Great Rivâyat, in which the order and orthography of the names of the Nasks are the same as those adopted by the later writers of the Persian Rivâyats, beginning with the Stôd-yast and ending with the Hâdokht (which makes the Vendîdâd the twentieth Nask), and reversing the order of the Kîdrast and Spentah, as well as that of the Duvâsarôgîd and Hûspârâm.

¹ This writer is often quoted in the Rivâyats, but no particulars about him have been noticed. Another copy of this text occurs in MS. 225 of Ouseley's Collection (O225, fols. 15-19) in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; Olshausen and Mohl (OM) combine the information given in II and III; and MS. 10 of Haug's Collection in the State Library at Munich (MH10, fols. 55-57) combines II and IV.

² See Dk. VIII, Chap. XLVI.

³ Assuming that 'âvêš, 'his own,' stands for 'hūdâf, as in Riv. IV, 2.

⁴ See Dk. VIII, Chap. II, and IX, Chaps. II-XXIII.

worthy *and* exalted, sent down for prayer and virtue, authority and intercession, and giving union to kindred.

3. The name of the third is Vahist-mânthrah ¹, and that is of twenty-two subdivisions, which God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, sent down for faith and heedfulness in religion. *One* is reminded, in this book, about the intention and character of Zaratust; also the goodness of the creation, and the good actions before Zaratust; and the narrative of this book extends in this manner up to the resurrection.

4. The name of the fourth is Bagh ²; this book is of twenty-one parts (pârah) *or* subdivisions, and its explanation is about whatever is in the religion; also a declaration of God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, and *of* whatever the Lord *has* made incumbent on mankind as to devotion and heedfulness, as to justice and virtue, *and* as to good actions, closing the path of Satan to oneself, *and* approaching the last abode, that is, the other world.

5. The name of the fifth is Dvâzdah-hâmâst ³, and the commentary of this book is for assistance ⁴. This book is of thirty-two subdivisions, which God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, sent down in remembrance of the beginning of the creatures of the upper world and lower world. Also a description of the whole of them, and *of* whatever the Most Just, the praiseworthy and exalted, *has* made mention in the

¹ See Dk. VIII, Chap. III, and IX, Chaps. XXIV-XLVI.

² Ibid. Chap. IV and Chaps. XLVII-LXVIII.

³ Ibid. Chap. V.

⁴ Written dar-imdâd; but, omitting the letter r, we should have 'the Dâmdâd.'

sky and the earth, water, plants, and fire, mankind and quadrupeds, grazing animals and birds, and whatever is created for the advantage and equipment of them. And like this, moreover, the resurrection, that is, the raising of the dead, *their* path, assembling, and dispersion, and the nature *and* circumstances of the resurrection, as to good doers and evildoers, through the gravity of every action which they perform as good *or* bad.

6. The name of the sixth is Nâdar¹, and that is of thirty-five compilations which are sent down about the stars and the aspect and life of the sky. Also a description of the constellations, which are auspicious and which inauspicious, the method of these sciences and the operation of each one; whatever they say in sublime words, and whatever remains in this. They separate this from a book whose name in Arabic is Bavaf/âl² and is about the knowledge of the stars; and in Persian the name of that book is Favâmtgasân³, and they have made much more mention of the meaning of that, and of instruction of this kind for the moderns.

7. The name of the seventh is Pâgam⁴, and this is a book of twenty-two subdivisions, which God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, sent down about quadrupeds *and* how it is necessary to render *them*

¹ See Dk. VIII, Chap. VI. Singularly enough, the writers in the *Rivâyats* profess to know very much about this and their twelfth Nask, of neither of which the *Dīnkar* knows anything.

² In the different MSS. consulted, this name is four times written بوفطال and once يوفطال.

³ Various written فوامیسان، فوامجسان، فوامسکان، فوامکسان.
خواسكان.

⁴ See Dk. VIII, Chap. VII.

lawful, which is lawful and which unlawful, *and* how they slaughter *them*; which it is and how it is necessary to slaughter *it* for the sake of a season-festival, and whatever is about a season-festival; how it is necessary to celebrate *it*, and the person who takes the things¹; the expense of a season-festival and how much the reward is; how it is necessary to give to the priests, controllers (*radân*), and high-priests, and to any persons who are without doubts, who in speech, action, and intention are virtuous, and any persons who recite the season-festival *liturgy*. And everything wise is in this book; and this is incumbent on all people that they learn this, and *it is* the same for all till the days of the guardian spirits; and every one who possesses knowledge seeks for this, and causes intercession by mankind, for the sake of the worthy, such as clothing *for* a righteous gift, so that *one* obtains recompense in the end from heaven; and it is necessary to give this clothing *for* a righteous gift to relations and the worthy.

8. The name of the eighth is *Ratustâyî*², and this is of fifty subdivisions, *but* when, after *the time of* Alexander, they held an enquiry, they found no more *than* thirteen subdivisions. And these are about the affairs of the king and obedience, judges and whatever becomes important in holding enquiries, philosophers and devotees; about the edifices of cities, constructed and made magnificent, birds and species of animals, fish *and* whatever is

¹ O225 has *kîzhâ*, the others only *hâ*; but compare Dk. VIII, Chap. VII, 5.

² See Dk. VIII, Chap. VIII.

Ormazd's, the fowls of Ormazd besides the creatures of Aharman; likewise mountains, rivers, and land, and the like of these.

9. The name of the ninth is Baris¹, and this is a book of sixty subdivisions, *but after the time of Alexander they found again no more than* twelve subdivisions. And these are about descriptions of kings and judges, and an investigation of their authority and their sufficiency; also the relations of a peasant with peasants, of a king with the kingdom, of judges with a judge, and whatever remains therein. Any actions that are for every nation, how they are ordered, and the option as to their species and nature; also whatever the people know, and the advantage *that* arises therefrom; besides the sins of people, deceit, telling lies, and whatever remains therein.

10. The name of the tenth is Kaskaśtrah², and this is a book of sixty subdivisions, *but after the calamity of Alexander they found again no more than* fifteen. Its explanation is about the distinction (faḥl) of natural wisdom and knowledge³ from acquired knowledge, that is, the knowledge born from the mother, and the knowledge and instruction they learn; *one* learned in purity and truthful speaking, and anything that *has* brought mankind with virtue out of evil, and with purity out of defilement, and this keeps the doctrine praised *and* great, and whoever is in the vicinity of a king, and is a peasant, becomes greater *in* honour and dignity; and, in like manner, any things from which advan-

¹ See Dk. VIII, Chap. IX.

² Ibid. Chap. X.

³ So in OM, MH10; but O225, B29 are corrupted.

tage arises for mankind; and, *as to* those who tell lies, how it occurs in the vicinity of kings and peasants.

11. The eleventh is the Vistâsp-shâh¹, and that is of sixty compilations, *but* after the calamity of Alexander they found again no *more than* ten subdivisions. It is about Gustâsp's acceptance of the sovereignty, and as to the religion of Zaratust—who *was* skilful in reciting the religion, and maintaining *it* and making *it* current in the world—he chose the religion of Zaratust.

12. The name of the twelfth is 'Hast², and this is of twenty-two subdivisions, which are sent down in six portions (*guzû*). The first is about knowing the Lord, may he be honoured and glorified! and faith on account of Zaratust. The second portion is about the obedience of kings, the truth of the religion, complying *with* commands and resisting them, and restraining *one's* hand from bad actions. The third portion is about the promise *to* benefactors and their recompense, evildoers and punishment, and escaping hell. The fourth portion is about the mansions of the world, agriculture, trimming trees, such as the date tree, and whatever remains thereof; the trouble and power of mankind and quadrupeds therefrom, and the obedience they exercise; they are the people to whom heedfulness is attributed, and whatever remains thereof; and the high-priests perform *their* duty by the law of the religion. The fifth portion is about the ranks of mankind, and

¹ See Dk. VIII, Chap. XI. In Riv. IV the surviving subdivisions are said to be only eight, so as to correspond with the sections of the extant Vistâsp Yast.

² Ibid. Chap. XII. O225 has 'Hast.

those are four ranks: the first is to maintain the king grandly, and, next, the judges and the learned *in* religion; the second rank is to keep watch *over* the cities, and to annihilate the enemy; of the third rank are writers and, secondarily, cultivators and the society of cities; of the fourth rank are the people of trade, artisans, market-dealers, and tax-gatherers, in war they appear excited, and it is requisite to give a tithe *to* the high-priests and king; they keep on foot the obeisances and good works of which we have spoken, and, when they act thus, they obtain great rewards in the end¹.

13. The name of the thirteenth is Sfind², and that is of sixty subdivisions which are sent down for the information of people who are in want of it, and for the knowledge of those persons who become covetous of virtuous actions, and act after the proceedings of the learned and people of religion, and receive advantage therefrom; also as reminders that there is advantage from the daily practice of them. And this book is our reminder about the accounts of the apostle Zaratust by religious people, and whatever is the allotment of God, the exalted; about the false speaking of the people of the world, and about the goodness of the condition of the people of the world. Also whatever becomes manifest in ten years, about the miracles of Zaratust, by the seven reports that they recite.

14. The name of the fourteenth is Girast³, and this is of twenty-two subdivisions sent down for the

¹ Nothing is said of the sixth portion, either in the Rivâyats or the Dîn-vigirgârd.

² See Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV.

³ Ibid. Chap. XIII. MHro has *Kirast*.

understanding of the causes of mankind, which *have* made people manifest in the mother's womb, and afterwards those who come out of the womb, some of whom are apostles, some kings, and some peasants; and whatever remains therein.

15. The name of the fifteenth is Baghân-yast¹, and it is of seventeen subdivisions in praise of the creations of God, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, and the angels admitted to him; also thanksgiving *for* his favours, and that which he makes expedient in the religion, augments the thanksgiving *for* his favour, until *one* obtains *it* back in the end; likewise the appearance of the angels, and this is noble. Praise be to the sacred being, the exalted!

16. The name of the sixteenth is Niyâram², and that is of fifty-four subdivisions, about decrees *as to* riches, introducing inmates among outsiders, and whatever is made lawful by the exalted Lord; obtaining deliverance from hell, performing service, slavery, and the nature of wayfarers, and every one who performs service and produces remembrance for mankind; whatever is in the thoughts of mankind, and whatever is in the bodies of mankind.

17. The seventeenth is Aspâram³, and this is of sixty-four subdivisions, which are sent down about rituals, those which are in the book of the people of the religion, and an examination of the people's expense they know of, for the safety and punishment they order in the world until they obtain deliverance in the end; and whatever they do lawfully and do unlawfully they know; also decrees

¹ See Dk. VIII, Chap. XV.

² Ibid. Chaps. XVI-XX.

³ Ibid. Chaps. XXVIII-XXXVII.

as to inheritances and the limits of faith, about anything which they sow and whatever they grow, *and* about regulating nativity; whatever *one* makes incumbent on memory, and whatever *one* makes incumbent on memoranda prepared; also how it is necessary to produce whatever tokens *there are* at the time of childbirth.

18. The name of the eighteenth is Duvâsarôni-gad¹, *and* it is of sixty-five subdivisions; robbers of human beings and quadrupeds, whatever *one* makes incumbent that they shall give, and an enumeration of what *one* makes incumbent on each one of them, owing to theft and terror, obstructing the roads, the dread of the wayfarers, *and* the disturbance of prisons; and whatever remains therein.

19. The name of the nineteenth is Askâram², *and* it is of fifty-two subdivisions, about judges and philosophers, the method of examining decrees, the knowledge of definitions, and an opinion of those in other matters.

20. The name of the twentieth is Vendîdâd³, *and* that is of twenty-two subdivisions, for causing the abstinence of mankind from bad actions, from the devil and disgrace, foreign magicians and those who act after their proceedings and become com-mitters of crime; and we are told of their crime among the whole of the goodness and purity, and the whole of the wickedness and defilement, and the explanation of them.

¹ See Dk. VIII, Chaps. XXI-XXVII. MH₁₀ has Duvâsrôb, and OM Duvâsarôgad; duvâ standing for dûbâ, or zûbâ, the traditional reading of the Zvâris ganabâ, 'a thief.'

² Ibid. Chaps. XXXVIII-XLIII.

³ Ibid. Chap. XLIV.

21. The name of the twenty-first is Hâdokht¹, and this is a book of thirty subdivisions, about the manner of bringing together and the abundance of miracles, also the excellence and connections of them. And the accursed devil goes far from every one who recites this book together with the Yast², and this person is near *to* the rank (pâtgâh) of a sacred being, and his sins become pure; also in this book the accursed devil becomes cursed, and God knows *it*.

III. FROM THE RIVÂYAT OF NARÊMÂN HÔSHANG³.

1. Again, that which is in Pahlavi characters is clear *in* that manner, that in the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô there are twenty-one vocables, that is, twenty-one words, and beneath each word there is an equivalent meaning; it is also known to the devout *that* there are twenty-one Nasks of the Avesta.

2. The first Nask is of thirty-three subdivisions, that is, it is of thirty-three compilations, and its name is Stôd-yast, that is, 'producing the praise of the sacred beings;' and the words of the book *have* come down for the majesty of the sacred beings and angels, and they recite *them* in that manner; and *in* the presence of every high-priest of the pure ritual, who rightly understands its Avesta and Zand,

¹ See Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV. O225 has Hâdôkht.

² The Yasna, or Stôd-yast of § 1.

³ Narê mân Hôshang of Bharôk returned from Persia, A.D. 1478, with letters from priests in Irân in reply to those from priests in India. His account of the Nasks is more abbreviated than the others, and appears to be derived from a Pahlavi original.

as he recites *them* correctly on three occasions, the angels come down ; of this there is no doubt.

3. The name of the second is Istûdgar, and it is of twenty-two subdivisions ; its statements are for the admonition of the people.

4. The name of the third Nask is Vahist-mânthrah, and it is of twenty-two subdivisions ; its purport is to bring confirmation of the religion.

5. The name of the fourth is Bagh, and this is of twenty-one subdivisions ; its explanation is about heedfulness.

6. The name of the fifth is Dvâzdah-hâmâst, and it is of thirty-two subdivisions ; its explanation is in remembrance of the upper world, and about the lower world.

7. The name of the sixth is Nâdar, and that is of thirty-five compilations ; its explanation is about the interpretation of the world of the stars, the planets and constellations, and understanding the arrangement of the sky.

8. The seventh is the Pâgam ; this Nask is of twenty-two subdivisions, and its explanation is with regard to lawful and unlawful animals, whenever they slaughter *them* for the sake of solemnizing a season-festival ; and, again, whatever is manifold reward and good work ; also about the reason of the five days of the guardian spirits, which they call the select, *and* wherefore they are appointed.

9. The name of the eighth is Ratustâyî, and it is of fifty subdivisions, of which, after *the time of* Alexander, they preserved and found no more *than* thirteen subdivisions ; its explanation is about maintaining devotion, and *of* obedience to kings, high-priests, and governors.

10. The name of the ninth is Baris, and this Nask was of sixty subdivisions, *but after the time of Alexander* they found no more *than* twelve subdivisions; its explanation is *of* those who are kings and high-priests, leaders and princes, judges and messengers, what is the nature of the authority of peasants and princes, and what kind of towns they possess.

11. The name of the tenth is Kassrôb, and this Nask has been of sixty subdivisions, *but after the time of Alexander* they found again no more *than* fifteen subdivisions; its explanation is about the distinction of natural wisdom and knowledge from acquired knowledge; that which makes mankind pure from defilement, and the usage that maintains the proceedings of mankind.

12. The eleventh is the Nask of Vistâsp-shâh, and it has been of sixty subdivisions, *but after the time of Alexander* they found again no more *than* ten subdivisions, and *their* statements are with regard to king Gustâsp making the religion current.

13. The name of the twelfth is 'Hast, and it is of twenty-two subdivisions; its explanation is about enquiry of wisdom, maintaining devotion in the world, *and* the punishment for every sin *such* as they supply *it*.

14. The name of the thirteenth is Sfind, and it is of sixty subdivisions; its explanation is *of* that which they demonstrate *as* miracles from this Nask, that every requirement comes to pass *which* every high-priest—*who* shall recite this Nask for several days with sevenfold voice, according to that which has been written—shall solicit for the world.

15. The name of the fourteenth is Girast, and

this is of twenty-two subdivisions, its explanation is about the creation of the people of mankind in the day of the Eternal, until the last day of the resurrection occurs; their becoming manifest in the mother's womb, *and* why some die in the womb and some are born, some are kings and some are peasants.

16. The name of the fifteenth is Baghân-yast, *and* this is of seventeen subdivisions; its explanation is about the praise of the angels admitted, and, *as to* the servants of the Most Glorious, *at* what period they each become manifest, and what duty they perform, till the resurrection.

17. The name of the sixteenth is Niyâram, and this is of fifty-four subdivisions; its explanation is about decrees *as to* traders, covenants and decisions, that is, awards with regard to the creatures *and* how they act.

18. The name of the seventeenth is Aspâram, and this is of sixty-four subdivisions; its explanation in these is well-directed and a good *thing*; and whatever remains therein.

19. The eighteenth is the Duvâsarôgad, and it is of sixty-five subdivisions; its explanation is that which is a statement on the subject of Khêdyôdath, that is, forming a union with each other *by* relations and those next *one another*.

20. The name of the nineteenth is Askâram, and it is of fifty-two subdivisions; its explanation is about the occurrence of the production of the renovation of *the universe*, up to the resurrection *and* future existence which are the converting of the dead alive, Aharman *and* the demons becoming extinct, and the circumstances of those *events*.

21. The name of the twentieth is *Gud-dêv-dâd*¹, and that is of twenty-two subdivisions; its explanation is of causing the abstinence of mankind from pollution, that is, from defilement, and the assault of evil peculiarly owing to the great; *from* the sight of a menstruous woman, and the like of these, whenever harm and injury happen to the creation.

22. The name of the twenty-first is *Hâdokht*, and this is a book of thirty subdivisions; its explanation is such that the accursed devil goes far from every one *who* shall recite this book together with the *Yast*, and this person becomes near unto the sacred being, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, and in such manner as *he is* near the sacred being in like manner he obtains rank.

23. And the purpose of this *being* written is so, that it is known to these humble individuals² in this manner, that these books are of those tendencies, and it has been written *by* those devout *ones*³ in such manner that 'among us no one is able to read the Pahlavi characters, and the interpretation of these Nasks is in Pahlavi; any one who does not know the Pahlavi characters is high-priest and is not able to demonstrate the miracles of the religion, nor that which was written with regard to the commentary of these Nasks.'

¹ Pâz. *gud* is a translation of Av. *vi* which is merely transliterated by *vîk* in *Vîk-dêv-dâd*, the original form of *Vendîdâd*.

² The priests in Irân who supplied this information to *Narê mân*.

³ The priests in India who had applied for the information, using the words about to be quoted.

IV. FROM THE RIVÂYAT OF DASTÛR BARZÛ
QIYÂMU-D-DÎN¹.

1. The reply about the Nasks of the Avesta. The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô is *of* twenty-one words, and the Avesta is similarly *of* twenty-one Nasks.

2. The name of the first Nask is Stôd-yast, and that book is of thirty-three compilations, that is, it is of thirty-three subdivisions, and the description of the Lord and the angels is in it.

3. The name of the second Nask is Stûdgar, and that is of twenty-two subdivisions; its description is about prayer, virtuous authority, and intercession.

4. The third Nask is the Vahist-mânthrah, and that is of twenty-two subdivisions about faith and heedfulness; and *one* is reminded [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 3*].

5. The fourth Nask is the Bagh, and that is of twenty-one subdivisions; its explanation is about the religion and *its* intention, and whatever the Lord *has* made incumbent on mankind as to devotion and heedfulness; also about closing the path of Satan to oneself, and approaching the last abode.

6. The name of the fifth book is Dvâzdah-hâmâst, and that is of thirty-two subdivisions in remembrance of the beginning [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 5*].

7. The name of the sixth Nask is Nâdar, *and* that is of thirty-five compilations about the stars

¹ This Dastûr appears to have been one of several residing at Nausârî A.D. 1614-1646; his father's name is more usually written Qavâmu-d-dîn, and his account of the Nasks closely resembles that of Kâmah Bahrah.

and the disposition and life of the sky. [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 6 to*] Bavaštâl, and in Persian the name of that book is Favâmsa'hân, that is, instruction arises therefrom for the moderns.

8. The name of the seventh Nask is Pâgam, *and* that is of twenty-two subdivisions; its description is about quadrupeds *and how they are* made lawful, which is lawful [*&c., as in II, 7, to*] for the sake of a season-festival, and how it is necessary to perform whatever is in a season-festival; the expense of a season-festival [*&c., as in II, 7, to*] high-priests, and a description of the clothing *for* a righteous gift, so that they *may* obtain recompense in the end from heaven.

9. The eighth Nask is the Ratustâyî, *and* that is of fifty subdivisions; its purport is about the affairs of the king and obedience, cities constructed and made magnificent, birds, animals, and fish, and whatever is Ormazd's, besides the creatures of Aharman; [*&c., as in II, 8*].

10. The name of the ninth book is Baris, *and* that is of sixty subdivisions, and about descriptions of kings and judges, and an investigation of their authority; also the relations of a peasant [*&c., as in II, 9, to*] deceit, and telling lies.

11. The name of the tenth book is Kaskantîz, *and* that is of sixty subdivisions, about the advantage (faïl) of natural wisdom and knowledge *as distinguished* from acquired knowledge, that is, the knowledge born from the mother, and the knowledge which they learn *by* instruction; doctrine about purity and truth, and anything [*&c., as in II, 10, to*] how it occurs.

12. The name of the eleventh Nask is Vistâsp,

and that is of sixty compilations, *but* after the calamity of Alexander, when they sought *them* again, they found no more *than* eight subdivisions, and those are about Gustâsp's acceptance [*&c.*, as in II, 11].

13. The name of the twelfth book is '*Hast*, and that is of twenty-two fargards in six portions. The first portion is about knowing the Lord, may he be honoured and glorified! and faith in the mission of Zaratust and any duties which are ordered in a book of the religion. The second portion is about the obedience of kings, the truth of the religion, and complying *with* commands. The third portion is about the promise *to* benefactors and their recompense, the punishment of evildoers, and escaping from hell. The fourth portion is about the mansions of the world, agriculture and trimming trees, the power of mankind and quadrupeds arisen therefrom, the obedience they exercise, and whatever duty they perform for the high-priests of the religion. The fifth portion [*&c.*, as in II, 12, *to*] the obeisances, so that they obtain great rewards in the end.

14. The name of the thirteenth book is *Sfend*, and that is of sixty subdivisions, for the information of people who are in want of it, and for their knowledge; also for any persons who become covetous as to virtuous actions, and proceed after the footsteps of the learned and people of religion, and receive advantage therefrom; and as reminders of the celestial sphere that there is advantage from the daily practice of them. Also about the accounts of the evil of mankind, by the apostle Zaratust, about the false speaking [*&c.*, as in II, 13].

15. The fourteenth Nask is the *Girast*, and that

is of twenty-two subdivisions, for the understanding of the causes of mankind [*&c., as in II, 14*].

16. The name of the fifteenth book is Baghân-yast, and that is of seventeen subdivisions, in praise of the Lord, the praiseworthy *and* exalted, and the admitted angels; also thanksgiving *for* the favours due to that which he makes expedient in the religion, and the thanksgiving *for* his favour *lasts* until *one* obtains *it* back in the end; likewise the appearance of the angels, and these are nobles for the praise of the sacred being.

17. The name of the sixteenth book is Niyâram, and that is of fifty-four subdivisions, about decrees *as to* riches, bringing abroad, and whatever is made lawful; obtaining deliverance from hell, performing service, slavery, and the nature of wayfarers; whatever is in the thoughts of mankind, and whatever is in the bodies of mankind.

18. The name of the seventeenth book is Aspâram, and that is of sixty subdivisions about rituals [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 17*].

19. The name of the eighteenth Nask is Duvâsrôb, and that is of sixty-five subdivisions, about robbers (duvâyân?) of human beings [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 18*].

20. The name of the nineteenth Nask is Askâram, and that is of fifty-two fargards [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 19*].

21. The name of the twentieth Nask is Vîndâd, *and* that is of twenty-two subdivisions [*&c., very nearly the same as in II, 20*]. And *as to* this book Vîndâd, *which* is the twentieth book of the Nasks, out of the twenty-one Nasks of the Avesta, we and you are now using *it* in the ceremonial, and when,

after the calamity of Alexander, they sought for the books again, they found a portion of each Nask, *but* did not find any Nask in completeness except the Vîndâd which they found complete.

22. The name of the twenty-first Nask is Hâdokht, *and* that is of thirty subdivisions, about the manner of bringing together and the many miracles, and *their* excellences *and* connections; and in this book the accursed devil becomes cursed and becomes annihilated.

23. At present, since the Nasks *have* not remained perfect in the midst *of us*, it is not possible to solemnize *them*, because Alexander the Rûman¹ carried off a rough draft, in Rûman characters, of those of the twenty-one Nasks of the Avesta which were *about* the stars and medicine, and repeatedly burnt the books of the Avesta, so that the soul of Alexander burns in hell; and after his calamity, every one of the high-priests, in council together, preserved something of the Avesta in *his* mind, *and* the aggregate *has* disclosed the books of the Yasna (yast), Visperad, Vendîdâd, Fravash, Khûrdah Avesta, Darûn, Âfrîngân, Kîdah Vagarkardan, and Bundahis, *which* they wrote correctly; *as to* the remainder (tatammah) which they did not write, it was on this account, that they did not preserve *it* correctly in *their* minds. And the expectation, descended from the midst *of them* in the court of Ormazd and the archangels, is thus, that Vargâvand, Peshôtan, and Hushêdar² *will* arrive in haste *for* the manifestation of the religion, and the goodness

¹ See Dk. Bk. IV, 24 n.

² The three chief producers of the future and final triumph of the religion (see Byt. III, 13-52).

of the religion again assumes splendour from a new head; the good and those of the good religion become cheerful and happy, and the bad and wicked become extinct and disappearing. Amen.

FROM THE DÎN-VIGIRGARD¹.

In the name and *for* the propitiation of the creator Aûharmazd these several commentaries (zand) are published from revelation (dênô).

The names of the twenty-one Nasks.

1. One is this that is Yathâ, that is, the Stôd-yast, *and* the subdivisions of this Stôd-yast are thirty-three. In that Nask are the blessing *and* propitiation of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and they are *for* the utterance of praise. Aûharmazd sends this Nask into the world, which is suitable for every one, *and* whoever has committed this Nask to memory recites *it*. And to every one who, *being* a high-priest, becomes a reciter of both the Avesta and Zand, *and* shall recite that Nask three times with correctness, the archangels will come near; as to this they know *it* without doubt.

2. The second Nask is that *which is* Ahû, the Stûdgar, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask are

¹ A Rivâyât in Pahlavi writing, but its language is more Persian than Pahlavi; it commences with this account of the Nasks, combining most of the information contained in the four preceding extracts from the Persian Rivâyats. For this text the translator is indebted to a MS. written A.D. 1813 and belonging to Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji of Poona; a previous translation, in Haug's Essays, was from a transliteration of the same text prepared by Haug some 25 years ago.

twenty-two. In it are the giving of advice *to* mankind, the performance of prayer and virtue, the doing of good actions, intercession, producing union among relations, *and* such-like topics.

3. The third is Vairyô, the Vahist-mânsar, *and* the subdivisions of this Nask are twenty-two. In this is the topic of those who are becoming without doubt as to the religion of Mazda-worship, causing heedfulness, and thinking about the religion; also the production of the benediction and attributes (*sifât*) of the blessedness of Zaratûst, every action which was declared virtuous before Zaratûst, and all actions which have to occur after Zaratûst until the future existence; the benefit of his world, and such-like topics.

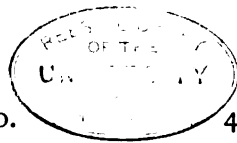
4. The fourth Nask is this *which is* Athâ, the Bagh, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask are twenty-one. In this the topic is this which is the purpose of the religion of Mazda-worship, and the ideas which Aûharmazd caused *to be* taught unto mankind; the exercise of reverence, heedfulness, adjudication, and justice; the performance of the proper duty of decision, doing good actions (*kâr-i khvaîr*), closing the way of Aharman into oneself, attaining unto the spiritual *existence* for oneself, *and* such as are like *these*.

5. The fifth Nask is Ratus, the Dvâzdak-hômâst, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask are thirty-two. In that Nask are all the topics of the spiritual *existence and* the heavenly state, virtue and vileness, the material *existence* of this worldly state, about the sky and about the earth, and everything which Aûharmazd produced *and which* exists in the water, fire, and plants; human beings and

quadrupeds, grazing animals and birds, and everything which is similarly produced from any (*aêk*) of *them*, and the characteristics of all things. Secondly, that which is the production of the resurrection and future existence, and the coming together and separation *at* the *Kinvad* pass; the recompense for the doers of good works and the punishment for sinners occur through the future existence, *and* such-like topics as *these* are.

6. The sixth Nask is *Ashâd*, the *Nâdûr*, *and* the subdivisions of that are thirty-five. In this Nask are the purposes of the stars (*nugûm*), the zodiac, and the planets, the goodness and evil of each constellation, and the movement of all the planets in the signs of the zodiac (*bûrg*) and lunar mansions (*mahîgân nugûm*). They have translated *it* into Arabic and Persian, and the name they have adopted *for* this book is *Bûtâl*, *and* in Persian the name which is appointed for it is *Kapâmâgân*.

7. The seventh is this *which is Kîd*, *and* is the *Pâgam*, and its subdivisions are twenty-two. In this *Pâgam* Nask is the topic of the slaughtering of quadrupeds *and* sheep, how *they* are to be slaughtered, of which among the quadrupeds the command is that it is allowable to eat, and of which kind the eating is not allowable; how *he* who slaughters shall strike at the time of the expiring of the sheep. The more expenditure (*saraf*) *one* makes upon a season-festival, so much the more is the reward; how much it is expedient to bestow upon the *Dastûrs*, *Môbads*, and *Hêrbads*, and upon the unwavering practisers of good works *in* the good religion; what merit accrues *to* every one



who celebrates a season-festival and consecrates clothing for a soul, *and* who, *for* that reason, is in the supreme heaven *in* the last times; and it is necessary to give clothing to relations *and* the righteous as a righteous gift, *and* to exercise mediation on the part of the righteous; the five greater and lesser days of the guardian spirits, and the practice of good works on *these* ten days is enjoined in this Nask. It is requisite for all people that they shall read this book with good and wise understanding, that all *may* become aware of *its* topics.

8. The eighth Nask is that *which is* Hakâ, the Ratustâth, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask *were* fifty when the accursed Alexander had the Nasks burnt up, *but* after that, *as* they sought out this Nask, *only* thirteen of those subdivisions came to hand, and no *more* remained of those previously *existing*. In this Nask are the reasons of performing service, giving orders, and remaining at the command of kings and at the command of high-priests and judges; the adornment-preserving¹ purpose of cities is declared, the command of religion, and things made magnificently (*agîzîhâ*), grazing animals, birds, cattle, and fish; everything which is a production of Aûharmazd *or* Aharman; all the purposes of all the seas, mountains, and lands; *and matters* similar to such as are mentioned.

9. The ninth Nask is this *which is* Vangheus, *and* is the Baris; the subdivisions of that Nask were first sixty, *but* after the accursed Alexander *only* twelve remained. *As to* the information in this Nask, just as there is the sovereignty for *those*

¹ Assuming that *frêvvânîk*, which might mean 'important,' stands for *pardazânîk*.

who are kings, so *there* is the usage which it is necessary *for them* to practise, and the command of the sentence of judges of the religion such *as* is necessary to be executed; the custody and protection for the world, and making each new city flourishing; also the reasons of people, who are false-speaking, sinners, *and* such-like, are mentioned in this Nask.

10. The tenth Nask is that *which* is Dazdâ, the Kassrôb, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask were formerly sixty, *but* after the accursed Alexander *only* fifteen subdivisions remained. In that Nask the topic is that which is wisdom and knowledge, the reason of *its* being brought forth from the mother, and the teaching of wisdom *by* demonstration, the performance of purification and the speaking of truth; bringing people from vileness unto virtue, and bringing *them* from defilement and pollution unto purity; greatness and good progeny arise for people near kings, and how the habit of people telling lies, to others and to kings, arises; *and* such-like as *these*.

11. The eleventh Nask was Mananghô, the Vîstâspâd, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask were sixty, *but* after the accursed Alexander *only* ten remained. In this Nask is the topic of the sovereignty of Gûstâsp, and Zaratûst the Spîtâmân, *having* brought the religion from Aûharmazd, king Gustâsp accepted *it*, and made *it* current in the world; *and* such-like as *these*.

12. The twelfth is Shyaothananãm, the Khûst, *and* the subdivisions of that Nask were first twenty-two, *but* after the accursed Alexander *only* six remained. Among those six, which are the first

portions (zizp = Ar. *gizb*), the topics in *one* portion are the attributes (*sifât*) of the creator Aûharmazd, and the understanding *of them*; also being without doubt about the religion of Zaratûst, the Spîtâmân, all the duty and good works which are prescribed in the religion, *and* such-like. In the second portion is the reason of service for kings, the truth of the religion, submission *to* all *its* commands, and withholding *one's* hand from evil actions, so that it *has* become far from mischief. In the third portion is that which is the debt for performers of virtuous position, the advantage *of* good works, the final release from hell, *and* such-like. The fourth is the reason of the creation of the world, the practice of agriculture, the cultivation of trees, the date-tree and every fruit-tree; whence arises most strength for people and animals; being under the command of the practisers of good works *and* the virtuous, and being under the command of the high-priests, *and* such-like as they are. In the fifth portion all the specimens of mankind are mentioned: *they* who are of great knowledge, who are kings, judges, and the sages of the religion; in the second specimen are *they* that *have* to keep watch *over* all the cities, and to make the enemy confounded; in the third specimen are these whose object *one* mentions *in the term* 'husbandmen;' the fourth specimen which *one* mentions *are* these who are the greatly-skilled and sitters in the market, grandiloquent to repel loss, giving one-tenth to the high-priest and king, and offering praise on hardened knees, the last reward of which is that *one* obtains in the spiritual existence.

13. The thirteenth Nask is that which is Angheus,

the Spend; its subdivisions are sixty which are precious unto people of pedigrees (mâyagân) and *those who* possess much avidity for virtuous actions and *have* to proceed *in* the footsteps (pât-rapîh) of the great and religious; *also* accounts of Zaratûst, who is born from the womb of Dûghdâvô, till ten years *of age*. Every Dastûr and Môbad shall recite this Nask in purity, and with ease and the proper words, *for* several days, and shall obtain every desire of his own, or *any* wish which he claims on account of (barâ râî-t) others.

14. The fourteenth Nask is that *which is* Mazdâi; the name Zirast is appointed *for it*, and the subdivisions of that Nask are twenty-two. In like manner this Nask is sent *by* Aûharmazd, which is to make manifest to the people what is the purpose *of* that science through which mankind are born from the womb of a mother, how many individuals among them will die *away* from the womb, and how many individuals will live; how many persons *and* people among them become kings, and how many, meanwhile (fîmâ), exercise apostleship, that is, the high-priesthood; how many are the grandest of people, and how many are the meanest *of* mankind, *and* in what mode this occurs; from first to last, the time people are born and all those topics are in this Nask.

15. The fifteenth is Khshathremkâ, *and* the name of that Nask is Baghân-yast, *and* its subdivisions are seventeen. In it are the topics of Aûharmazd the lord and the archangels, the knowledge of their attributes, and the service *and* sublimity *of* Aûharmazd; at what time every Gâh occurs until the future existence, and what duty is

performed; offering praise *for* every benefit *from* Aûharmazd, and obtaining benefit from him; the appearance of the archangels, and knowing what is such-and-such an appearance of such-and-such an archangel in the future existence. This Nask used in the service of Aûharmazd and the archangels is very excellent.

16. The sixteenth is Ahurâi, *and* they have appointed it the name Niyârâm; the subdivisions of that Nask are fifty-four, about the reason of preserving wealth and placing *it* out, agreement *and* measure *by* the cubit *and* handful; everything the creator Aûharmazd has ordained *as* uncontaminated, release from hell, and how to walk in the path of reverence and worship; what is in the mind of man, and what is everything in the body of man; *and* such-like *as these that* are mentioned.

17. The seventeenth Nask is that which is Â, *and* the name they have appointed *for* it is Aspârûm; *one* mentions sixty-five subdivisions of it, *and* in this Nask is every religious topic which all persons well understand, and the punishment suffered *by* sinners, which they receive in *their* last career; everything which is uncontaminated is allowable, *and what* is not uncontaminated is not allowable; the stars preside over the destiny of mankind; and such-like *as these*.

18. The eighteenth Nask is that *which is* Yim, that *has* the name Duvâsarôzad appointed *for it*, *and* the subdivisions of it are likewise sixty-five. In this Nask are the reasons of next-of-kin marriage, forming connections among relations, *and* such-like *as these*.

19. The nineteenth Nask is Drigubyô, the name

of which is Askâram, *and* is of fifty-two stanzas (*vêkastihâ*), *about* the giving of orders, exercise of authority, and practising wisdom in everything; producing the resurrection, *by* which every person passed *away* is made living again, and the malformations of Aharman and the demons are withered away; *and* such-like.

20. The twentieth Nask is that *which is* Dadad, that they call *by* its name of Vendîdâd, where the meaning *of* this is 'the law against the demons,' which is of twenty-two fargards. The topic *of* it is what preserves mankind from evil *and* pollution, and will restrain *them* from the menstruous, dead matter, pestilence, and running sores. Of all the twenty-one Nasks the Nask of 'the law against the demons' has *alone* remained entire; while several remain scattered by the wickedness (*sûmth*) of the accursed Alexander, this Nask of the Vendîdâd remained in hand, *and* owing to its elucidation the religion of Mazda-worship exists now.

21. The twenty-first Nask is Vâstârem, whose name *one* calls Hâdôkht, *and its* fargards are said *to be* thirty. In it are much excellence and many miracles, *and* the vile Aharman becomes far from every one who recites this Hâdôkht, and it makes *him* extinct, and *the reciter* comes near *unto* Aûhar-mazd and becomes purified from sin.

22. Now, alas! if all these Nasks do not remain, so that *one* is not able to solemnize *them*, that is for this reason, that the accursed Alexander, the Arûman, took several transcripts—in the Arûman language and characters (*hurûfö*)—of any among those twenty-one Nasks which were *about* the stars and medicine, and burnt up the other Nasks; and

the soul of the accursed Alexander, the Rûman, will remain wretched and burnt in gloomy hell till the resurrection, owing to his own vileness which injured the religion of Zaratûst.

23. After the villany of Alexander, an assemblage of several high-priests, who were sages of the religion, brought the Avesta of all *of them* from various places, *and* made a collection *of* so much Avesta and Zand *as* the sacred (yastô) Yasna, Visperad, Vendîdâd, Ardâ-fravard, and other scraps of the Avesta, the Darûn, Âfrîngân, and the Commands of the religion; all these *were* written, and the Bûndahis book *was* correctly written; *and* all such, among them, as *were* not written, which did not come into the thoughts of the sages, departed, on that account, from the midst of the many topics of revelation.

24. Just as it is said that *there* were twenty-one Nasks, there are first, in seven Nasks, the topics of the religion *of* Mazda-worship, in the second seven Nasks are the topics of medical practice, *and* in the third seven Nasks the topics and capabilities of the stars are mentioned.

NASK-FRAGMENTS

THAT ARE

STILL EXTANT.

EXTANT FRAGMENTS¹.

I. SŪDKAR NASK².

Dk. IX, Chap. II, 3-15, referring to the useful effect of reciting the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô as a spell, on various occasions, is quoted in Sls. XIX, 1-14, and also in the Persian Rivâyat of Bahman Pûngyah³, with some slight variations.

Dk. IX, Chap. VI, 2, refers to the passage thus mentioned in Sls. IX, 2, 3:—‘The priest who passes away in an out-district (aûzdehîkîh) thou hast considered as desolate (vîrân); and there is a high-priest who is of a different opinion, there is *one* who says *it is as* a non-Irânian (anâîrân) country. *It is* declared that, when a supreme high-priest (zaratûstrotûm) passes away in an out-district, an apostate will be born in that dwelling, and this calamity is only (aêvâk) mentioned as to the supreme high-priest⁴.’

Dk. IX, Chap. VIII, 1-6, refers to Zaratûst’s

¹ Only the Pahlavi versions of these fragments are extant, unless it be otherwise stated.

² The detailed account of this Nask, in Dk. IX, contains about 5,400 Pahlavi words, and, if these represent the same proportion of original text as those in the accounts of the first three fargard’s of the Bakö Nask do, they would indicate about 4,700 words of Avesta text and 10,500 of Pahlavi version as the original extent of this Nask.

³ See p. 418, n. 3.

⁴ This translation has been corrected in accordance with p. 178, n. 2.

prophetic vision of the golden, silver, steel, and mingled-iron periods of his millennium, quoted at length in Byt. I, 1-5, with variations indicative of the date of the Bahman Yast being later than that of this Nask.

Dk. IX, Chap. X, 3, refers to the detailed account of the seven most heinous evil-doers, quoted in Dd. LXXII, 3-9.

Dk. IX, Chap. XV, refers to the supplication of the soul of Keresâsp for admittance into heaven, on account of his heroic deeds, quoted at length in the Dâdistân Pahlavi Rivâyat and the Persian Sad-dar-band-i Hûsh (see S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 373-381).

Dk. IX, Chap. XVIII, 2, refers to the passage thus quoted in Sls. X, 8:—‘For in the Stûdgar it is said, concerning those who *have* unlawfully slaughtered animals, the punishment is such that *each* hair of those animals becomes like a sharp dagger (têkh), and he who is unlawfully a slaughterer is slain.’

No allusion has been noticed in Dk. IX to another passage which is thus quoted in Sls. XII, 32:—‘In the Stûdgar it says thus: “What prepares sneezing? that is, through what process (kâr) does it come?” And Aûhar Mazda spoke thus: “Hungry living, O Zaratûst! moreover, the remedy for its existence is the Ahunavair, O Zaratûst! and the Ashem (aharâyih).”’

II. VARSTMÂNSAR NASK¹.

No quotation from this Nask has yet been noticed.

¹ The detailed account of this Nask, in Dk. IX, contains about

III. BAKÖ NASK¹.

Dk. IX, Chaps. XLVII—XLIX, describe the contents of the first three fargard's of this Nask, which are still extant in the Avesta text of Yas. XIX—XXI, whose Pahlavi version may be translated as follows :—

Pahl. Yas. XIX = Bakö I.

The beginning of the Ahunavair of the Bakân².

1. Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd thus: '*O Aûharmazd*,³ propitious spirit, creator of the world of embodied existences, *and* righteous⁴! (2) which were those words, *O Aûharmazd*! that *were* spoken by thee for me, (3) before the sky, before the water, before the earth, before the (well-yielding) cattle, before the plants, before the fire which is Aûhar-

9,600 Pahlavi words, and, if these represent the same proportion of original text as those in the accounts of the first three fargard's of the Bakö Nask do, they would indicate about 8,300 words of Avesta text and 18,500 of Pahlavi version as the original extent of this Nask.

¹ As the detailed account of the first three fargard's of this Nask, in Dk. IX, contains about 840 Pahlavi words, and represents about 730 words of the original Avesta text in Yas. XIX—XXI, with 1630 in its Pahlavi version, it may be assumed that the detailed account of the whole Nask, extending to nearly 11,000 words, indicates about 9,500 words of Avesta text and 21,200 of Pahlavi version as the total extent of this Nask.

² The heading of this first hâ is given in J₂, Pt₄, Mf₄ which have been consulted by the translator in addition to Spiegel's text representing K₅. The division into sections is that adopted by Spiegel, and the passages in parentheses have no equivalents in the Avesta text.

³ Sp., J₂ insert 'good *and*.'

⁴ J₂ adds '(this is, Aûharmazd the creator is righteous; the rest is through the praise which says the creator is righteous);' compare Pahl. Vend. II, 1.

mazd's son, before the righteous man (Gâyômarđ), before the demons, (who remain) noxious creatures¹, and mankind, before all embodied existence (the creation of sovereignty), *and* before all the excellence created by Aûharmazd, (which is owing to) the manifestation of righteousness?'

4. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'They were the apportionment of the Ahunavair, *O Sptâmân Zaratûst!* (that spirit who would make the religion current, who has formed that religion from the Ahunavair) which was spoken out by me for thee; (5) (that is,) before the sky, (&c., *as in* § 3).

6. 'Whoever chants that apportionment of the Ahunavair, *O Sptâmân Zaratûst!* without talking (that is, he does not speak out in the middle of any of its difficult Avesta²) *and* not without anxiety (that he *may* slumber), (7) *it is* like a hundred above any other authority of those of the Gâthas, when *one* chants *them* without talking, *or* not without anxiety³; (thus it becomes *fit* for the ceremonial).

8. Whoever chants *it* while talking, *or* without anxiety, (thus it becomes *fit* for the ceremonial,) *it is* like ten above any other authority of those of the Gâthas.

9. 'Whoever in that embodied existence of mine, *O Sptâmân Zaratûst!* recalls the apportionment of

¹ Assuming that the khrafstardō, or khrafôstardō, of Pt₄, Mf₄, stands for khrafstarânō, as required by the Avesta text. Sp., J₂ have 'who were confounded by wisdom.'

² So in Pt₄, Mf₄; but Sp., J₂ may mean 'he strictly does not speak out in the middle of its Avesta.'

³ All the MSS. have 'while talking, *or* without anxiety,' as in § 8; but this does not correspond with the Avesta text. The repetition of the parenthetical clause, about the ceremonial, which also occurs in § 8, is likewise suspicious.

the Ahunavair, (that is, seeks for *it*,) and, further, mutters that which he recalls, (that is, shall accomplish *it* easily,) and, further, chants that which he mutters, (that is, fully understands its ritual,) and, further, reverences that which is chanted, (that is, shall celebrate the ceremony,) (10) his soul I pass on to the best existence, three times over the *Kinvad* bridge, I who am Aûharmazd, (that is, on that day *in* which he shall faithfully¹ provide the ceremony, it shall² lead his soul three times unto *the world* yonder, and shall³ cause its happiness therein,) (11) to the best existence, the best righteousness, and the best light. 12. Also whoever in that embodied existence of mine, O Spitâmân Zaratûst! mutters the apportionment of the Ahunavair, (that is, shall accomplish *it* easily,) *and* drops³, (that is, cuts off⁴), (13) either⁵ as much as a half, or as much as a third, or as much as a fourth, or as much as a fifth, (at a fifth the foundation *of the sin* is laid, at a half it becomes quite complete, and when he shall cut off the whole *it is* a Tanâpûhar⁶ *sin*.) (14) I twirl⁷ away the soul of him, I who am Aûharmazd, from the best existence, (that is, I would put it out;) (15) to such an extent and width is the twirling away as *that of* this earth, *and* even so the extent of this earth is as much as its width.'

16. This saying is proclaimed (a revelation) pos-

¹ Pt4, Mf4 vâvar; Sp., J2 have va-aêvar, 'and certainly.'

² So in Pt4, Mf4; Sp., J2 have 'I would,' which may be right.

³ Pt4, Mf4 aparôdînêd; Sp., J2 have barâ âpahlûkinêd, 'puts quite aside.'

⁴ Pahl. barâ yangêd (Pers. yangad).

⁵ Only in J2.

⁶ See Dk. VIII, Chap. XX, 65.

⁷ Pahl. tanôm (Pers. tanam).

sessing an Ahu *and* possessing a Ratu, (from which this is manifest, namely, the possession of a ruler and high-priest. 17. This, too, is said, that *it was*) before that sky *was* created, before the water, before the earth, before the plants, (18) before the creation of the four-legged ox (which *was* the sole-created ox), (19) before the creation of the two-legged righteous man (who *was* Gâyômarô'), (20) *and* before that sun of definite form (the body of the sun) *was* created as an acquirement of the archangels. 21. It *was* (likewise) proclaimed to me by the spirituality of propitiousness, (it likewise became possible for the spirituality of propitiousness to say (22) *what was* said¹ to Zaratûst,) concerning the whole material *existence* of the righteous who are, who have been, and who *will* arise, (23) as to the progress of work, (that is, while they shall perform for it that which is specified by it, and good works shall arise through them,) *that* this work, among the living, is for Aûharmazd, (that is, that which they may perform, suitable for Aûharmazd, they shall so perform as is declared by this fargard).

24. This, too, is the most expressive (most in effect) of those statements which *were* ever spoken forth (till now), *or which one* speaks forth (at present)², *or shall* speak forth³ (even henceforth); (25) for it is *through* such a statement (such in effect) as that, *if* the whole embodied existence (26) learnt it *and*, having learnt⁴, (that is, they shall accomplish *it* easily,) they retain *it*, (that is, they

¹ J2 omits gûftô, 'what was said.'

² Pahl. avô kevan in Pt4.

³ 'Or is spoken forth' in Pt4, Mf4.

⁴ 'Have learnt that which they should have learnt' in Pt4, Mf4.

should rely upon it,) abstinence from passing *away* would be quite masterful, (that is, they become immortal). 27. This, too, is our saying spoken forth, (preserved¹ among the revelation mentioned *in* this² fargard,) which is learnt, (that is, they shall accomplish *it* easily,) and *one* recites, (that is, he utters it in a ceremonial,) thus *for* any one whatever of the beings whose righteousness is best, (that is, should he do it for a ceremonial, he becomes *fit* for it; it is when he utters this in a ceremonial *that* his soul becomes immortal).

28. As *it is* here spoken forth, (that a ruler and high-priest are to be maintained; as these things are so spoken, *and* as this law is so,) (29) even when it gives him an Ahu and a Ratu, (that is, it gives up *his* person to the priestly assembly,) so it is thereby taught to him *that* the thought of Aûharmazd is the creature *with* the first thinking, (that is, the Gâthic lore is set going by him;) (30) whatever teaches³ this (is the person of him who is king of kings, who) is the greatest (of men) of every description⁴, (that is, it possesses³ a person in the king of kings;) *and* so it is taught *that* the creatures⁵ are for him, (where the Gâthic lore is set going by him).

31. Whatever is a good emanation for³ Aûharmazd, (that is, has an origin in his personality,) is through *the word* vangheus, (which in the division becomes the beginning of) the third assertion here, whose recital is 'he gives through Vohûman,' (that is, the recitation which he utters properly is accomplished by him,) and, besides, here is that which

¹ J₂ has 'given.'

² Pt₄, Mf₄ insert 'very.'

³ So in J₂, Pt₄, Mf₄.

⁴ Pt₄, Mf₄, 'the greatest of all men.'

⁵ See p. 458, n. 3.

Vohûman has taught, (that is, the reward and recompense which they give Vohûman, they attribute also to him;) (32) whatever¹ is a further indication by Vohûman, (that is, anything which he may accomplish¹ properly as a token, and is performed by him,) became so through this summing up (that is, its end occurred) in *shyaothananãm*; (33) here among the existences was the summing up², (that is, it was its end).

34. What it teaches to the creatures³ of him who is Aûharmazd, is thus: he *who is* like him is he who is his own creature³, (that is, even these people it tells something so, *and* thus¹ they attain again, through purity, to the possession of Aûharmazd, just as Aûharmazd produced *them* through purity).

35. *By* 'the dominion is for Aûharmazd' it has taught, that he has made Aûharmazd his ruler⁴, over his own person, (who shall perform that which is revealed by the Avesta;) and this is taught, *that* through him is the ministration of the poor, (that is, happiness is thereby caused by him,) (36) which is friendship *for* the Spîtâmân; (and the religion of the Spîtâmân became) *these* five assertions, (that is, the decrees in it were five,) (37) *which* were the

¹ So in J₂, Pt₄, Mf₄.

² Sp., J₂ add 'of the sacred beings.'

³ Only here, and in § 30, *dâhm*, 'a member of the community,' is substituted for the usual *dâm*, 'a creature.' Either meaning might suit the context, but the Avesta text clearly has 'creature,' and would require more alteration, to suit it to the Pahlavi version, than *vice versa*. Dk. IX, Chap. XLVII, affords no assistance, as it does not allude to this passage.

⁴ The Pahlavi version of the Av. *tað mazdâ tavâ khshathrem* quoted in Dk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 17.

whole enunciation of the saying, *and* the whole saying was that of Aûharmazd¹.

38. For the sake of development Aûharmazd, (for cherishing the creatures,) pronounced the Ahunavair, and in its development *there* was a summing up, (that is, its end occurred). 39. Quickly, when² destruction arose, (that is³, the destroyer,) *and* rushed in, even among the wicked he uttered (*as* resistance) (40) this interdict:—(41) ‘Neither our thoughts, nor³ teachings, (*as* I have not taught that which thou hast taught,) nor wisdoms, (for I consider wisdom as virtuousness, and thou considerest *it* as viciousness,) (42) nor wills, (for my will is a virtuous wish, and thine a vicious *one*,) nor words, (for I speak that which is virtuous, and thou speakest that which is vicious,) nor actions, (for my actions are virtuous, and thine are vicious,) (43) nor religions, (for my religion is the Gâthic lore, and thine is witchcraft,) nor souls are themselves in unison, (for *as to* those who rely upon my things, and those who rely upon thy things, their souls are not in one place;’ he who said this, that even their souls exist, must thus say that *they are* not souls in unison *with* ours).

44. Also this saying, which Aûharmazd uttered, *has* the three degrees, the four classes, (priest, warrior, husbandman, and artisan,) the five chieftainships, (house-ruler, village-ruler, tribe-ruler, province-ruler,

¹ As the Pahlavi text of the foregoing interpretation is a commentary upon an Avesta commentary on an obscure Avesta text, it must be expected to be difficult to translate with certainty.

² Pt₄, Mf₄ omit ‘when;’ but the speaker of the interdict is Aûharmazd in Pahl. Yas. XLIV, 2 c-e.

³ So in J₂, Pt₄, Mf₄.

and supreme Zaratûst,) and its summing up is with liberality, (thus it is possible to make *it* completely for their own, when they deliver themselves up to the priests). 45. Which are the degrees of it? Good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; (they are¹, indeed, virtuous among the degrees of religion). 46. Which are the classes? The priest, warrior, husbandman, and artisan, (47) who are the whole day *and* night with a righteous man, who are thinking rightly, speaking rightly, and acting rightly, (48) who *have* recognised a priestly authority, (that is, possess a high-priest,) who *have* taught the religion, (that is, have provided a ceremony,) (49) *and* who, through their actions, are a furtherance of the world of righteousness, (owing to the work they accomplish). 50. Which are the chiefs? The house-ruler, village-ruler, tribe-ruler, province-ruler, and the Zaratûst is the fifth (51) *in* those provinces which are other than the Ragha² of Zaratûst; *with* four chieftainships is the Ragha of Zaratûst. 52. Which are the chiefs of that? The house-ruler, village-ruler, tribe-ruler, and the Zaratûst is the fourth; (that is, when he was in his own province, he also produced its period of *prosperity*, who arises fourth).

53. How *was it* when through good thought, (that is, the religion remained in the degree of good thought)? When it arose first in a righteous thinker, (it arose in Gâyômarđ, and he thought for it). 54. How, when through good words? When *it was* the bounteous text, (doing good). 55. How,

¹ J₂, Pt₄, Mf₄ indicate hômant (=aît).

² The ancient city of Raî which stood not far from Teherân.

when through good deeds? When *it was* the praise even of righteousness *by* the first creature, (that is, they shall perform the ceremonial, and also other good works, through the Gâtha lore).

56. Aûharmazd^d proclaimed; for what *was it* proclaimed by him? For the righteous spiritual and worldly *existence*, (*for* the benefit of the spiritual and worldly *existence*). 57. Owing to what desire (owing to what necessity) *was* the said announcement proclaimed¹ by him? (So that he shall become) the privileged developer, (he who is a resolute ruler). 58. For how many righteous (is it requisite to utter *it*)? (So that *one may* become) a developer, (even he who may be) an irresolute ruler², (to whom they reveal these words. So that the glory of the Kayâns, such as *it is* with good rulers, should be even so with evil rulers; with good rulers for this purpose, that so they shall produce more benefit; and with evil rulers for this purpose, that so they shall produce less harm)³.

Pahl. Yas. XX = Bakö II.

The beginning of the second subdivision⁴.

1. It was a proclamation of Aûharmazd^d, the Ashem vohû vahistem asti⁵; besides perfect excellence is taught by it to him, (that is, benefit is

¹ Pt₄, Mf₄ have *frdš gûftō*, as in Pahl. Yas. XX, 9.

² Quoted in Dk. IX, Chap. LXIX, 45.

³ §§ 56–58 are repeated at the end of Pahl. Yas. XX, with reference to the Ashem.

⁴ So in Pt₄, Mf₄.

⁵ This Avesta is quoted as part of the Pahlavi version, and is translated, in Pt₄, Mf₄, by the usual Pahlavi for 'righteousness is perfect excellence.'

produced by it for him,) who shall make self-progress his own, (that is, shall produce that which is necessary to produce,) through *vohû vahistem astî*¹, thus become the summing up of the assertion, (that is, it became its end). 2. *Ustâ astî, ustâ ahmâi*² has, besides, taught the righteous of every kind the happy progress which is necessary to arise for the righteous of every kind, (so that³ happiness *may* be caused thereby); whatever endurance of man (*or* diligence) it is necessary for the righteous of every kind to occasion is, besides, taught to the righteous of⁴ every kind, (so that one's happiness *may* be caused thereby). 3. *Hyad' ashâi vahistâi ashem*² has, besides, taught *that* all (the duty and good works which are revealed in the text are the whole text (for him whose Avesta and Zand are easy, so that, through *its* Avesta and Zand, he can make manifest all the duty and good works of that whole text,) (4) which teaches⁵ *that* the dominion is for righteousness⁶, (so that, *one* may exercise authority through virtuousness, that is, it should be the opinion that it teaches a dominion through virtuousness, so that *one may* possess authority through virtuousness;) (5) which also teaches the truth to that righteous invoker, (so that he may make a true decision;) (6) *and* which also teaches the truth to you that are

¹ So in Pt₄, Mf₄; J₂ has 'through one *vohû vahistem*; *and vahistem astî*.'

² This phrase of the Ashem, which begins the Avesta of this section, must also be understood as beginning its Pahlavi version.

³ Only Sp. adds 'one's' here.

⁴ Only Sp. has 'the righteous of,' but it is in the Avesta text.

⁵ So in Pt₄, Mf₄.

⁶ Just as the Ahunavair states that 'the dominion is for *Aûhar-mazd'* (see Pahl. Yas. XIX, 35).

fraught with advantage, (so that it may produce true judgment). *These* were the three assertions, (that is, three decrees were in it,) (7) *and* the whole saying was a proclamation, the whole saying was that of Aûharmazd.

8. Aûharmazd proclaimed; (&c., as in *Pahl. Yas. XIX*, 56-58).

Pahl. Yas. XXI = Bakö III.

The beginning of the third subdivision ¹.

1. A saying of the righteous Zaratûst, to be revered, was: 'Whoever of those existing is thus in worship as regards *the good* ².' Here what is taught by it is the worship of Aûharmazd, (that *it* is that which *one* should provide for,) which is the law of Aûharmazd, (that is, his virtuous law,) whereby the reverence *of* existence is taught, (that is, that which he would most occasion, which is the ever-asking for progeny *by* mankind; and he mentions that thing to them,) *through* which *it* is possible for them to live well. 2. Here, besides, the reverence of those males *and* females of the righteous, through complete devotion ³ who *was* the first, is taught by it, (3) which is the obeisance *for* the archangels, (that is, it would occasion the propitiation of the archangels). *These* were the three assertions, (that is, three decrees were in it,) *and* it was *in* every way a saying to be revered. Unto whom was the reverence? *Unto* the archangels in that worship.

4. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Happy is he

¹ So in Pt₄, Mf₄.

² The beginning of the Yênhê-hâtâm (see Dk. IX, Chap. IV, 1 n).

³ The archangel Ârmaîti, or Spendarmad.

whose happiness is the happiness of any one whatever, (5) and *may* Aûharmazd grant it, through predominance of will, (through his requirement)¹. 6. What reply did he speak through that utterance of words, (what *was* the thing he spoke about²)? 7. He spoke the reply of happy progress, the happy progress of the righteous of every kind, who are, who have been, and who *will* arise. 8. The developer told (that man, as) the development, *in* reply; *and* (the reward as) the development that Aûharmazd mentioned *in* reply *was*: 'That development³ (I call) righteous, (which) is a development for the righteous.'

Dk. IX, Chap. XLVII, 11, refers to Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12-15, which is thus quoted in Sls. X, 26, in a shorter and altered form:—'As it says in the Bak thus: "Whoever shall mutter, *O Zaratûst!* my apportionment of the Ahunavair, (that is, shall softly take *it inwardly*,) *and* shall let *it* escape⁴ again, (that is, shall utter *it aloud*,) so much as a half, or a third, or a fourth, or a fifth, his soul will I shield⁵, I who am Aûharmazd, from the best existence, (that is, I *will* keep it away,) by such an extent as the width of this earth."'

¹ Quoted from Pahl. Yas. XLII, 1 a, b.

² Pt₄, Mf₄ have madam in place of maman.

³ So in Pt₄, Mf₄.

⁴ Pahl. rahôînêd, or râînêd, 'reject.' It is the alteration in this verb that changes the meaning of the original text; as the preceding and following verbs, vakhdûnêd and gôyêd, do not differ in Pahlavi writing from the vadîdûnêd and yangêd of Pahl. Yas. XIX, 12.

⁵ Pahl. netrûnam.

IV. DÂMDÂD NASK¹.

From the very short account of this Nask, given in Dk. VIII, Chap. V, it appears that its contents were very similar to those of the original Bundahis, so far as we find them in the imperfect Indian Bd. I-XXX. And this connection between the two works is further testified by Zs. IX, 1, 16-23, which attributes to the Dâmdâd many statements, regarding plants and animals, which are detailed in Bd. XIV, 1, 2, 14-18, 21-24.

Owing to the brief character of the account in Dk. VIII, Chap. V, it is impossible to trace any allusion to two passages quoted from the Dâmdâd as follows:—

In Sls. X, 22, XII, 15, it is said that ‘in the Dâmdâd *it* is revealed thus: “Likewise, too, the good works, *in* like measure (*or* manner), which come into the father’s possession (*or to* the father as his own).”’

In Sls. XII, 5, it is said that ‘in the Dâmdâd *it* is revealed that when they sever the consciousness of men it goes out to the nearest fire, then out to the stars, then out *to* the moon, and then out *to* the sun;

¹ The very short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 75 Pahlavi words, and, if these represent the same proportion of original text as those in the very short accounts of Nasks I, II, III, XXI in the same book, they would indicate about 8,900 words of Avesta text. But, as this is a Hadha-mâthric Nask, the proportion of its Pahlavi text is best ascertained from that of Nask X, belonging to the same division, which indicates about 29,300 words for the Pahlavi version. The actual original extent of the Irânian Bundahis (which may be considered as a descendant of the Dâmdâd) appears to have been about 28,000 Pahlavi words.

and *it* is needful that the nearest fire, that to which it *has* come out, *should* become stronger.'

V. NÂDAR NASK¹.

No quotation from this Nask has yet been noticed.

VI. PÂGAG NASK².

Dk. VIII, Chap. VII, 4, or 5, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. IX, 9, 10:—'In a passage of the fifth fargard of the Pâgôn *it* is declared that *one* mentions these characteristics of four kinds of worship of the sacred beings:—one is that whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man is bad; the second is that whose Avesta is faulty, *but* the man is good; the third is that whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man is good; *and* the fourth is that whose Avesta is faulty, *and* the man is bad. *That* whose Avesta is correct, *but* the man bad, the archangels will approach and will listen to,

¹ As there is no account of this Nask in Dk. VIII, we can only guess that its extent was about the average length of the other Hadha-mâthric Nasks, or about 6,800 words of Avesta text and 22,200 of Pahlavi version.

² The account of this Nask in Dk. VIII (like those of Nasks VIII, XII, XIII, XX), though four or five times as long as the very short accounts, is still short, and the data for estimating the original extent of these five Nasks are very inadequate. We may, perhaps, guess that the two Nasks VI, VIII were together equal to half the length of the four other Hadha-mâthric Nasks IV, VII, IX, X, and then proceed to apportion the extent, thus guessed, between the two in proportion to the number of Pahlavi words in the short account of each. In this way we shall find that the 505 Pahlavi words in the short account of the Pâgag may indicate about 9,100 words of Avesta text and 29,800 of Pahlavi version.

but do not accept; *that* whose Avesta is faulty, *but* the man good, the archangels *and* sacred being will approach, *but* do not listen to, *and* will accept; *that* whose Avesta is correct, *and* the man good, the archangels *and* sacred being will approach, will come to, will listen to, and will accept; *and that* whose Avesta is faulty, *and* the man bad, they do not approach, do not listen to, and do not accept.'

VII. RADÖ-DÂD-AÎTAG NASK¹.

Dk. VIII, Chap. VIII, 4, probably refers to the passage containing the statement thus mentioned in Sls. X, 29:—'In the Radö-dâd-aîth many harsh things are said about the severe punishment of the unhelpful *ones* (avigîdâr-dahtsnânö)² in the spiritual existence.'

VIII, IX. BARIS³ AND KASKÎSRÔBÔ⁴ NASKS.

No quotation from these Nasks has yet been noticed.

¹ The very short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 88 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask IV) at about 10,500 Avesta and 34,300 Pahlavi words.

² Otherwise read hangîdâr-dahîsnânö, 'producers of irritation,' in S. B. E., vol. v, p. 330.

³ The short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 248 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be guessed (in the same way as in the case of Nask VI) at about 4,400 Avesta and 14,600 Pahlavi words.

⁴ The very short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 46 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask IV) at about 5,500 Avesta and 17,900 Pahlavi words.

X. VISTÂSP-SÂSTÔ NASK ¹.

The first half of this Nask (as described in Dk. VIII, Chap. XI, 1, 2) appears to be still extant in the Vistâsp Yast, 1-44; but the remainder of that Yast does not correspond with the description of the latter half of the Nask.

XI. VASTAG NASK ².

No quotation from this Nask has yet been noticed.

XII. KITRADÂD NASK ³.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XIII, 10, probably refers to the passage that contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 28 :—' Even so it is revealed in the *Kîtradâd* that Spendar~~ma~~*d* spoke to Mânûs'êlhar thus : " Even the swiftest horse requires the whip, the sharpest

¹ As half this Nask consists of the Vistâsp Yt. 1-44, which contains about 1,100 Avesta and 3,600 Pahlavi words, the contents of the whole Nask may be estimated at about 2,200 Avesta and 7,200 Pahlavi words.

² As there is no account of this Nask in Dk. VIII, we can only guess that its extent was about the average length of the other Gâthic Nasks, or about 8,900 words of Avesta text and 18,400 of Pahlavi version.

³ The short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 396 Pahlavi words, which may be guessed to represent the same proportion of Pahlavi version as in Nasks VI, VIII, the accounts of which are also short. And, as this is a Legal Nask, it may be assumed that the proportion of Avesta text to Pahlavi version would be the same as in the other Legal Nasks, which is the proportion still extant in the Nîrangistân section of Nask XVII. Based upon these assumptions, the probable extent of the *Kîtradâd* would be about 2,600 words of Avesta text and 23,400 of Pahlavi version.

steel knife requires the whetstone, and the wisest man requires counsel.”’

XIII. SPEND NASK¹.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 1, probably refers to the passage that contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 4, XII, 11 :—‘*It is revealed in the Spend that towards Dûkdâv, the mother of Zaratûst, when she was pregnant with Zaratûst, every night for three nights a leader with a hundred and fifty demons rushed (or came) for the destruction of Zaratûst, yet, owing to the existence of the fire in the dwelling, they knew no means of accomplishing it.*’

Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 8, probably refers to the passage that contained the statement alluded to in AV. XXXII and thus quoted in Sls. XII, 29 :—‘*As in the Spend it was shown to Zaratûst about one man, that all his limbs were in torment, but one foot was outside ; and Zaratûst enquired of Aûharmazd about the cause of it ; and Aûharmazd said that he was a man, Davâns² by name ; he was a ruler over thirty-three districts, and no good work was ever practised by him, except one time when fodder was conveyed by him to a sheep with that one foot.*’

¹ The short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 347 Pahlavi words, which would represent about 20,500 words of Pahlavi version, according to the proportion guessed in the case of Nask XII. But, this being a Gâthic Nask, the proportion of Avesta to Pahlavi ought to be that calculated for the Gâthic Nasks I, II, III, XXI, which would give about 9,900 words of Avesta text for this Nask. The seventh book of the *Dînkard*, whose contents are very similar to those attributed to the Spend Nask, contains about 16,000 Pahlavi words.

² A personification of the Av. *davâs* of Yas. XXXI, 10 c.

No allusion to the following two passages, quoted from the Spend, has been noticed in Dk. VIII, Chap. XIV :—

In Sls. XII, 3, it is said that ‘in the Spend *it* is revealed that a fire, when they shall make it quite clean from its chilled charcoal, *has* as much comfort as a man whose clothing they shall make clean.’

In Sls. XII, 15, it is said that ‘in the Spend and Nihādūm the high-priests *have* taught that the duty and good works which a son performs become as much the father’s as though they had been done by his own hand.’

XIV. BAKÂN-YAST NASK¹.

No allusion to the following three passages, quoted from this Nask, could be expected in the very short account of it, given in Dk. VIII, Chap. XV; and they can hardly be traced, with any certainty, in the Avesta texts of the Yasts themselves :—

It is just possible that a commentary on Yt. I, 17 may have contained the Av.-Pahl. passage thus quoted in Vig.² pp. 160, 161 :—‘By the Avesta of

¹ The account of this Nask in Dk. VIII, though very short, is a fair description of the extant Yasts I–XX, and their general character is also indicated by the name of the Nask, which means ‘the worship of the divinities.’ The extent of these Yasts may be estimated at about 22,000 words of Avesta text, and, from the Pahlavi versions of the few Yasts that still possess one, it may be calculated that about 44,000 words of Pahlavi version would have been required for the whole collection.

² Vigirkard-i Dinik, ed. Peshotan, Bombay, 1848; printed in Pahlavi type from a copy, transcribed in 1754, from an Irânian MS. written in 1240, which the transcriber found in the Modî library at Surat. The Avesta quotations are here transliterated without any attempt at amendment.

the Baghân-yast *it* is declared : *Yad aêtê yô mazda-yasnô aperênâyûkô avi hê hapta saredha fragasâiti, stehr-paêsanghô aiwyaunghânô paitis hê maidhyâi bûgyamanô, avi hê nara paskaiti nemanghentî* : Whoever of those Mazda-worshippers is a child who attains unto the age of seven years, *and* ties the *thread-girdle* on his waist, upon that man there is thenceforth the maintenance of the obeisances.'

A Pahlavi commentary on Yt. VI, 2 may have formerly contained the passage thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 17 :—'As in the Bâg-yasnô notice is given about the uncleanness of well-water at night.'

Perhaps one of the five Yasts, XI, XII, XIII, XV, XVIII, respectively dedicated to Srôsh, Rashnû, the guardian spirits, the good Vâê, and Âstâd—the sacred beings specially propitiated by the ceremonies after a death—may have included a commentary containing the passage thus quoted in Vig. pp. 157–158, about the necessity of appointing some one to provide such ceremonies for a man who dies without a son, and to administer his estate :—'By the Avesta of the Bagân-yast *it* is declared : *Yêzi narô pankada-sanghô saredhô irîraithyâd avi hê urvânem bûgyânem thrâyô ayara uzayarana rathwô hangamanem fragasôid, âad hê aputhra anghad puthra fradadhâiti yathaka nara irista vîspanãm avaretanãm shaêtavaitanãm avi hê frazaintîm fragasôid, paskaiti nemanguhaiti baoidhyêitaka urvâsnayau*.'

XV. NĪKÂDŪM NASK¹.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XVIII, 3, refers to the passage which, no doubt, contained the statement thus quoted

¹ The very long account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains

in Farh. Otm, pp. 6, l. 11-7, l. 13 :—‘Aêdha is the skin of the head, and there is *part* of it which is large and *part* which is small, as it says in the Nihâdûm :—“Kaya henti masyanghô aêdha, which are those *parts with* the larger skin? Yô aparaya paiti mastraghnaya, whatever is behind the skull; (*Afarg*¹ said, from the ear backwards). Kaya kasyanghô, *which are those with the smaller?* Yô paouruya paiti mastraghnaya, whatever is before *the skull*². Vaghdhanem is the head, *and one* says nars vaghdhanem, &c., this is : Sinful are they *who* penetrate (sûmbênd) a man’s head, astem aêvô mastravanãm, *or one bone of* the skull; vîspaķa yô mastraghnãm amâsta, all those *are* to be smitten who *have* penetrated into the skull, *and* to be given up *as* outcast³; hvarô-ķithanãm⁴ aêteê anyê ķikayatô, the penalties of a Khôr⁵ *sin* chastise those who *hurt* other *parts*, (such as the brain which is in the skull of the head, and the *marrow* of the other members *that are* to be mentioned, just as it mentions this :—Sinful are they who strike through the bone, or flesh, or marrow of a leg, and every *one* of those is to be smitten who strikes

4,876 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask XVII) at about 62,600 Avesta and 562,900 Pahlavi words.

¹ One of the old commentators whose statements are frequently quoted in the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta. The reading of his name and the age in which he lived are alike uncertain, but he appears to have been one of the earliest commentators whose opinions now survive.

² Perhaps the quotation ends at this point; but Dk. VIII, Chap. XVIII, 3, is equally applicable to what follows.

³ Tanâpûhar, see Dk. VIII, Chap. XX, 65.

⁴ So in Kzo.

⁵ See Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXI, 39.

through the bone of one fleshy *part*, and he is to be given up *as* outcast; *while* the penalties of a Khôr *sin*¹ chastise those who *hurt* other *parts*).''

Dk. VIII, Chap. XX, 116, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35 :—' That is, this is the account of the number of years, *according to* that which is in the Hûspârûm as regards the account of the number; and *according to* that which is in the Nihâdûm *it is* the account of the number of men.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XX, 124, possibly refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 3 :—' In the exposition of the Nihâdûm Nask it says that a man is going to commit robbery, *and* a wall falls in upon him, *it is* his destroyer; when a man strikes at him *he* is his adversary, *and* both are in sinfulness; when he is going to perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings both are in innocence *towards* him.'

No allusion to the following six passages, quoted from this Nask, has been noticed in Dk. VIII, Chaps. XVI–XX :—

In Sls. X, 22, XII, 15, it is said as in the last fragment of the Spend Nask, already quoted.

In Sls. X, 23, XII, 16, it is said that 'in the Nihâdûm the high-priests *have* taught thus :—"A man gives a hungry *one* bread, *and it is* too much, yet (*or* when a man gives bread to a man, even though that man *has* too much bread) all the good works, which he shall perform through that super-

¹ MH6 has va-aêvak kerp after mazg, and both K2o and MH6 have valman barâ yehabûnisn; khôr tôgisnîhâ after tanâpûhar.

abundance, become as much his *who gave it* as though they had been done by his own hand.”

In Pahl. Vend. V, 73, it is said ‘like unto this earth and that (sky) which would also cover over *it* (ever in all *places*; there is *some one* who says this is as to dead matter, that in the Nihâdûm *says it is* as to decision and judgment, and that in the Hûspârûm *says it is* as to the ritual of the ceremonial).’

In Vig. p. 136, it is said that ‘*it* is declared by the Avesta *of the Nihâdûm thus*:—“Âad yad draonô Vanantô stârô mazdadhâtô frâyazyâd, kathwârô draonô frakerententi aiwi-hvarenti, yad aêshô nâ yô yaozdâthryô:—So when he, who is that man who is a purifier, shall consecrate the sacred cake of Vanand¹, the star produced by Aûharmazd, they cut up and shall eat up four sacred cakes.”’

In Vig. pp. 180, 181, it is said that ‘in the Nihâdûm it is stated:—Âad aokhta Ahurô Mazdau: “Yad aêtê yô mazdayasna aêtem srîrem vastrem stehr-paêsanghem hvãm tanûm bâdha paoirm vanghanemka hadha varanô paitanemka, paskaiti aiwyaunghânô ava hê maidhyânem bûgyamanô.” Aêtem zî srîrem vastrem mainyutâstem haça mainyavanãm dâmanãm avi mê fradadhâd Ahurô Mazdau ashava. “Yatha hê varanô paitanem asti mănayen hvare-khshaêtahê, adhâd hadha hê vastranãm yaozdâthranãm frâyaza vâ nizbaya vâ Ahurâi Mazdâi ameshanãm spentanãm, Spitama Zarathustra!”—Thus spoke Aûharmazd: “When *for* him, of those who are Mazda-worshippers, *there is* this beneficial, star-spangled (that is, wrought) garment², always (after seven years *of age*, that is,

¹ The southern leader of the stars, probably Fomalhaut (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1).

² The sacred shirt.

after seven years *of age*) first he covers up (that is, clothes) his own body in it, and with (that *he* is properly) a preserver of faith (that is, a preserver of attachment, and) he afterwards ties¹ (that) girdle (over that starry *garment*) at the waist (as a waist-belt)." That, even this well-looking garment, spiritually formed by the creatures of the spirits, is really (that which) the righteous Aûharmazd granted me (who am Zaratûst). "Since it is his preserver of faith, (that is, preserver of attachment), he is like (him who is as) the sun, (a preserver of beneficial faith, an implorer of the splendid heaven, and is *one* who is an acceptor *of* the religion); therefore, with that garment, which is purified (that is, pure), do thou worship, or practise invocation, as regards Aûharmazd and as regards the archangels, O Spîtâmân Zaratûst!"'

In Vig. pp. 184, 185, it is said that '*it is* declared by the Avesta of the Nihâdûm *thus*:—Âad aêtahê *panka* ayara hamaspathmaidhem paiti ratûm *spen-tayau* ârmatôis mâunghô nôid frasrâvayôid:—So *one* does not chant forth (that is, does not invoke) the month of (the completely mindful) Spendarmad² (that is, the Spendarmad month) in the reign of those five Hamaspadmêdêm days³; (for if *one* invokes *it*, owing to forgetfulness, the Avesta is not accepted).'

¹ This appears to be the reverse of the meaning of Av. bûgya-manô in Yt. I, 17, but see the first fragment of Nask XIV, quoted in Vig. pp. 160, 161.

² The last month of the Parsi year, named after the archangel Spendarmad (see Dk. VIII, Chap. IX, 3).

³ The five intercalary days that follow the last month, in order to make the twelve months, of thirty days each, correspond with a year of 365 days. They coincide with the Hamaspadmêdêm season-festival, originally intended to celebrate the vernal equinox.

XVI. GANABÂ-SAR-NIGAD NASK¹.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXII, 2, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 13:—'*It is revealed in the Ganabâ-sar-nigêd, where a day in the year is indicated, that the sacred thread-girdle of every one who shall be one day more than fourteen years and three months old*² is to be tied on—it is better so than when he remains unto fifteen years, and then ties on the girdle—who is more cared for, that way, than those of five (or nine) months in the womb of the mother, on whom they should put it.'

XVII. HÛSPÂRAM NASK³.

A small portion of this Nask is still preserved and known by the name of Nîrangistân. The last seven-eighths of this text corresponds with the description of the Nîrangistân section of the Hûspâram, given in Dk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 1-17, although a few folios of its commencement are probably lost. And

¹ The very long account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 2,179 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask XVII) at about 28,000 Avesta and 251,500 Pahlavi words.

² So as to include the nine months' existence, before birth, in the prescribed fifteen years.

³ As the 212 Pahlavi words in Dk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 1-17, represent about 2,722 words of the original Avesta text of this Nask, with 24,472 of its Pahlavi version, it may be fairly assumed that the 3,496 Pahlavi words of the whole account of the Nask in Chaps. XXVIII-XXXVII, must represent about 44,900 Avesta and 403,600 Pahlavi words of original text. And the same proportion probably holds good with regard to the other Legal Nasks, XV, XVI, XVIII, of which very long accounts are given.

the earlier portion of the text begins with a fragment of a passage ; which appears to correspond with part of the description of the Aêrpatistân section, given in Chap. XXVIII, 1 ; but also contains passages that are difficult to trace in any part of that description. The Nîrangistân portion of this text is divided into three fargards, and Dd. LXVI, 1 mentions 'five fargards of the Avesta of the correct law of the Nîrangistân, *which are easy through the Zand;*' so that the missing portion of this section of the Nask, described in Chap. XXIX, 18-25, must have contained two fargards. With regard to the unidentified passages, preceding the Nîrangistân portion of the extant text, it may be remarked that they include several of the statements about 'unseasonable chatter' contained in Sls. V, 3-6, where they are differently arranged.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 2, refers to a passage which may have contained the statement thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 1 :—'Of the merit of a threefold *consecration of the sacred cake* the high-priests *have specially taught* in the Hûspâram that *it is* as much as *that of* a lesser *form of* worship.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXIX, 8, refers to the passage which probably contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. XII, 31 :—'Of the ceremonies which go to the bridge *as sin* it says this in the Hûspâram, that *they are* the non-celebration of the rites of the season-festivals, the Rapitvîn, the three nights *after a death, the days of* the guardian spirits, and the sun and moon.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXII, 1, refers to the passage which must have contained the statement thus mentioned in Sls. XIII, 17 :—'The six hot ordeals

which, in the Hûspâram, are effected by *kathrayâim âthraiãm*¹.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXIII, 4, refers to the passage which must have contained the statement thus mentioned in Pahl. Vend. XV, 67:—'What is as to the sick *dog* in the Hûspâram is, "*when* several doors are together, *it is* just *if* the nourishment *at* each one *be* only *for* three nights, and then, when opulence is manifest, the delivery *be* unto that opulent *one*, and when not, the delivery *be* unto him *who is* good.'"'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXV, 2, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 7:—'In the twentieth² of the Hûspâram it is shown *that* over the soul of him who works in the dark *there is* more predominance of the evil spirit.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVI, 7, or 13, probably refers to the passage thus mentioned in Dd. LXI, 3:—'Nearer details of the family guardianship which is proper *and* which is not proper for an adopted son's duty, of the child of the good religion with whose business *it* is connected, *and* of the fathers for whom a family guardian is to be appointed, are *in* the recital of five fargards³ of the Hûspâram.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVI, 8-12, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. X, 21, XII, 14:—'In the fourteenth⁴

¹ This corrupt Avesta means probably 'fourfold fire.'

² The first section mentioned of these twenty is that described in Chap. XXXII.

³ See Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

⁴ That is, in one of the last fourteen sections of the Nask. If it were not for this number, and the fact that the passage is understood to apply to the children of a concubine, it might be connected with Chap. XXXIV, 4, 5.

of the Hûspâram Nask the high-priests *have* taught thus: "My son is suitable even *as* thy son, *but* my daughter is not suitable even *as* thy daughter."

No allusion has been noticed in Dk. VIII, Chaps. XXVIII–XXXVII, to the two passages in Pahl. Vend. IV, 35, V, 73, referring to this Nask, which have been already quoted as also referring to Nask XV.

XVIII. SAKÂDÛM NASK¹.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 1, 2, refer to passages, one of which may possibly have contained the statement thus quoted in Sls. XII, 2:—'It says in the Sakâdûm that no one of them, that is an inattentive man who has no high-priest, attains to the best existence, not though his recitation should be so much that it has made his duty *and* good works as much as the verdure of the plants when it shoots forth in spring, the verdure which is given abundantly by Aûharmazd.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 3, refers to a passage which is thus quoted in Sls. X, 25:—'When an action or an opinion comes forward, and *one* does not know whether *it be* a sin or a good work, when possible *it* is to be abandoned *and* not carried out by him, as it says in the Sakâdûm that Zaratûst *has* not provided about anything whatever as regards everything, but three times *it has been done* by Zaratûst about this duty, that is, so that the Avesta

¹ The very long account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 4,129 Pahlavi words, from which the extent of its original text may be estimated (in the same way as in the case of Nask XVII) at about 53,000 Avesta and 476,600 Pahlavi words.

and Zand, when made quite easy by *any* one, are for recitation, but are not to be mumbled, for, in mumbling, the portions *of* the Ahunavair are more chattering.'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 6, refers to the passage thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 12 :—'Where a child is born, *during* three days, for protection from demons, wizards, and witches, a fire is to be made at night until *daylight*, and is to be maintained there by day, and pure incense is to be put upon it, as is revealed in the thirtieth¹ of the Sakâdûm.'

Dk. VIII, Chaps. XXXVIII, 13, XLI, 19, refer to passages which seem both to be partially quoted in Farh. Oîm, p. 38, ll. 4-10, thus :—'The period is eagerly proclaimed in another place, as it says in the Sakâdûm thus :—"Thripithwô zi asti âtars Ahurahê Mazdau hama, bipithwô aiwi-gâmê, atha narô asha-vanô :—For thrice-supplied is the fire of Aûharmazd *in* summer², twice in winter; so is the righteous man. (Whoever has become a depriver of food (atapdâd) four *times*, which are successive, should be in doubtfulness as to unrestricted (aband) maintenance *vi-kithrem-kid*: without any publicity; as much as *it is* possible to see *being* the original minimum of any other)."'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 33, refers to the passage which contained the statements thus quoted in Ep. I, viii, 1, 7;—'*It is* declared in the Sakâdûm, that the consecrated bull's urine, when it becomes

¹ That is, in one of the first thirty sections (see Dk. VIII, Chap. XXXVIII, 1).

² Both K20 and MH6 have amat, 'though,' instead of pavan hamfn. This first sentence corresponds with part of Chap. XLI, 19, and the following sentence with part of Chap. XXXVIII, 13.

fetid, is to be stirred up ¹, *and* they should not carry *it* forth so to the fire, so that the stench extends to the fire; because, if that stench extends to the fire, on account of the moisture *and* through carrying bodily refuse over and forth to the fire, it overwhelms it. And that which the Sakâdûm *has* declared is, specially, that one of the high-priests *has* individually said: "That stench is mentioned with reference to the *occasion* when a stench reaches it of a different kind *from that* which exists naturally in it."'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLIII, 33, refers to the passage which contained the statements thus mentioned in Sls. XII, 10, XIII, 30:—'In the twenty-two² *sections* of the Sakâdûm grievous things are shown about those who do not make offerings unto the sacred beings.' And, again, 'while those nineteen (*stanzas of Yas. XLVI*) are our offering, which it says in the Sakâdûm should be my own, the strength and power of the sacred beings shall become more considerable, and the destroyer more perishable.'

XIX. VENDÎDÂD NASK ³.

The whole of this Nask (as described in Dk. VIII, Chap. XLIV) is still extant, and is considered by the writers of the Persian Rivâyats to be a complete work. Its fragmentary character, which is obvious enough to European scholars, must, therefore, be

¹ This statement is again mentioned in § 6.

² The *last* twenty-two (see Dk. VIII, Chap. XLI, 1).

³ The extent of this Nask appears to be the same now as it was in Sasanian times, and may be estimated at about 23,000 Avesta and 48,000 Pahlavi words. The moderately long account of it in Dk. VIII, contains 1,272 Pahlavi words.

attributed, in all probability, to losses it sustained before the revival of *Mazda*-worship by the Sasanian dynasty. It is remarkable that the compiler of the account in the *Dīnkard* makes no allusion to the twelfth fargard of the *Vendīdād*, which is also omitted in all old MSS. of the *Vendīdād* with Pahlavi that have been examined, although the copyists appear to have been aware of the existence of a twelfth fargard.

XX. HÂDÔKHT NASK¹.

It is doubtful how much of this Nask is still extant. Traditionally, the two fragments published by Westergaard as Yt. XXI, XXII (excepting XXII, 37-42), and by Haug as Hn. I, II, III, are said to belong to this Nask; but no allusion to Hn. II, III can be found in the account given in Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, and Hn. I can be traced in that account only by assuming that the Ahunavair is therein mentioned (in § 1) instead of its accompanying Ashem-vohû, as it appears to be in Hn. I, 4. In Yt. XI we also appear to have a form of the Srôsh Yast derived from the Hâdôkht Nask, or used in the liturgy when that Nask was recited, and this Yast likewise refers (in § 3) to the Ahunavair in similar terms to those used in Hn. I, 4.

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 1, refers to the passage which contained the statement about the Ahunavair already mentioned and also thus quoted in Sls.

¹ The short account of this Nask, in Dk. VIII, contains 295 Pahlavi words which, according to the proportions adopted in the case of Nask XIII, would represent about 8,400 Avesta and 17,400 Pahlavi words of original text.

XII, 19:—‘It says in the Hâdôkht that of the sayings which are spoken out the Ahunavair is that *which is* most triumphant.’

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 4, refers to the passage which probably contained the statements thus quoted in the Âfrîn-i Gahanbâr, 14–19 (Sp.), concerning the righteous gifts to be given away, for the sake of the soul, at each of the six season-festivals:—‘There is an Avesta witness manifest in the Hâdôkht from the passage (*in the case of the Maidhyô-zaremaya festival*): “Hazangrem maêshinãm daênunãm paiti-puthranãm narãm ashaonãm ashaya vanghuya urunê para-daithyâd, aêvahê hâtãm kinmânahê yad ashahe vahistahê.”’ During the other five festivals the gifts, instead of ewes, are to be cows, mares, camels, and all kinds of herds and seeds, respectively, as appears from the corresponding passages. All six passages, mingled with further Avesta text, occur in several MSS. of the Âfringân-i Gahanbâr (see the earlier part of each section of Âf. Gah. 7–12, ed. Geldner).

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 9, probably refers to the passage which contained the statement thus quoted in Sd. XL, 4:—‘In the commentary of the Hâdôkht it says:—“Mâ âzârayôis, Zarathustra! mâ Pourushaspem, mâ Dughdhovãm¹, mâ aêthrapaitis:—It is not desirable that thou, O Zaratûst! *shouldst* distress *thy* father, *or* mother, *or* priest.”’

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 10, may possibly refer to

¹ The orthography of these three Avesta names has been amended in accordance with the Persian version accompanying them, but all the four MSS. consulted have the first two in the genitive, and one MS. uses a masculine genitive form also for the third name.

the passage which contained a statement that is often partially quoted in Pahlavi colophons, and the Avesta text of which constitutes Yas. LXXII, 11 (Gld.); the first part of the statement, with a translation of its Pahlavi version, is here quoted from Mitro-ôpân's colophon to a volume of miscellaneous Pahlavi texts, usually called the Vistâsp-shâhnâmak from the subject of its first text, and written A. D. 1322, in which the writer mentions the source from which he quotes; and the second part is taken from the same writer's colophon to the Yasna MS. K5, written thirteen months later, which is the only known authority for this part of the text:—'In one passage of the Hâdôkht *it* is declared that Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst thus:—"Aêvô pantau yô ashahê vîspê anyaêshâm apantâm:—one only is the way of righteousness, all those are no ways:—angrahê mainyeus nasistâm¹ daênâm daêvayasnanâm parâg'itîm mash'yânâm² frâkereitîm:—which the evil spirit of the heretical demon-worshippers, the wizard, has forced on to mankind."'

Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV, 13, must refer to the passage which contained the statement thus mentioned in Sls. XIII, 10:—'The fifteen stanzas of Yâ-s'hyaothanâ³ are for this reason, because it is given for the destruction of those fifteen fiends who are declared in the medical part of the Hâdôkht.'

No allusion to the following seven passages, quoted from this Nask, has been noticed in Dk. VIII, Chap. XLV:—

In Sls. XII, 30, it is stated that 'in the Hâdôkht

¹ Only the first and last letters of this word are clearly legible.

² The first syllable is illegible.

³ Yas. XXXIV.

it says that a woman who shall be reverent is to be considered as much as she who is suitable.'

In Sls. XIII, 6, it is said that 'the twenty-two stanzas of Tâ-*ve-urvâtâ*¹ are the twenty-two judgments of which it speaks in the Hâdôkht thus: "Anaomô mananghê daya vîspâi kva, kva parô?—Lodging in the judge, that while *he has* twenty-two judgments *he may be* more just."

In Sd. XXII, 3, 4, it is stated that 'in the commentary of the Hâdôkht it says, that every one who performs intercession, and extracts anything from a person on their account, and conveys *it* to them is as much without dishonesty towards them, as he who may have given to them out of his own property. And *in* the spiritual *existence* they take account of that profit for him, and just as they make *out* the account of the good work of that person who may have given *it*, even so much is his good work.'

In Vig. p. 12, it is said, with reference to Aharman, 'that he is a creature *of* Aûharmazd is manifest from the Avesta *of* the Hâdôkht: "Dâta, Ahura spenta! Mazdau."

In Vig. pp. 23–25, it is said that, 'if any one passes away from the bodily existence, as much of his wealth comes to his son, wife, and daughter as is declared by the Avesta *of* the Hâdôkht²:—"Âad yêzi avi hê anguhê astvainti, Spitama Zarathustra!—So if in that bodily existence, *O* Spîtâmân Zaratûst!—narãm vâ nâirinãm vâ para-irithyâd,—*of* males or

¹ Yas. XXXI.

² It is perhaps necessary to repeat that no attempt is made to correct the Avesta orthography, except in the case of a few obvious misprints.

females *one* expires,—*kvad* aêtaêshâm yaunghuyanâm avaretanâm maêthananâmka vastranâm paiti-raêkyâd,—however much of their wealth and things, houses and clothing he abandons (that is, he leaves such in this world)—avatha hê *kvatô* puthrem anghad, aêvô-baghem haka avaretanâm nistrinuyâd; âad yêzi hvâm nâirika bavaiti, aêvô-baghem paiti-nidadhâiti; yêzi dughdhrâm henti, naêmem baghem fragasâd:—in such a case, *should* there be a son of his, himself, *one* delivers up to him one share of the property; if the wife herself (that is, his privileged wife) exists, *one* gives up to her one share in it; if there are daughters, a half-share comes on to each of them.—Âad yêzika hê narô irista hva hizva ukhdhem vâkem nazdasaka narô danghrem paiti-dyaêti, vispanâm vakâm ukhdhanâmka avi yâm astvaitîm gaêthâm harethrem frabarâd;—So also, if that dead man gives over a verbal statement by his own tongue to the nearest wise man (that is, speaks his own will), all his words and statements, when in control of his bodily existence, *one* carries out (that is, *one* shall confer authority on his words);—yêzi nôid harethrem baraiti anâperetha haka shyaothana:—if *one* shall not confer the authority, he becomes an unpardonable sinner (owing to doing this deed; that is, the person who, when there is a will, does not carry it out).—Avad yad hê narô irista aputhrâi anghad, upa hê puthrem fradadhâd, Spitama Zarathustra! yahmad haka puthrô haom urvânem Kînvad peretûm vîdhâryad:—So when that dead man is without a son (that is, there is no son of his), *one* gives forth the share over to the son, O Spîtâmân Zaratûst! by whom, as a son (that is, an adopted son), they pass on the man's own soul from that

Kinvad bridge (that is, it departs *by* the passage of the bridge).”’

In Vig. p. 83, it is said that ‘hair from an ox *or* a horse is suitable, as *it* is declared by the Hâdôkht: “Gæus vâ aspahê vâ varesa.”’

In Vig. pp. 144, 145, it is said, with reference to announcing the name of the deceased during the celebration of the Srôsh Yast after a death, that ‘*it* is declared by the Avesta of the Hâdôkht:—“Yêzi narô mazdayasnô haêa gaêthâbyô para-irithyêiti, âad hê nâma hadha pitô frageurvayâd; yêzi nâirika para-irithyêiti, âad yad hê nâma hadha pathanô uzgeurvayâd, Spitama Zarathustra! aêtem vâkem nî antare mazdayasnanâm frasastayâd:—If a man who is a Mazda-worshipper passes away from the worldly *existence*, in such a *case one* holds out his name with *that of* his father; and if *it be* a woman who passes away, in such a *case one* upholds whatever is her name with *that of* her husband, O Spitâmân Zaratûst! *one* shall further bless this statement (that is, *its being* revered is important) among the Mazda-worshippers, (do thou proclaim and further bless this statement).”’

XXI. STÔD-YAST NASK¹.

It has been already shown, in Dk. VIII, Chap. XLVI, 1 n, that the whole of this Nask is probably still extant in the Yasna and Vispêrad. About half of the present Yasna appears to consist of five-sixths of this Stôd-yast, to which have been added three

¹ The actual extent of those portions of the Yasna and Vispêrad which appear to have constituted this Nask, may be estimated at about 12,500 Avesta and 22,400 Pahlavi words.

fargard's of the Bakö (Nask III), with the Hô'm and Srôsh Yasts, extracted probably from the Bakân-yast (Nask XIV), and the greater part of the Âtas and Âbân Nyâyises; the whole collection being provided with an introductory and concluding ritual, compiled from other sources, to form the complete ceremonial liturgy of the present Yasna.

There appears to be no sufficient evidence, either internal or external, for ascribing this collection of the liturgy to so late a date as the end of the ninth century, when the compilation of the *Dînkard* was completed. It is therefore safer, for the present, to assume that the *Stôd*-yast existed for a long period as a separate Nask (the form described by the *Dînkard*), even after the greater part of its text had been incorporated with others to form the collected liturgy now known as the Yasna.

Besides the fragments which are specially attributed to particular Nasks, there are also a few writings which closely resemble the Nasks, or their fragments, in general character, but which can hardly be traced to their actual source by means of the accounts given in the *Dînkard*. Thus, the *Aogema-daêkâ* might perhaps be supposed to have been extracted from the *Baris* (see Dk. VIII, Chap. IX, 18), if it did not contain a few Avesta quotations from the Yasna, *Vendîdâd*, and Yasts. While the quotations from the *Ashem-staota*, given in Vig. pp. 89, 90, 125-129, 177, 178, are difficult to trace, owing to the name of their source.

INDEX.

OBSERVATIONS.

The references are to the pages of the introduction and extant fragments, and to the books, chapters, and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers. The letters ch. stand for chapter, com. for commentator, Dk. for *Dīnkar*, Dv. for *Dīn-vigirgārd*, Fr. for Fragments, Int. for Introduction, lun. man. for lunar mansion, m. for mountain, meas. for measure, n for foot-note, Riv. for *Rivâyat*, and Zs. for Selections of *Zâd-spāram*.

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Yênhê-hâtâm ch., Dk. IX, 4, 1; 27, 1; 49, 1; formula, Zs. 4 n; Fr. 463 n.

Yêzî ch., Dk. IX, 18, 1; 41, 1; 63, 1.

Yim, king, Dk. VIII, 13, 6-8; 44, 3, 4; IX, 5, 2, 4; 12, 3 n; 21, 2-4, 6, 12; 32, 12; 69, 12; Dv. 18.

Yôst-î Fryânô, Dk. VIII, 13, 18 n; IX, 23, 2 n; 39, 20 n.

Yûgyâst, meas., Dk. VIII, 20, 19.

Zâd-spâram, priest, Int. 33, 39; Dk. VIII, 5, 5 n.

Zâkhmistân ch., Zs. 5.

Zand, commentary, Dk. VIII, 1, 3; 3, 3; Fr. 477. See *Avesta and Zand*.

Zaratûst, apostle, Int. 32; Dk. VIII, 1, 20; 10, 3; 11, 2, 4; 20, 114; 38, 68 n; 45, 3, 14; IX, 2, 17; 12, 3 n; 13, 1, 8, 9; 15, 1, 4; 16, 19 n; 20, 5; 25, 4; 28, 3; 29, 5, 13; 30, 4; 33, 5; 34, 7; 35, 2, 5; 43, 7; 44, 14, 17-21; 45, 2-4; 53, 17; 54, 5, 8; 59, 13, 18; 60, 1; 61, 7, 12; 65,

3; 67, 1; 69, 3, 23, 59; accepts religion, Dk. IX, 24, 18; IV, 22 n, 23; advised, Dk. IX, 12, 13; 24, 15, 17; 25, 2; 27, 1; 39, 25; 43, 8, 11; birth, Dk. VIII, 3, 1; 14, 1, 2; 44, 79; IX, 24, 1, 2, 4, 7-13; coming, Dk. VIII, 18, 16, 20; conflict with demons, Dk. VIII, 44, 74, 75; his family, Dk. VIII, 29, 25; his successors, Dk. VIII, 14, 12-14; IX, 39, 18; 41, 6-8; killed, Dk. VIII, 35, 13 n; law of, Zs. 3; life and actions, Dk. VIII, 14, 3-10; praise of, Dk. IX, 28, 1, 6; 42, 7; 50, 2; religion of, Dk. IX, 37, 8-9; 51, 12; 52, 7; 53, 11, 18; 54, 7; 57, 28; 58, 3; 61, 14; speaks, Dk. IX, 12, 23; 27, 2; 31, 7, 9, 11; 35, 18, 22, 24; 37, m; 69, 8, 30; III, 7, 4; spoken to, Dk. IX, 28, 2, 4, 8; 31, 6; 32, 9, 12; 33, 1; 35, 13, 17, 20, 21, 25; 37, c, k, n; 39, 1, 4, 15, 20, 22, 26; 42, 13; 43, 10; 44, 1; 46, 3; 61, 1; 64, 9, 12; 65, 6, 8; 69, 5, 15, 16, 20, 26; III, 7, 1, 3, 5; vision of the future, Dk. IX, 8, 1-3; 35, 14.

Zaratûst the Spitâmân, Int. 34; Dk. VIII, 13, 16; IX, 27, 1; 30, 11; 32, 17, 21; 41, 5; 66, 1.

Zaratûst, priest, Int. 32.

Zaratûst-î Âtûr-pâdân, Dk. VIII, 13, 18 n.

Zârîkô, demon, Dk. IX, 9, 1; 21, 4 n.

Zarmân, demon, Dk. IX, 21, 4 n.

Zatamistân ch., Dk. VIII, 17, 1.

Zirast nask, Dv. 14.

Ziyânakistân ch., Dk. VIII, 40, 1.

Zôti, priest, Dk. VIII, 7, 5, 9; 8, 3; 29, 1, 5, 13; 31, 20; IX, 12, 26-28; 24, 4; 33, 5; 43, 7; 69, 50.

ERRATA.

- P. 89, ll. 9, 10, for 'the Irânian nationality (Aîrîh)' read 'subjection (hêrih)'
 P. 186, ll. 19, 20, for 'preparation' read 'bespattering'

In several places it would be better to read â m ū k ō, 'teaching,' instead of ham ô-kun, 'every kind (or mode),' so as to obtain the following amended passages:—

- P. 23, ll. 14-16. Then the exalting chanted teaching of Aûharmazd for Zarâtûst is called, &c.
 P. 24, l. 1, the teaching for Kaî-Vîrtâsp; &c.
 P. 114, ll. 15-18, the meritoriousness in the guardianship and teaching *by* the keepers *of* those flocks; the happy effect of the flock and that of the keeper's teaching; &c.
 „ ll. 23-28, that of the disciple through the teaching by the priestly instructor; the teaching of the priestly instructor for the pupil, *and* the happy effect of the priestly instructor's teaching in similar matters.
 P. 119, ll. 2-5, the want of eminence of any one through a teaching that is an offence to others, which is owing to his closed doors and evil eminence in teaching; &c.

Professor Darmesteter has suggested the following correction:—

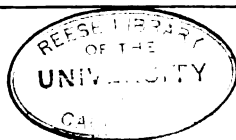
- P. 26, ll. 22, 23, for '*based* upon the traditional early law (vâsarîd pêsâdâdô)' read '*dependent* upon Vâêgerêd the Pêsdâdîan;' [who was the twin brother of Hôshâng; see Sachau's *Albûnî's Chronology of Ancient Nations*, pp. 206, 211].

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.										
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	ک	ک	כ	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬕𐬀	𐬕𐬀	کھ	...	כּ	kh	
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬕𐬌	𐬕𐬌	گ	...	ג	...	
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬕𐬌𐬀	𐬕𐬌𐬀	گھ	...	גּ	...	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	.	𐬕𐬌𐬀𐬌	𐬕𐬌𐬀𐬌	ق	ق	ק	...	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	ङ	{ 𐬕𐬌𐬀𐬌 } { 𐬕𐬌𐬀𐬌 }	...	...	...	...	...	
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	𐬕𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬀	𐬕𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬀	ه	ه	ח	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	.	.	.	...	...	...	...	...	...	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	...	...	...	...	...	...	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	...	...	...	...	...	...	
11 " asper fricatus	.	'h	.	.	...	...	...	...	...	...	
12 " lenis fricatus	.	'h	.	.	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	.	.	च	𐬕𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬀	𐬕𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬀	چ	...	...	k	
14 " aspirata	kh	.	.	छ	...	...	چھ	...	...	kh	
15 Media	g	.	.	ज	...	...	...	...	...	g	
16 " aspirata	gh	.	.	झ	...	...	...	...	...	gh	
17 " Nasalis	.	.	.	ञ	...	...	...	...	...	...	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .		य	𐬨 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀	𐬨	ي	ي	י	γ
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper assibilatus	. . .	s		श	𐬰	𐬰	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 " lenis assibilatus	. . .	z		. . .	𐬰	𐬰	ز	ز	. . .	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .		त	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	. . .		थ	𐬕	𐬕	ث	ث	ת	th
25 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .		द	𐬌	𐬌	د	د	ד	. . .
27 " aspirata	dh	. . .		ध	𐬍	𐬍	ذ	ذ	ד	. . .
28 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .		न	𐬨	𐬨	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .		ल	𐬌	𐬌	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1	. . .	l		ळ	𐬌	𐬌	ل	ل	ל	. . .
32 " mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .		स	𐬰	𐬰	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2	. . .	. . .	s (S)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis	z	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	z
36 " asperimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
37 " asperimus 2	. . .	. . .	z (z)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.		III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.								
1 Neutralis	0									ǎ . . .
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ě									. . .
3 " labialis	ø									. . .
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	ا	ا	ا	ا	א	ā . . .
5 " longa	ā	(a)		ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	א	ā . . .
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	ی	ی	ی	ی	י	i . . .
7 " longa	ī	(i)		इ	ی	ی	ی	ی	י	ī . . .
8 Dentalis brevis	z			उ	و	و	و	و	ז	. . .
9 " longa	z			उ	و	و	و	و	ז	. . .
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रु	ر	ر	ر	ر	ר	. . .
11 " longa	rī			रु	ر	ر	ر	ر	ר	. . .
12 Labialis brevis	u			वु	و	و	و	و	ו	. . .
13 " longa	ū	(u)		वु	و	و	و	و	ו	. . .
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	e . . .
15 " longa	ē(ai)	(e)		ए	ه	ه	ه	ه	ה	ē . . .
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		अइ	اي	اي	اي	اي	אי	āi . . .
17 " " " "	ei(ēi)			अइ	اي	اي	اي	اي	אי	ei, ēi . . .
18 " " " "	oi(ōu)			औ	او	او	او	او	או	. . .
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	و	و	و	و	ו	. . .
20 " longa	ō(au)	(o)		ओ	و	و	و	و	ו	. . .
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		औ	او	او	او	او	או	āu . . .
22 " " " "	eu(ēu)			औ	او	او	او	او	או	. . .
23 " " " "	ou(ōu)			औ	او	او	او	او	או	. . .
24 Gutturalis fracta	ā			अ	ا	ا	ا	ا	א	. . .
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			इ	ی	ی	ی	ی	י	. . .
26 Labialis fracta	ū			उ	و	و	و	و	ז	. . .
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ō			औ	او	او	او	او	או	. . .



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CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zand.	Pahlavi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.								
		III Class.								
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	.
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	.
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	.
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	𐬚	{ 3 (ng) } { 𐬛 (x) }	.	.	.	.	h, kh
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	𐬛	𐬛	.	.	.	.	.
8 " lenis	,	.	.	𐬜	𐬜	.	.	.	.	.
9 " asper faucalis	th	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10 " lenis faucalis	h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11 " asper fricatus	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12 " lenis fricatus	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	.	.	.	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	k
14 " aspirata	kh	.	.	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	kh
15 Media	g	.	.	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	.
16 " aspirata	gh	.	.	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	.
17 " Nasalis	g	.	.	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	.

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CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀 init.	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬀	s
22 " lenis assibilatus		z								
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬥𐬀	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ					ת	th
25 " assibilata	d		TH	द					ת	
26 Media	dh			ध	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	ת	
27 " aspirata										
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	ש	s
34 " asper 2			s (S)							
35 " lenis	z				𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	𐬥𐬀	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1			z (z)							
37 " asperimus 2			z (z)							

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VOVELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	h			ह	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	h			ह	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	rī			रि	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)		ए	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		ऐ	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ā			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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VOL. XLVII

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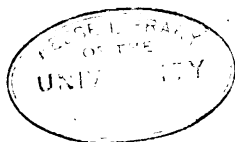
PAHLAVI TEXTS

TRANSLATED BY

E. W. WEST

PART V

MARVELS OF ZOROASTRIANISM



Orford

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INTRODUCTION.

1. IN the summary account of the *Spend Nask*, given in the eighth book of the *Dīnkard*, chapter XIV, it is stated in § 4 (see S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, p. 32) that many marvels, owing to Zaratûst, are published therein, 'just as there are some which, collected and selected, are noticed by the *Dīnkard* manuscript.' This statement evidently refers to the seventh book of the *Dīnkard*, which contains the legendary history of Zaratûst and his religion, related as a series of marvels extending from the creation to the resurrection of mankind. A much briefer account of some of the same details occurs at the beginning of the fifth book of the *Dīnkard*, and appears to have been abridged from a compilation which was either derived partially from a foreign source, or prepared for the use of foreign proselytes. A third compilation of similar legends is found among the Selections of *Zād-spāram*. And a careful translation of these three Pahlavi Texts constitutes the *Marvels of Zoroastrianism* contained in this volume.

2. As the extent of Dk. VII is about 16,000 Pahlavi words (without allowing for one folio lost), it probably contains about four-fifths of the details included in the *Spend Nask*, the Pahlavi version of which has been estimated, in S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, p. 469, to extend to 20,500 words. It says very little about Zaratûst's conferences with the sacred beings (mentioned in Dk. VIII, xiv, 5, 6), and gives no description of the other world and the way thither (as reported *ibid.* 8). But it probably contains many verbatim extracts from other parts of the Pahlavi version of the *Spend Nask*, which appear, however, to have been previously collected in the *Exposition of the Good Religion*, an older MS. than the *Dīnkard*, which is quoted as an authority in Dk. VII, i, 2.

3. This seventh book commences with a detailed statement of the descent of the glorious ruling dynasty from the primeval man *Gâyômarđ*, through his descendants, the *Pêsdâđian* and *Kayânian* rulers, to *Kaî-Vistâsp*. Among the individuals, rarely mentioned elsewhere, are the sacred being *Hadish* (the protector of homesteads in the *Visperad*), *Vâêgered* the brother of king *Hôshâng*, *Pâta-khsrôbô* king of the Arabs, and *Aôshnar* the chancellor of *Kaî-Ûs*. *Zaratûst* and the three millennial apostles are also mentioned, but the contents of this first chapter are probably derived from the *Kitradâđ Nask* (see *Dk. VII*, xiii, 20) and from *Yt. XIX*, 25-93.

4. Chapter II begins the legendary history of *Zaratûst* with the descent of his glory, from the presence of *Aûharmazd* to the house in which *Zaratûst*'s mother was about to be born; and, alarmed at her radiance, the *Kaviğs* and *Karaps*, or ruling priests of the district, oblige her father to send her away to another valley, where *Pôrú-shâspô* resided, to whom she was afterwards married; and several legends are related, in which both the archangels and archdemons are active agents, which lead on to the birth of *Zaratûst*, thirty years before the end of the ninth millennium of the universe, and his complete genealogy is given.

5. Chapter III begins with his laughing at birth, and describes the ill-will of the *Karaps*, or priests of those times, and their many attempts to destroy him during his childhood, till he openly defied them at the age of seven. At the end of the ninth millennium, when he was thirty years old, as he was bringing *Hôm-water* out of the fourth effluent of the *Dâîtî* river, he met the archangel *Vohûmanô* who had come to invite him to a conference with *Aûharmazd*, about which no details are given.

6. Chapter IV, however, proceeds to mention that, in two years, he returned from his first conference, by order of *Aûharmazd*, to preach his religion to the *Kîgs* and *Karaps* in the presence of their ruler, *Aûrvâtâ-dang* the *Tûr*. They seem to have listened attentively till he advocated *Khvêtûkdas*, when they demanded his death, and

were supported by the Tûr's brother ; but the Tûr's son, who presided, remonstrated with them, and Aûrvâtâ-dang himself protected him, but refused to be converted. Zaratûst was afterwards sent to demand slaves and horses from Vêdvoîst, a rich Karap, who refused them arrogantly ; he also went to Parshad-gau in Sagastân and cured his bull with Hôm-water, whereupon Parshad-gau joined him in worship, but not in public. Zaratûst repulsed the demons as in Vd. XIX, 1-4 ; he is then tempted by a Karap in the form of Spendarmad, whom he also repulses. And he is finally sent to the court of Vistâsp, where he is relentlessly opposed by the Kîgs and Karaps who obtained his imprisonment, during which he is saved from starvation by a miracle ; then some of the sacred beings arrive to assist him, and Vistâsp is at last converted, twelve years after the coming of the religion when Zaratûst went to his first conference with Aûharmazd.

7. Chapter V refers to the marvels of the last thirty-five years of Zaratûst's life, after Vistâsp's conversion, but says nothing about his own death, except that he departed to the best existence at the age of seventy-seven. It mentions the establishment of ordeals of thirty-three kinds, the victory of Vistâsp over Argâsp the Khyôn, the useful works and advice of Zaratûst, the compilation of the Avesta, and the birth of Pêshyôtan, the immortal ruler of Kangdæ.

8. Chapter VI continues this account of marvels till the death of Vistâsp, which occurred forty-three years later. The legends related are about the presentation of a heavenly chariot to Vistâsp by the soul of an old hero Sritô who had been killed about 350 years before ; and regarding the coming of two high-priests from the southern regions of the earth, ten years after the departure of Zaratûst, to enquire about the religion.

9. Chapter VII relates the marvels occurring after the death of Vistâsp until the end of the sovereignty of Irân ; mentioning king Vohûmanô who was a grandson of Vistâsp, the high-priest Sênôv who lived throughout the second century of the religion, the devastator Alexander the Great, the four successive high-priests who restore ortho-

doxy in the fifth and sixth centuries of the religion, the apostate Rashn-rêsh of about the same period, king Artakhshatar the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, his chancellor Tanvasar, Âtûrpâd-i Mâraspendân and his son surnamed Avarethrabau, with an anonymous arch-apostate of their time, and then king Khûsrô Anôshêrvân. Finally, it condemns the proceedings of the devastators in later times, whose names are not mentioned.

10. Chapter VIII deals with the ninth and tenth centuries of the religion, which bring the millennium of Zarâtûst to a close. After a bitter lamentation over the anarchy in religion and government—in which parts of §§ 34 and 36 are taken from the Varstmânsar commentary on Yas. XXXII in Dk. IX, xxxii, 17, 20—it refers to the arrival of Kitrô-mêhônö, ‘him of the racial home,’ a title of Pêshyôtanö, son of Vistâsp, and immortal ruler of Kangdez, who arrives with 150 disciples to restore the religion and destroy the wicked, including the Turkish demons, the Arabs, and the ecclesiastical Shêdâspô¹ (Theodosius?). In the thirtieth year before the end of this tenth millennium Aûshêdar, the Developer of Righteousness, is born, and confers with the archangels at the end of the millennium, when the sun stands still for ten days and nights.

11. Chapter IX describes the eleventh millennium, that of Aûshêdar, who produces much prosperity and progress which continue until the fifth century. Then the wizard Mahrkûs appears for seven years, and produces awful winters in four of them, in which most of mankind and animals perish, till he is himself destroyed by the Dâhmân Âfrîn. Afterwards, Yim’s enclosure is opened to replenish the earth with animals and men who then begin to subsist more upon the milk of cattle, which is plentiful; and Ashavahistô interferes to diminish the slaughter of cattle. At the end of the fifth century two-thirds of the Irânians have become righteous, and in the thirtieth year before the end of this eleventh millennium Aûshêdar-mâh, the Developer

¹ This name can be read Shêdâsfar in Byt. III.

of Worship, is born, and confers with the archangels at the end of the millennium, when the sun stands still for twenty days and nights.

12. Chapter X describes the twelfth millennium, that of *Aûshêzar-mâh*, during which mankind continue to improve, are better supplied, and have fewer wants, while deaths occur only through old age and the executioner. During the last fifty-three years, they leave off eating meat and subsist upon vegetables and milk, for which latter they substitute water for the last three years. But the old tyrant *Dahâk* breaks loose, and *Kerêsâspô* has to be roused to smite him. In the thirtieth year before the end of this twelfth millennium *Sôshâns*, the Triumphant Benefiter, is born; *Kaî-Khûsrô* and his companions afterwards arrive to assist him, and the sun stands still for thirty days and nights.

13. Chapter XI describes how *Sôshâns* and his assistants destroy all the evil remaining in the world, during the course of fifty-seven years, while mankind subsist for seventeen years on vegetables, thirty years on water, and ten years on spiritual food. And, at the end of these fifty-seven years, *Aharman* and the fiend are annihilated, and the renovation for the future existence occurs.

14. Several of the details described in Dk. VII are briefly mentioned in Dk. V, i-iv, where they are introduced by a statement of the siege of Jerusalem by *Nebuchadnezzar* (*Bûkht-Narsîh*) assisted by *Kaî-Lôharâsp*, father of *Vistâsp*. Excepting this account of the siege, in which the Jews are evidently called 'a congregation or tribe' (*ram*), and some remarks about the same 'tribe' at the end of Chapter IV, all the other details which are mentioned have reference only to *Irânians*; but they are said to be the sayings of *Âtûr-farnbag* as to the MS. which that tribe call really their *Gyêmarâ* (Chaps. I, 2, 3; IV, 8), as the name can be most plausibly read. Most of the strictly *Irânian* details have manifestly been derived from the same sources as were consulted by the writer of Dk. VII, that is, from the *Pahlavi* versions of the *Spend* and *Kîtradâd* Nasks. It would probably be hazardous to suppose that the Jewish compilers of the *Gemara* could have had access to these

sources, and it might be preferable to assume that Âtûr-farnbag was himself compiling a record of Zoroastrian traditions for the use of some converts from Judaism, to take the place of the Gemara of their former faith.

15. The Zaratûst-nâmak of Zâd-spâram is contained in the latter half (Zs. XII-XXIII) of the first series of his Selections, the former half of which, being a paraphrase of the first half of the Bundahis, has been translated in S. B. E., vol. v, pp. 155-186. In Chapter XII Zâd-spâram relates two of the earliest legends referring to Mazda-worship, which he had found in old MSS. The first of these describes the appearance of the archangel Spendarmad, wearing a golden sacred girdle, at the court of king Mânûskîhar, 428¹ years before the coming of the religion to Zaratûst when he went to his conference with the sacred beings. The other is the legend of the warrior Sritô, the seventh brother, who was sent by Kaî-Ûs to kill the frontier-settling ox which threatened him, 300 years before the coming of the religion, with future execration by Zaratûst.

16. Chapter XIII refers to the descent of Zaratûst's glory upon his mother at her birth, and the combination of his spiritual and worldly natures; also detailing his genealogy. Chapter XIV describes the attempts of the demons to destroy him before and at his birth, when Vohûmanô entered his reasoning powers and made him laugh with delight and utter one form of the Ahunavair formula. Chapter XV is about the five Karap brothers, with their first cousins the Âûsikhshes, all descended from the demon of Wrath and a sister of king Mânûskîhar; also about the four brothers of Zaratûst who seem to be unmentioned elsewhere.

17. Chapter XVI details the attempts of one of the Karaps to destroy Zaratûst during his infancy, and the means by which he is preserved; it also explains who Râgh and Nôdar were. In Chapter XVII one of the Karaps foretells the future success of Zaratûst. In Chapter XVIII

¹ The MSS. have 528, but this would be twenty-eight years before the accession of Mânûskîhar, see the synopsis in § 55.

his father hears him accused of folly, and takes him to a Karap to be cured. In Chapter XIX the chief Karap comes to the house of Zaratûst's father, and is invited to consecrate the food set before him; but Zaratûst objects and a quarrel ensues, which so much disturbs the Karap that he leaves the house, and drops dead from his horse on the road home. In Chapter XX instances are given of Zaratûst's righteous desires, his compassionate assistance of people fording a river, his liberal disposition, his abandoning worldly desires, his pity for dogs, his wish for a good-looking wife, and his acceptance of progress even from the wicked, during his youth.

18. Chapter XXI relates that, at thirty years of age, on his way to the festival of spring, he saw in a vision all mankind following Mêdyômâh, his first cousin, into his presence. He then went on to the bank of the Dâtîh, and crossed its four channels, when he met Vohûmanô who led him to the assembly of the archangels, where he received instruction from Aûharmazd and saw the omniscient wisdom; the archangels also subjected him to various ordeals.

19. Chapter XXII refers to his conferences with the seven archangels, each at a different place, and extending over ten years. In Chapter XXIII, Mêdyômâh is converted at the end of these ten years. The next two years are spent on the conversion of Vistâsp, in which Zaratûst is assisted by some of the sacred beings, and the narrative ends by giving the dates of several other conversions, births, and deaths. But after its 300th year the religion is disturbed and the monarchy contested; referring, no doubt, to the effects of Alexander's conquest of Persia.

20. These three narratives appear to be the only connected statements of the Zoroastrian legend that remain extant in Pahlavi, and all three seem to be chiefly derived from the Sâsânian Pahlavi version of the Spend Nask, with some probable additions from the similar version of the *Kitradâd* Nask, as may be gathered from the summary accounts of the contents of these Nasks given in Dk. VIII, xiii, 20-xiv, 15, and translated in S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 31-34. There are, however, allusions to other legends

regarding Zarātūst to be found scattered about in Pahlavi literature, to which we shall return after mentioning the manuscript authorities for the texts translated in this volume.

21. The chief existing authority for the Pahlavi text of the *Dīnkard*, Books III–IX, and the only independent one for Book VII, is the MS. B in Bombay, which has been fully described in S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. xxxiii–xxxvii; it will therefore be sufficient here to give a short statement of the information which was there detailed at full length. This MS., written in 1659, was an unbound quarto volume of 392 folios when it was brought from Irān to Surat in 1783; after which time 70 folios became detached from various parts of the MS., but nearly all these had been discovered more than twenty years ago.

22. The writer of the MS. not only recorded the date of his own work, but also copied two previous colophons of his predecessors, with dates corresponding to A. D. 1516 and 1020, and it appears that there had been an intermediate copy about 1355. The MS. of 1020 had been copied at Bakdād, possibly from the original MS. of the last editor of the *Dīnkard*, which must have been completed about A. D. 900.

23. For the text of Dk. V we have a second authority, independent of B, in the MS. K43 at Copenhagen (see S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. xxxvii–viii), written shortly after 1594 and also descended from the MS. of 1020.

24. The Selections of *Zād-spāram* are found in some of the old MSS., which also contain the *Dādīstān-ī Dīnīk* (see S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. xv–xvii). Of the two MSS. used for the text of *Zād-spāram*'s *Zarātūst-nāmak*, K35 was brought from Irān to Copenhagen in 1843. It has lost many folios, both at the beginning and end; but, before it was so mutilated, a copy (BK) of it was made, which is now in Bombay and contains a copy of its colophon, the date of which corresponds to A. D. 1592. For the text of Zs. xxii, 4–xxiv, 19, which has been lost from K35, the translator is indebted to this old copy. The other MS. authority T, belonging to Ervad Tehmuras in Bombay

(a copy of which has been used), is dated two generations earlier.

25. Regarding the period of *Zād-spāram's* career we are well informed by the date of the third Epistle of *Mānūskihar*, corresponding to A.D. 881, at which time *Zād-spāram* was probably in the prime of life; but his Selections were certainly compiled as late as A.D. 900, or about the same time as the completion of the *Dīnkard*. So that the Pahlavi texts, from which these three narratives of the Zoroastrian legends have been translated, were no doubt all written about A.D. 900, and the information they contain was nearly all derived from the Pahlavi versions of two of the Nasks.

26. We have reason to believe that the Pahlavi versions of Avesta texts were completed in the fourth century and revised in the sixth, after the downfall of the heretic Mazdak. This may not only be clearly inferred from the traditional account of the compilation and restorations of the Avesta and Zand, preserved in Dk. IV, 21-36, and translated in S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 412-418; but is also in accordance with the actual condition of the Pahlavi versions of the liturgical Avesta texts. With the exception of a few interpolated passages, the whole of these Pahlavi versions might have been written, or revised, in the time of king Shahpūhar II (A.D. 309-379). And the exceptional passages mention no persons or events of a later date than the reign of king Khūsrō I (A.D. 531-578); being merely references to such persons as Mazdak, the heretic, and certain commentators who lived about that time.

27. If we examine the Zoroastrian legends, translated in this volume, we shall also find it difficult to discover a passage that clearly alludes to any historical personage of later date than Khūsrō I, who is named in Dk. V, iii, 3; VII, vii, 26, although the compiler of the *Dīnkard* had the traditions of 250 years of Arab rule to draw upon for facts, if he had been disposed to continue the statements of the Pahlavi Spend Nask down to his own time. No doubt, these traditions may have intensified his denunciations of

the devastators in Dk. VII, vii, 29-38; viii, 4-9, but, like most Pahlavi writers, he is careful not to mention Muhammadanism. Dk. VII, vii, 33, 34 seem to refer to some particular individual of this later time; but the references to Kaisar and Khâkân, the Turkish demons with dishevelled hair, the Arab, and Shedâspô (Theodosius?) of Arûm, may all have been taken from a Pahlavi version revised in the time of Khûsrô I.

28. That the original Pahlavi version was translated from an Avesta text, though many Pahlavi commentaries were intermingled, appears certain. Apart from the numerous quotations from revelation (dênô), which may be safely assumed to have had an Avesta original, there are many passages interspersed with glosses, such as the Pahlavi translators habitually used, as well as numerous sentences beginning with a verb, an Avesta peculiarity which generally disappears in an English translation. Regarding the age of this Avesta text it would be hazardous to speculate without further information than we yet possess.

29. The principal details connected with the Zoroastrian legends which have been noticed in other Pahlavi and Pâzand texts, with references to the passages where they occur, are as follows :—

Gôsûrvan informed of the future coming of Zaratûst in Bd. IV, 4. Z.'s genealogy and family in Bd. XXXII, 1-10.

Summary account of Z. and Zoroastrianism, from the creation to the resurrection, in Dk. VIII, xiv, 1-15.

The abode of Z.'s father, when Z. was born, was on the bank of the Dârega river (Bd. XX, 32; XXIV, 15).

150 demons were prevented from destroying Z., before his birth, by the presence of a fire in his father's house (Sls. X, 4; XII, 11; Sd. XVI, 3).

Detailed account of the birth of Z. in Dk. IX, xxiv, 1-18.

When Z. first saw the archangels, he thought they were archdemons (Ep. I, x, 9).

Omniscient wisdom temporarily conferred upon Z., and what he then saw (Dk. IX, viii, 1-6; Byt. I, 1-5; II, 5-22).

He saw the soul of Davâns tormented in hell, excepting one foot (AV. XXXII, 1-6; Sls. XII, 29; Sd. IV, 3-11).

He also saw a mortal with children and an immortal without any, and preferred the former (Dd. XXXVII, 43).

And he beheld the terrible condition of Keresâsp's soul (Dk. IX, xv, 1-4).

Advice of Aôharmanas'd to Zaratûst (Sd. XXV, 6-9; LXXXI, 2-16).

The demon Envy (Aresh) converses with Z. in Dk. IX, xxxi, 6-11.

Aharman tempts Z. with the promise of 1000 years dominion, in Mkh. LVII, 24-29.

About Maîdôk-mâh, in Dk. IX, xlv, 19.

Z. coming to preach to king Vistâsp, in Sg. X, 64-68.

Archangels assist Z. in converting Vistâsp, also the war with Argâsp, in Dk. VIII, xi, 2-4.

The war of the religion with Argâsp mentioned in Bd. XII, 33.

The families of Zaratûst, Hvôv, and Vistâsp mentioned in Dk. VIII, xxix, 25.

About Frashôstar and Gâmâsp in Dk. VIII, xxxviii, 68; IX, xlii, 8, 9; xlv, 17, 18.

About Kaî-Vistâsp, Frashôstar, Porûtâst, Gâmâsp, and Hûtôs in Dk. IX, xlv, 3-5.

Brâd-rûkhsh, or Brâdrô-rêsh the Tûr, mentioned as destroying the righteous man, in Dd. LXXII, 8; Sd. IX, 5; Dk. VIII, xxxv, 13; IX, x, 3.

The last millenniums mentioned in Dk. IX, xxxix, 18; xli, 6-8.

Events in the last two millenniums, in Byt. II, 22-III, 62.

The resurrection described in Bd. XXX.

30. Beyond the frequent occurrence of the names of the chief actors in the traditions, there are not many references to the Zoroastrian legends in the extant Avesta. This is owing to the fact that three-fourths of the Avesta texts, including the Nasks specially devoted to these legends, have been lost. The chief references to them that still survive in the Avesta are as follows:—

The passing on of the kingly glory from ruler to ruler, from Haoshyang,ha to Kava-Haosrava, from Zarathustra to Kava-Vistâspa and the Saoshyant, in Yt. XIX, 25-90.

The terror of the demons on hearing of the birth of Z., in Vd. XIX, 43-47.

Z. mentioned as son of Pourushaspa in Yt. V, 18.

Verethraghna gives Z. strength, health, vigour, and keenness of sight (Yt. XIV, 33).

References to Z.'s conference with Ahura Mazda, and his rejection of the demons, in Yas. XII, 5, 6.

The demons attempt to destroy Z., and to tempt him, but are repelled by recitations, in Vd. XIX, 1-10.

Commentary on the Ahunavair, in Yas. XIX.

Z. converses with Haoma, in Yas. IX, 1-16.

Fate of the soul after death revealed to Z., in Vd. XIX, 26-34.

Z. is taught various spells, in Yt. XIV, 34-38.

He prays that he may convert the queen Hutaosa, in Yt. IX, 26; XVII, 46.

References to the battle with Aregad-aspa, in Yt. V, 109, 113, 116, 117; IX, 30; XVII, 50, 51.

Z.'s reply to Frashaostra regarding the ritual, in Yas. LXXI, 1-11.

There are also other references to Kava-Vîstâspa, Frashaostra, Gâmâspa, Pouruîstâ, Maidhyômau, the Haêkadaspas, Spitamas, and Saoshyants. And the Fravashis of all the righteous persons receive homage in Yt. XIII. Of the unbelievers, the Karapans and Kavis are mentioned several times in the Gâthas and Yasts, including the Hôma Yast; and the Usikshsh once in the Gâthas.

31. So far as these references in the Avesta extend, they agree with the Pahlavi versions of the legends, and occasionally state some further particulars. We may, therefore, safely conclude that these Pahlavi versions present a fairly complete view of the Zoroastrian legends current in Sâsânian times. But we have another means of testing this conclusion more fully in the Persian Zartust-nâmah, translated by Eastwick in the Appendix to *The Parsi Religion, as contained in the Zand-Avasta*, by John Wilson, D. D. (Bombay: 1843).

32. This Zartust-nâmah contains 1570 Persian couplets, composed by Zartust Bahrâm Pazdû, apparently at the ancient city of Raî, and finished on August 12, 1278. But Eastwick's English translation was made from a good MS. of this poem, written by Dastûr Barzû Qiyâmu-d-dîn (= Kâmdîn) in 1636, belonging to the Wilson Collection and now in the library of Lord Crawford at Wigan. Zartust Bahrâm relates how a priest of Raî, named Kaî-Kâûs, son of Kaî-Khusrô, showed him an old Pahlavi MS.

narrating the history of Zartust, and offered to interpret it, if he would undertake to paraphrase it, in Persian verse, for the information of others.

33. After mentioning Z.'s grandfather and father, descended from king Frêdûn, a frightful dream of his mother is related, in which she sees herself attacked by wild beasts eager for the destruction of her son, who drives them away. She relates her dream to an astrologer, who prognosticates a wonderful career for the unborn child ; but this dream is an addition to the Pahlavi texts.

34. The child is born, and laughs at birth, exciting admiration among the women and dismay among the magicians. Dûrânsarûn, their chief, comes to see the child, and tries to kill him with a dagger ; but his hand is withered, and the magicians carry off the child, who is exposed to death from fire, oxen, horses, and wolves, but all in vain, as his mother brings him home safe on each occasion. Another magician, named Bartarûsh, then foretells that Z. cannot be destroyed, and will establish a new religion ; and he repeats this to the child's father, naming Gustâsp as his future protector. This narrative corresponds with Dk. VII, iii, 2-31 ; but then follows the addition that he was confided to the care of an old man, named Barzînkârûs, till he completed his seventh year.

35. Then Dûrânsarûn and Bartarûsh went together to see him, and tried their magic arts upon him in vain (*ibid.* 32, 33). Afterwards, when Z. was sick, Bartarûsh supplied him with filthy drugs, but he threw them on the ground, which seems to be another version of Zs. XVIII, 5, 6. Then follows a paraphrase of Dk. VII, iii, 34-48, and Zs. XX, 4, 5 ; XXI, 1-20, 23-27, with some additional remarks about worship and the Avesta being taught to Z. The conferences with the six archangels are more detailed than in Zs. XXII, and more ritualistic in their tendency.

36. When Z. returns to the earth, he is met by the demons and magicians, who oppose him, but are killed or dispersed by the utterance of an Avesta text ; in which account we have an extreme condensation of Dk. VII, iv, 36-46, 57-62. He then goes to the court of king Gustâsp,

where he is hospitably received by the king, surrounded by his princes and wise men. With the latter Z. enters into argument, and overcomes them all successively. This is repeated, till all the learned of the realm are vanquished in argument, in the course of three successive days.

37. Then Z. produces the Avesta and Zand, and reads a chapter ; but the king hesitates to accept it, until he learns more about it ; and Z. retires to his lodgings. In the meantime, the wise men form a conspiracy to ruin Z., by secreting in his lodgings, with the connivance of his doorkeeper, many of the impure things used by sorcerers. The next day, while the king and Z. are examining the Avesta, the wise men denounce Z. as a sorcerer ; his lodgings are searched, and the impurities are brought to the king, who becomes angry and commits Z. to prison.

38. Now the king had a magnificent black horse, and when Z. had been a week in prison, this horse fell sick, and was found with its four feet drawn up to its belly. When the king was informed, he summoned his wise men, but they could suggest no remedy ; so the king and all his people remained fasting all day and lamenting, and the jailer forgot to take any food to Z. till the evening, when he told Z. about the state of the black horse.

39. Z. requested the jailer to inform the king that he could cure the horse ; and the king, on hearing this the next day, releases Z., who undertakes to restore the horse's limbs to their natural state, on receiving four solemn promises, one for the cure of each leg. Three of these promises are that the king, his son Isfendyâr (= Spend-dâd), and the queen, should each undertake to accept his religion and never forsake it ; and the fourth promise is that the false accusation of sorcery, made by the wise men, should be investigated.

40. After each promise Z. prays vehemently, and each limb is restored to use. While, on the confession of Z.'s doorkeeper, the wise men are convicted of fraudulent deceit, and are sent to execution. The Persian version is here a highly embellished paraphrase of Dk. VII, iv, 64-70, especially in the horse episode.

41. King Gustâsp next asks Z. to pray for information as to the king's future position in the other world, also that he may become invulnerable, omniscient as to worldly affairs, and immortal ; but Z. tells him that he must be satisfied with the first wish for himself, and the remaining three for other persons. The next day, while the king is sitting in court with Z. present, horsemen arrive, who are the archangels Bahman and Ardabahist, with the spirits of the Khûrdâd and Gusâsp fires. They are sent to testify the truth of Z.'s mission, and to urge the king to accept the religion ; this he does, and they then depart ; when Z. informs the king that his four wishes will be granted, as he will soon see. For some of these details see Dk. VII, iv, 74-82.

42. Zartust then performs the Darun ceremony, having provided wine, perfume, milk, and a pomegranate. After reciting prayers from the Avesta, he gives the wine to the king to drink, who then falls into a trance and sees his own future position in heaven, and those of others. His son Peshôtan receives the milk which makes him immortal. The perfume, or incense, is given to Gâmâsp who obtains knowledge of all events till the resurrection. And Isfendyâr, the warlike son of Gustâsp, eats one grain of the pomegranate and becomes invulnerable. The Pahlavi versions are silent about the king's four wishes and their fulfilment, except such hints as may be conveyed in Dk. VII, iv, 84-86. Afterwards, Z. reads the Avesta to the king and comments upon it ; concluding with praises of the creator.

43. To this narrative Zartust Bahrâm adds a further episode of Z. asking for immortality, at the time when he went with Bahman to confer with the creator. His request is refused, but the creator gives him a drop of liquid to drink, like honey, and he sees everything in both worlds, as in a vision. When he wakes up, he relates what he saw in heaven and hell ; and also describes a tree with seven branches of gold, silver, copper, brass, lead, steel, and mixed iron, respectively, overshadowing the world. The creator explains that these seven branches represent seven

powerful personages who arise in successive ages of the world. The golden branch is Z. himself, the silver is Gustâsp, the copper is an Askânian king, the brass is Ardashîr the Sâsânian, the lead is king Bahrâm (Gôr), the steel is Nôshêrvân who destroys the heretic Mazdak, and the mixed iron is the malicious monarch who upsets the true faith. Then follow many details of the lamentable evils which then occur; and when the Hazârahs¹ appear, the condition of Irân becomes still worse, as described in Byt. II, III, until the arrival of king Bahrâm the Hamâvand from India, and Peshôtan from Kangdiz, who restore the Irânian monarchy and religion.

44. This additional narrative is evidently a paraphrase of the Pahlavi Bahman Yast, translated in S. B. E., vol. v, pp. 191-235; and that Pahlavi text appears to be merely an enlarged edition of Fargard VII of the *Sûzkar Nask*, of which a short summary is given in Dk. IX, viii.

45. From the foregoing epitome of the Persian Zartust-nâmah, it will be evident that its author's information was a combination of the statements still surviving in Dk. VII and Zs. XII-XXIII, so far as they suited his fancy and convenience. Many statements are omitted, others either condensed, or greatly elaborated; but very few novelties can be detected, excepting such as are clearly due to the writer's own imagination. Whether any small residuum of these novelties can be attributed to other sources than the Persian writer's fancy, must remain doubtful until some older authority for such details is discovered.

46. With regard to Z.'s vision of heaven and hell, which is mentioned in Zartust Bahrâm's final episode, his immediate informant was certainly Byt. II, 11-13; but the original authority was the Spēnd Nask, as summarized in Dk. VIII, xiv, 7, 8, although Dk. VII omits this incident, and Zs. XXI, 21, 22 merely mentions the bodily appearance of the omniscient wisdom, without referring to Z.'s vision. The details of the conferences with the six archangels,

¹ Those specially belonging to the latter millenniums, probably meaning the people who were expected to make most of the last two centuries intolerably wicked.

which are summarized in Dk. VIII, xiv, 9, as having existed in the Spend Nask, are also omitted in Dk. VII, though briefly stated in Zs. XXII.

47. It is worthy of notice that Z. was first sent to offer his religion to the Kîgs and Karaps and their sovereign, Aûrvâtâ-dang the Tûr (see Dk. VII, iv, 2-20), who seem to have received his doctrines favourably, excepting his advocacy of Khvêtûk-das¹, which led to their rejection of his proposal. He was next sent to the Karap Vêdvôist (ibid. 21-28), whom Aûharmazd had hitherto befriended; but this Karap was rejected for illiberality and arrogance. Z. then went to Parshad-tôrâ in Sagâstân (ibid. 31-35), taking some Hô-m-water with him, to cure an infirm bull belonging to this chieftain, as soon as the latter had accepted the religion in public; the chieftain assented to the religion, though only privately, but this was sufficient to obtain the cure of his bull. It was only after these three trials that the conversion of king Vistâp was attempted.

48. There is some difficulty in understanding the exact difference between the primeval religion and that taught by Zaratûst. When Dk. VII, i, 9-11 speaks of Aûharmazd talking with Masyê and Masyâôî; or Hadish tells them of Aûharmazd, the archangels, and the Ahunavair (ibid. 12, 13); or the sacred beings are said to have taught them the primitive arts (ibid. 14); or we are told of the existence of demons in the times of Hôshâng and Tâkhmôrup (ibid. 18, 19); or of Ashavahistô in the time of king Pâtakhsrôbô (ibid. 34); it may be urged that the mention of these beings in connection with the men of those times is no proof that their existence was known then. Because it only shows that the old writers, being satisfied that these beings existed in their own time and were immortal, only logically assumed that they must have existed in former times. The really weak point in their argument being the assumption of the existence of such beings in their own time.

49. Safer conclusions may be formed by noticing the

¹ For the meaning of this term, as defined by the texts which use it, see S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 389-430.

dogmas that Zaratûst most strongly advocates and reprobates. When he goes to his first conference (Dk. VII, iii, 56-62) he goes in search of righteousness. When he went to Aûrvâtâ-dang, as mentioned above, he advocated the praise of righteousness, scorn of the demons, and the observance of ceremonies; but it was only his scorn of the demons, which took the form of Khvétûk-das, that the Karaps really rejected. In Dk. VII, iv, 14, he says, 'worldly righteousness is the whole worship of the demons, and the end of the *Mazda*-worship of Z.' Though the Hôrn plant was sacred before Z.'s birth (ibid. ii, 22-47), the Hôrn-water (ibid. iv, 29-35) seems to have been a distinctive token of Z.'s religion; also chanting the Ahunavair (ibid. iv, 38, 41, 42, 56, 61) and the Avesta in general (ibid. 63). The perverted religion and demonizing of the Kîgs and Karaps appear to have been the worst faults he had to find with them (ibid. 64, 67). And the archangels tell Vistâsp that the world requires the good religion which proceeds through Z.'s recitation, so he should chant the Ahunavair and Ashem-vohû, and not worship the demons (ibid. 79, 80). Again, when Dûrâsrôb and Brâzrôk-rêsh partake of food with Pôrûshâspô and Zaratûst (ibid. iii, 34, 38), the latter does not object to the form of worship proposed, but to the person selected to conduct it; and he then proclaims his own reverence for the righteous and the poor.

50. From these statements we may conclude that the old writers, who have handed down these legends from ancient times, were of opinion that Zaratûst was not so much the founder of a totally new religion, as he was a reformer who retained as much of the prior religion as was not seriously objectionable. While strongly insisting upon the necessity of reverencing all good spirits, he strictly prohibited all propitiation of evil spirits. His law was to resist and destroy all that is evil and injurious to man, and to respect and honour all that is good and beneficial to him. According to the legends, he seems to have found little gross idolatry, in the form of image-worship, to reprobate. From the times of the idol-worship encouraged by Dahâk in Bâpêl (Dk. VII, iv, 72), and of the destruction of the

celebrated idol-temple on the shore of Lake *Kêkast* by *Kaî-Khûsrôî* (*ibid.* i, 39; *Mkh.* ii, 95), we find nothing in the legends about this form of idolatry, till 'the oppressiveness of infidelity and idol-worship,' shortly after the downfall of the *Sâsânians*, is lamented (*Dk.* VII, viii, 6). Demon-worship (*ibid.* iii, 35; iv, 30; vii, 17, 36, 37; viii, 7, 34), although a term sometimes applied to idolatry, seems to be often used in its literal sense of 'worship of evil spirits,' one form of which is described by *Zarâtûst* (*ibid.* iv, 47-53).

51. Another interesting study, for which these Zoroastrian legends supply materials, is the traditional chronology which they contain; and how far it will be found, upon examination, to harmonize with the system stated in *Bd.* XXXIV, or to explain the manifest inaccuracies of that system. The matter is rather complicated, but the Zoroastrian system can be connected with the European system of chronology with some degree of probability.

52. The epoch of Zoroastrian chronology is 'the coming of the religion,' but it has long been doubtful whether this event was the birth of *Zarâtûst*, or his going to conference with the sacred beings, or the acceptance of the religion by *Vistâsp*. Any doubt, however, as to the meaning of the phrase, has now been removed by the statement in *Dk.* VII, viii, 51, that the first century of the religion is that from the time when *Zarâtûst* came forth to his conference, which event happened when he was thirty years old (*ibid.* iii, 51, 60, 62). It is also stated, in *Bd.* XXXIV, 7, that *Vistâsp* reigned thirty years before the coming of the religion, that is, before *Zarâtûst* went to his conference. From these data it is evident that the traditional Zoroastrian chronology makes the birth of *Zarâtûst* coincide with the accession of *Vistâsp*.

53. The nearest date to these events, which is well defined in both the Zoroastrian and European systems of chronology, is that of the death of Alexander, near mid-summer in B.C. 323, which *Bd.* XXXIV, 7, 8, places 272 years after the coming of the religion, that is, after the thirtieth year of *Vistâsp*'s reign. And if this were the first

year of the religion, the death of Alexander must have occurred in its 273rd year, according to the Bundahis.

54. But this has to be reconciled with the statement in Zs. XXIII, 12, that, after its 300th year, 'the religion is disturbed and the monarchy is contested;' which statement is expressed more definitely by AV. I, 2-6, when it asserts that the religion remained in purity for 300 years, but then Alexander came to Irân and destroyed the monarchy. If these statements be accepted literally, they imply that Alexander invaded Irân either in the 300th year of the religion, or shortly after that date, but certainly not before it. We cannot place Alexander's invasion of Irân itself at a later date than the battle of Gaugamela (B.C. 331); and if this were the 300th year of the religion, the death of Alexander (B.C. 323) must have occurred in its 308th, instead of its 273rd year, and the coming of the religion would have to be put back thirty-five years. This may be done with some plausibility by assuming an omission of thirty-five years between the reigns of Hûmâi and Dârâi, where the Bundahis passes from traditional to historical personages. Alexander's invasion must also have been a good and sufficient reason for the dissolution of the hundred-discipledom, or priestly college, established by Sênô, which lasted only till the 300th year, as Zs. XXIII, 11 informs us.

55. If we now adopt the abbreviations A. R. for '*anno religionis*' and B. R. for '*before the religion*,' we are prepared to compile the following synopsis of Zoroastrian Chronology according to the millennial system of the Bundahis, extended to the end of time, but dealing only with traditional matters, combined with the European dates of the same events, deduced from the synchronism of A. R. 300 with B. C. 331, as stated above in § 54:—

B. R. 9000, B. C. 9630. Beginning of the first millennium of Time; and formation of the Fravashis, or primary ideas of the good creations, which remain insensible and motionless for 3000 years (Bd. I, 8; XXXIV, 1).

„ 6000, B. C. 6630. Beginning of the fourth millennium, when the spiritual body of Zaratûst is framed together, and remains 3000 years with the archangels (Dk. VII, ii, 15, 16), while

the primeval man and ox exist undisturbed in the world, because the evil spirit is confounded and powerless (Bd. I, 20, 22; III, 1, 3, 5; XXXIV, 1).

- B. R. 3000, B. C. 3630. Beginning of the seventh millennium, when the evil spirit rushes into the creation on new-year's day, destroys the primeval ox, and distresses Gâyômarđ, the primeval man (Bd. I, 20; III, 10-20, 24-27; XXXIV, 2). Z. appears to remain with the archangels for 2969 years longer.
- „ 2970, B. C. 3600. Gâyômarđ passes away (Bd. III, 21-23; XXXIV, 2).
- „ 2930, B. C. 3560. Masyê and Masyâôi had grown up (Bd. XV, 2; XXXIV, 3).
- „ 2787, B. C. 3417. Accession of Hôshâng (Bd. XXXIV, 3).
- „ 2747, B. C. 3377. Accession of Tâkhmôrup (ibid. 4).
- „ 2717, B. C. 3347. Accession of Yim (ibid.).
- „ 2000, B. C. 2630. Beginning of the eighth millennium. Accession of Dahâk (ibid. 4, 5).
- „ 1000, B. C. 1630. Beginning of the ninth millennium. Accession of Frêđûn (ibid. 5, 6).
- „ 500, B. C. 1130. Accession of Mânûskîhar (ibid. 6).
- „ 428, B. C. 1058. Spendarmad comes to Mânûskîhar at the time of Frâsiyâv's irrigation works (Zs. XII, 3-6). The MSS. have B. R. 528, but to bring this date into the reign of Mânûskîhar would be inconsistent with the millennial arrangement; while to assume a clerical error of one century is a probable explanation, as it makes the date more consistent with the allusion to Frâsiyâv, whose irrigation works, mentioned in Bd. XX, 34; XXI, 6, must have been carried out in the latter part of Mânûskîhar's reign.
- „ 380, B. C. 1010. Accession of Aûzôbbô (Bd. XXXIV, 6).
- „ 375, B. C. 1005. Accession of Kaî-Kqbâd (ibid. 6, 7).
- „ 360, B. C. 990. Accession of Kaî-Ûs (ibid. 7).
- „ 300, B. C. 930. Zaratûst first mentioned by the ox that Srtô killed (Zs. XII, 7-20).
- „ 210, B. C. 840. Accession of Kaî-Khûsrôî (Bd. XXXIV, 7).
- „ 150, B. C. 780. Accession of Kaî-Loharâsp (ibid.).
- „ 45, B. C. 675. The Glory descends from heaven at the birth of Dûkdak (Zs. XIII, 1).
- „ 30, B. C. 660. Accession of Kaî-Vistâsp (Bd. XXXIV, 7). Vohûmanô and Ashavahistô descend into the world with a stem of Hôm (Dk. VII, ii, 24). Zaratûst is born (ibid. v 1).

- B. R. 23, B. C. 653. Z. is seven years old when two Karaps visit his father, and Dûrâsrôbô dies (Dk. VII, iii, 32, 34, 45).
- „ 15, B. C. 645. Z. is fifteen years old when he and his four brothers ask for their shares of the family property (Zs. XX, 1).
- „ 10, B. C. 640. Z. leaves home at the age of twenty (ibid. 7).
- A. R. I, B. C. 630. Beginning of the tenth millennium. Z. goes forth to his conference with the sacred beings on the 45th day of the 31st year of Vistâsp's reign (Dk. VII, iii, 51-62; viii, 51; Zs. XXI, 1-4).
- „ 3, B. C. 628. Z. returns from his first conference in two years, and preaches to Aûrvâtâ-dang and the Karaps without success (Dk. VII, iv, 2-20).
- „ 11, B. C. 620. After his seventh conference, in the tenth year he goes to Vistâsp; Mêdyômâh is also converted (ibid. 1, 65; Zs. XXI, 3; XXIII, 1, 2, 8).
- „ 13, B. C. 618. Twelve years after Z. went to conference, Vistâsp accepts the religion, though hindered for two years by the Karaps (Dk. VII, v, 1; Zs. XXIII, 5, 7).
- „ 20, B. C. 611. A Kavîg, son of Kûndah, is converted (Zs. XXIII, 8).
- „ 30, B. C. 601. Defeat of Argâsp and his Khyons (ibid.).
- „ 40, B. C. 591. Vohûnêm is born (ibid.). About this time the Avesta is written by Gâmâsp from the teaching of Z. (Dk. IV, 21; V, iii, 4; VII, v, 11).
- „ 48, B. C. 583. Z. passes away, or is killed, aged seventy-seven years and forty days, on the 41st day of the year (Dk. V, iii, 2; VII, v, 1; Zs. XXIII, 9).
- „ 58, B. C. 573. Arrival of the religion is known in all regions (Dk. VII, vi, 12).
- „ 63, B. C. 568. Frashôstar passes away (Zs. XXIII, 10).
- „ 64, B. C. 567. Gâmâsp passes away (ibid.).
- „ 73, B. C. 558. Hangâûrûsh, son of Gâmâsp, passes away (ibid.).
- „ 80, B. C. 551. Asmôk-khanvatô passes away, and Akht the wizard is killed (ibid.).
- „ 91, B. C. 540. Accession of Vohûman, son of Spend-dâd (Bd. XXXIV, 7, 8).
- „ 100, B. C. 531. Sênô is born (Dk. VII, vii, 6).
- „ 200, B. C. 431. Sênô passes away (ibid.; Zs. XXIII, 11).
- „ 203, B. C. 428. Accession of Hûmâf (Bd. XXXIV, 8).

[Here ends the fragment of the old millennial system preserved in the Bundahis which omits thirty-five years in

this place, as explained in § 54, with the effect of postponing the end of the millennium. It then proceeds to finish the chronology in its own fashion; mentioning only three historical names, which are here added; the thirty-five omitted years being also inserted.]

- A. R. 268, B. C. 363. Accession of Dārâi (ibid.).
 „ 280, B. C. 351. Accession of Dārâi, descendant of Dārâi (ibid.).
 „ 294, B. C. 337. Accession of Alexander¹ (ibid.).
 „ 300, B. C. 331. Invasion by Alexander. Sênô's hundred-discipledom ends, the religion is disturbed, and the monarchy contested (Zs. XXIII, 11, 12; AV. I, 2-6).
 „ 308, B. C. 323. Death of Alexander (Bd. XXXIV, 8).
 „ 400, B. C. 231. Benightedness arises (Dk. VII, vii, 9).
 „ 440-560, B. C. 191-71². Orthodoxy is still upheld by four successive high-priests (Dk. VII, vii, 8-10).
 „ 800-950, A. D. 170-320. The ninth and tenth centuries are represented as very evil and miserable (ibid. viii, 2-45, 61).
 „ 971, A. D. 341. Aûshêðar is born (ibid. 55-57).
 „ 1001, A. D. 371. Beginning of the eleventh millennium, when the sun stands still for ten days, and Aûshêðar is thirty years old and confers with the sacred beings (ibid. 58-60).
 „ 1400-1500, A. D. 770-870. In this century the wizard Mahrkûs produces seven awful winters successively, in which most of mankind and animals perish, including himself (ibid. ix, 3).
 „ 1971, A. D. 1341. Aûshêðar-mâh is born (ibid. 18-20).
 „ 2001, A. D. 1371. Beginning of the twelfth millennium, when the sun stands still for twenty days, and Aûshêðar-mâh is thirty years old and confers with the sacred beings (ibid. 21-23).
 „ 2971, A. D. 2341. Sôshâns is born (ibid. x, 15-18).
 „ 3001, A. D. 2371. Beginning of the preparation for the Renovation, when the sun stands still for thirty days, and Sôshâns is thirty years old (ibid. 19); but another passage (ibid. xi, 2) implies that this is the date of his birth.
 „ 3028, A. D. 2398. The renovation of the universe occurs at the end of the fifty-seventh year of Sôshâns (ibid. 4, 7).

¹ He became king of Macedon B. C. 336, and of Persia in 331.

² The erroneous dates in the Bundahis chronology (see § 57) alter this period to B. C. 156-36.

56. We must suppose that the millennial chronology, which the Bundahis discontinues in the middle of the tenth millennium, was originally completed to the end of Time, as attempted in this synopsis, in accordance with the statements in Byt. and Dk. But the allusions to future events and denunciations of coming evils were, no doubt, of a mythological or general character, such as those still surviving in Dk. VII, vii, 29-32; viii, 40, 41, 44-46, 48-60; ix-xi. Whenever we meet with seemingly prophetic descriptions and denunciations, which clearly allude to historical events, such as those in Dk. VII, vii, 3-28; viii, 2, 10, 23, 32-36, 42, 43, 47, 61, they must, of course, be treated as interpolations of a later date than the events themselves. And there are several passages that may belong to either class.

57. It has been already shown, in § 54, that the death of Alexander, which the Bundahis places in A. R. 273, must have occurred in A. R. 308 according to other traditional records. If this error of thirty-five years stood alone, it might be considered accidental; but when we find that the Bundahis supplies only 284 years for the Askânians, to fill up the whole interval of 548 years between Alexander and Ardashîr, son of Pâpak, we must conclude that these two errors were intended for the purpose which they both fulfil, that of postponing the end of the tenth millennium. On the other hand, the Sâsânians who ruled for 425 years, are allowed 460 years in the Bundahis, which just counter-balances the thirty-five years omitted after the time of Hûmâî. This third error may be considered unintentional, as it probably arose from counting the year of each succession twice over, first in the reign of the deceased king, and again in that of his successor.

58. The extent to which the Bundahis chronology is distorted, by these three errors, will be better understood on inspection of the following tabular statement than from any description of the results, merely observing that the year of the religion (A. R.) is given according to Bundahis dates in the first column, and according to real dates in the second. Several intermediate events have been inserted,

for the sake of illustration, and each of their Bundahis dates includes its proper proportion of the errors¹:—

Bd. date. A. R.	Real date. A. R.		Real date. B. C.	Bd. date. B. C.
265,	300.	Invasion by Alexander . . .	331,	331.
273,	308.	Death of Alexander . . .	323,	323.
321,	400.	Real date of A. R. 400 . . .	231,	275.
400,	553.	Bd. date of A. R. 400 . . .	78,	196.
528,	800.	Real date of A. R. 800 . . .	A. D. 170,	68.
557,	856.	Accession of Ardashîr . . .	226,	39.
605,	900.	Real date of A. R. 900 . . .	270, A. D.	10.
647,	939.	Accession of Shahpûhar II . . .	309,	52.
713,	1000.	Real date of A. R. 1000 . . .	370,	118.
786,	1068.	Accession of Yazdakarđ II . . .	438,	191.
800,	1081.	Bd. date of A. R. 800 . . .	451,	205.
841,	1118.	Accession of Kavâd . . .	488,	246.
884,	1158.	Execution of the Mazdakites . . .	528,	289.
887,	1161.	Accession of Khûsrô I . . .	531,	292.
900,	1173.	Bd. date of A. R. 900 . . .	543,	305.
951,	1220.	Accession of Khûsrô II . . .	590,	356.
1000,	1265.	Bd. date of A. R. 1000 . . .	635,	405.
1017,	1281.	Death of Yazdakarđ III . . .	651,	422.

59. The object of preparing this statement has been to ascertain the reason for the intentional errors in the Bundahis chronology, and the probable period at which they were introduced. It has been mentioned, in § 57, that the effect of both the errors, which are not accidental, has been to postpone the end of the tenth millennium, but they also postpone the dates of some other events which are mentioned in the Zoroastrian legends.

60. Thus, we are told in Dk. VII, vii, 9, that benightedness arises after A.R. 400, which is postponed by the errors from B. C. 231 to 78, but both of these times seem to have been equally unpropitious to the Zoroastrians. Then we learn (*ibid.* 10, 11) that in the fifth and sixth centuries, say A.R. 440–560, orthodoxy is still upheld by four successive high-priests. This period is postponed by the errors from B. C. 191–71 to 156–36 (see p. xxxi, n. 2), and Zoroastrianism was probably flourishing the whole time. So far, no reason for the alterations can be discovered, as the vague description of events, supplied by the old writer, appears to be

¹ The basis of calculation is the real date of each event and real century, but the Bd. date of each Bd. century. The only Bd. data are 284 years from the death of Alexander to the accession of Ardashîr, and 460 years from the latter to the death of Yazdakarđ III, as stated in § 57.

just as applicable to the original periods as to the altered ones.

61. We are further informed (Dk. VII, viii, 2-45) that much evil and misery occur in the ninth and tenth centuries (A.R. 800-1000), at all events until the birth of Aûshêdar (ibid. 55-57) in A.R. 971; and such events as war, invasion, fall of monarchy, oppression, persecution, infidelity, and apostasy are mentioned. Aûshêdar confers with the arch-angels in A.R. 1001 (ibid. 58-60), and the evils afterwards pass away till A.R. 1400-1500 (ibid. ix, 3), when frightful winters occur. The evil period A.R. 800-971 was originally A.D. 170-341, or from the middle of the reign of Vologeses III to the middle of that of Shahpûhar II. But the Bundahis postpones this period to A. D. 451-608, or from the time of the Armenian revolt in the reign of Yazdakard II, to that of the first total defeat of a Persian army by the Arabs near Dhû-Qâr in the reign of Khûsrô II. The evil times were probably expected to continue till the end of the millennium, or later, as in the case of Zaratûst himself; for Aûshêdar does not go to his conference till A.R. 1001, and might not be expected to begin to preach till A.R. 1011. These dates, originally A.D. 371-381, comprising the remainder of the reign of Shahpûhar II, would be altered by Bd. to A. D. 636-645, a period which includes the last two great battles with the Arabs, that decided the downfall of the Sâsânian dynasty, though king Yazdakard III lived some six years longer as a fugitive¹.

62. It is hardly possible that king Ardashîr (A.D. 226-241) and his chancellor Tanvasar, when collecting and revising their sacred books, would have compiled the original traditional system of chronology, however general might have been the terms in which the evils were described by the records they possessed, because it would have been a voluntary confession that they had no power to remedy

¹ The authorities consulted, for Persian historical facts and dates, have been Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*; and A. von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden*: edited by Nöldeke.

the evils of their own time. But if they found the system in an ancient document, they might have been quite willing to admit that evils existed, owing to their enemies, which would have become much worse if they had not been mitigated by their own exertions. In fact, an old document prophesying evil which actually occurred at the time specified, could be used as evidence of the truth of their religion, and would therefore be carefully preserved. And it is quite certain that, if they had altered the chronology of an old document which foretold the time of the downfall of the monarchy, they could not have correctly guessed that time before the downfall occurred. For these reasons we must conclude that the original system of chronology, handed down by the Bundahis, was neither compiled nor altered in the time of Ardashîr.

63. For the long reign of Shahpûhar II (A.D. 309-379) the original tradition predicted not only a continuation of evil times, but also the birth and education of a new apostle, Aûshêdar, for the next millennium, who was expected to put an end to evil for about four centuries. His birth was to take place in A. D. 341, and his conference was to commence in 371. These dates are so well defined that, if we could discover any important religious teacher to whom they could refer, we might be justified in believing that the original chronology was compiled in his time. Unfortunately, we know very little of the internal history of Persia during this reign; there was war with the Romans in 337-350 and 358-363, and on the eastern frontiers in the intervening period; also a persecution of the Christians, beginning about 339; all of which fairly represent the predicted evils.

64. Regarding the priesthood and religious history of the reign, we have only the traditions handed down in Pahlavi texts to guide us. In these we are told that Âtûrpâd, son of Mâraspend (Dk. VII, vii, 19), was born in the steel period (Dk. IX, viii, 4), and lived in the reign of king Shahpûhar II, son of Aûhar-mazd (AV. p. 145 n), being high-priest over the religion (Dd. XXXVII, 36). He also collected and preserved the Nasks (Dk. VIII, i, 22),

and, after he had proved his orthodoxy by ordeal (Sg. X, 70, 71), the king proclaimed his intention of not allowing any more heterodoxy (Dk. IV, 27¹). In his old age he obtained a son, after devout prayer, and named him Zarātūst (Pandnâmak, 1); but this son also bore the Avesta title of Avarethrabau (Dk. VII, vii, 20, 21; VIII, xiii, 18), who is called the son of Râstare-vaghezt in Yt. XIII, 106, showing that this latter Avesta title was adopted by Âtûrpâd himself. Finally, we meet with another Âtûrpâd, son of Zarātūst, described in Peshotan's Dk. III, cxxxvii, 2, as high-priest in the reign of Yazdakard I (A.D. 399-420), son of Shahpûhar, and also mentioned in Pahl. Yas. p. 120, ll. 14, 15 Sp. (translated in Dk. VIII, i, 7 n).

65. We have here, evidently, three successive high-priests, father, son, and grandson, and all celebrated men. The father had been employed in collecting and revising, or probably translating, some of the sacred books, and then, after a religious discussion, submitted himself to the ordeal of melted metal, as a test of his orthodoxy. The king was convinced, and his proclamation meant persecution of the heterodox, such as was commenced about A.D. 339, as regards the Christians. So that we may safely assume that Âtûrpâd's ordeal took place shortly before this date, and probably shortly after 337, when the Roman war commenced. As we must also certainly assume that the original chronology could not have come into existence at a much later date than 341, when so remarkable an event as the birth of a new apostle was fixed by it to occur, we have to consider who this apostle could have been; and whether it may not have been intended to identify him with Âtûrpâd's own son.

66. In the first place, is such a suspicion consistent with known dates? To represent Aûshêdar, according to the original chronology, the son must have been born A.D. 341 (§ 63); and we may suppose that the time of Aûshêdar's conference (371) would represent the time of Âtûrpâd's

¹ See S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, p. 415.

death, when his son succeeded him in the high-priesthood. If Âtûrpâd were aged eighty-one at his death, he would have been fifty-one at the birth of his son, or approaching old age; and he would have been born in 290, or nineteen years before the king. His grandson may have been born in 365, when his father Zaratûst was twenty-four, and may have succeeded that father in the high-priesthood about 400, the second year of king Yazdakard I. As all these dates are reasonably consistent with the few facts that are known, there seems to be no impossibility in the hypothesis that the original chronology of Aûshêdar's birth may have had some connection with the date of the birth of Âtûrpâd's son. The dates assumed, with regard to these three high-priests, which may be slightly varied, are as follows:—

Âtûrpâd,	born	290,	high-priest	320,	died	371.
Zaratûst,	"	341,	"	371,	"	400.
Âtûrpâd,	"	365,	"	400,	"	420, or later.

67. On the other hand, we must recollect that the time of the birth of Aûshêdar was not an isolated date which could be varied at pleasure, to suit any circumstances that might arise; but it was intimately connected with the dates of birth of three other apostles, which were each placed at the same distance from the ends of three other millenniums. It would perhaps be more difficult to suit a new millennial system of chronology, to the accidental year of a particular child's birth, than to have the child born in a particular year of an old system already existing. And, if so, it may be safer to assume that Âtûrpâd, knowing the year of the expected birth, took measures to secure the fulfilment of the prophecy, so far as the birth was concerned. If the child did not turn out so capable of regenerating the world as had been expected, that was a matter for posterity to explain. Under such circumstances of merely seeming fulfilment of a single particular, fraudulently obtained, the original prediction might be of any age.

68. It does not appear that the priestly councillors assembled by Khûsrô I (Byt. I, 7), made any alteration in

the original chronology, although they slightly revised the Pahlavi Vendidad. In fact, the priests, who must have been long expecting the end of Zarātûst's millennium, were probably looking forward for the approaching downfall of the Sâsânian monarchy, which might readily be understood, as the surest sign of the termination of this period, from such statements as those in Dk. VII, viii, 1, 2. At any rate, the alterations in the chronology, for the purpose of postponing the end of the tenth millennium till A.D. 635, would not have been made till some time after the termination of the monarchy in 651, but probably long before the compilation of the Bundahis about 900. The effects of these alterations upon the dates of the evil ninth and tenth centuries, and upon those of the birth, conference, and preaching of Aûshêdar, have been already stated in § 61. And their object has evidently been to adapt the old predictions as much as possible to real events; for which purpose also, the predictions themselves have probably been often made more definite than they were originally.

69. It follows, from the foregoing investigation, that the original chronology must have existed A.D. 341, and, in fact, we have found no sufficient reason for supposing that it was compiled as late as Sâsânian times. While the alterations, we find in the Bundahis, could have hardly been made till after 651.

70. Regarding the age in which Zarātûst lived, the dates stated in the synopsis of traditional chronology (§ 55), are B.C. 660–583, while the reign of Vistâsp, which extends to the fabulous length of 120 years, or 660–540, evidently represents a short dynasty, including Hystaspes and his next four forefathers, if we accept the traditional identification of Vistâsp with the father of Darius I. But the names of those four forefathers, which are known on the unimpeachable authority of the Behistûn inscription of Darius himself, render it almost impossible to accept this traditional identification, as they differ totally from those of the forefathers of Vistâsp in the Avesta. The two dynasties are as follows:—

Behistûn : Hakhâmanis	Avesta : Kavi Kavâta
Kaispis	Kava Usa
Ariyârâmna	Kava Husrava
Arshâma	Aurvadâspa
Vistâspa	Kava Vistâspa ¹

Unless it can be shown that these two series of names have the same meaning in two different languages, there seems little chance of proving the identity of the two dynasties. We may, however, quote the instances of the high-priest Âtûrpâd = Âtare-pâta and his son Zaratûst = Zarathustra being called Râstare-vaghent and Avarethra-bau, respectively, in the Avesta (see § 64); but these latter names seem more like titles than translations.

71. The date of Zoroaster and his religion has formerly been fully discussed by Windischmann² and others, and the question has been lately re-examined by Williams Jackson³. He divides the ancient statements, that have been made on the subject, into three classes: those which declare that Zaratûst lived before B.C. 6000, those which associate his name with Ninus and Semiramis, and the native tradition which, as we have seen, places his life in the period B.C. 660-583. Singularly enough, the oldest writers, those who lived only two to four centuries after the traditional period of the lifetime of Zaratûst, are those who report that he lived some 6000 years before that period. Pliny the Elder (Nat. Hist. XXX, 2) quotes Eudoxus (B.C. 368) as stating that Zaratûst existed 6000 years before the death of Plato, that is, B.C. 6347, which is also confirmed by Aristotle. And he quotes Hermippus (about B.C. 250) as placing him 5000 years before the Trojan war, that is, B.C. 6184. A third mode of describing this period

¹ These were the reigning sovereigns, but the last two are descended from a collateral branch, and their actual pedigree is as follows:—Kavi Kavâta, Kavi Aipivanghu, Kavi Pisanangh, Manus, Uzava, Aurvadâspa, Kava Vistâspa (Bd. XXXI, 28, 29).

² *Zoroastrische Studien*, von Fr. Windischmann, edited by Spiegel, 1863; pp. 121-165, 260-313.

³ *On the date of Zoroaster*, by A. V. Williams Jackson; Journal of American Oriental Society, vol. xvii, pp. 1-22.

seems to have been used by Xanthus of Lydia (B.C. 500–450)¹ who stated that Zaratûst lived 6000 years before Xerxes, as quoted by Diogenes Laertius, that is, B.C. 6485.

72. Three or four other classical writers mention similar statements, and Jackson points out that these extravagant dates are probably owing to the European writers misunderstanding Persian statements with reference to the pre-existence of Zaratûst's Fravashi. It will, in fact, be seen from the synopsis (§ 55) that the traditional account is that the spiritual body of Zaratûst was framed together as early as the beginning of the fourth millennium, which occurred B.C. 6630, and this may be accepted as a close approximation to the three dates, B.C. 6347, 6184, and 6485, indicated by the ancient writers, considering that their statements are made in even thousands of years.

73. Pliny also mentions, on the authority of other writers who are not named, that another Zoroaster, a Proconnesian, lived a little before the time of Osthanes who accompanied Xerxes to Greece (B.C. 480). And, so far as time is concerned, this Zoroaster might have been the traditional Zaratûst who died 103 years before this journey of Osthanes.

74. The old statements about Zoroaster or Oxyartes, the Magian king of Bactria in the time of Ninus and Semiramis, can hardly refer to the traditional Zaratûst who is never represented as a king, although the supreme Zarathustra of the Avesta was apparently a ruling priest. The time in which this Bactrian lived is also very uncertain, for though Semiramis has recently been placed about B.C. 800, her position in Albîrûnî's tables is certainly 1200 years earlier.

75. It seems, therefore, that the ancient statements, regarding the date of Zaratûst, reported by Pliny and corroborated by a few other classical writers, can be fully explained from the traditional system of chronology used in Pahlavi texts, by identifying the classical Zoroaster of the seventh millennium B.C. with the traditional Zaratûst

¹ There are some doubts as to the correctness of these dates.

in his ante-natal spiritual state, after he had ceased to be a mere Fravashi, or primary idea, and had become an intelligent, moving, and personal existence, but still a spirit. While the later Zoroaster of Pliny, who flourished before the fifth century B.C., must have lived about the same time as the same traditional Zaratûst after he came into the worldly existence, and may reasonably be identified with him, although Pliny had little information to give about him.

76. It will be noticed that this explanation depends entirely upon the peculiarly artificial system of the traditional chronology, in which the whole of time is assumed to consist of twelve millenniums devoted to different purposes; and if this particular system had not been in use at the time the statements, quoted by Pliny and Diogenes Laertius, were made, those statements could not have been explained as referring to the same individual. But if they do not refer to the same individual, we have only the options of rejecting all the statements, or believing an impossible date to be literally correct; neither of which decisions would be altogether satisfactory to a judicious mind. The only reasonable conclusion seems to be that the chronology based upon the twelve millenniums was in use in the fifth century B.C., about which time the earliest quoted statement seems to have been made.

77. It will also be observed that this millennial chronology is inextricably associated with the idea of the primeval existence of all good creations in the state of Fravashis. These are described as spiritual existences who remained three millenniums unthinking, unmoving, and intangible (Bd. I, 8); and the next three millenniums they still remained undisturbed by evil, mankind being represented, for that period, by Gâyômarô in the world (Bd. XXXIV, 1) and by the spiritual form of Zaratûst in heaven (Dk. VII, ii, 15), while the animals were symbolized by the primeval ox for the same period. Six millenniums, which are half the duration of time, were thus appropriated to Fravashis, spiritual and embodied, probably before the birth of Plato, if we may rely upon classical statements; and it must have

been before this date that the series of millenniums was arranged for all future history, till Time was expected to merge once more into Eternity at the renovation of the universe.

78. As we have seen that Zoroastrian tradition is very consistent in fixing the date of Zaratûst's activity about the end of the seventh century B.C., it may be asked, why have Avesta scholars so strongly insisted upon its greater antiquity? They may have had several reasons, but three, at least, were important. First, they had the classical statements which, as we have seen (§ 71), generally placed Zaratûst as far back as the seventh millennium B.C., on the testimony of persons who lived from two to four centuries after the traditional date of Zaratûst's death. No one, of course, could believe in the literal accuracy of the number of millenniums, which referred, as we have seen, to an imaginary period of spiritual existence, but this number was considered merely as an exaggeration which might be reduced to any amount that seemed reasonable. At the same time, this evidence for antiquity was quite sufficient, in the second place, to discredit the traditional date, of which these old authorities seemed ignorant, though it was a period then comparatively recent. And, if this discredit had not been sufficient to shake the faith of Avesta scholars in the traditional date of Zaratûst, they still had a third reason for their scepticism, when they discovered that the language of the Avesta was not merely a sister of Sanskrit, but that a large portion of it was sister to the oldest Sanskrit with which they were acquainted, and which appeared to them certainly older than the time of Gautama Buddha, who lived about one generation later than the traditional Zaratûst.

79. How far Avesta scholars were justified in their conclusions must be left for future ages to determine; at present we have no really historical information about the origin of Zoroastrianism, and must still consider it as decidedly prehistoric; though, it may be admitted that the Parsi calendar, as used in Persia, so far agrees with tradition, that it still bears witness to its own original institution in

the reign of Darius Hystaspes, as will be seen from the following details.

80. The Parsi year consists of twelve months, each consisting of thirty days, with five additional days added at the end of the year, and the total number of 365 days never varies, so that, whenever a leap-year occurs in our calendar, the beginning of the Parsi year retreats one day in the Christian calendar. In this manner, the total number of days which the beginning of the Parsi year has retreated, since the institution of their calendar, records the number of leap-years which would have occurred in the same period of Christian years, if the regular leap-years had existed the whole time; and four times the number of leap-years would be the total number of years. But as leap-years have not been used the whole time, we have to calculate from astronomical data.

81. In the first place, we want to know at what season the Parsi year originally began, and we learn this from Bd. XXV, 7, 20, where we are told that the winter of the rectified year ends with the five extra days, and the spring begins with the first month; which means that the rectified year begins with the vernal equinox. We also have to observe that, retreating at the rate of one day every four years, the beginning of the year retreats all round the year in 1460 years; and we know from general history that the period, with which we have to deal, is much more than 1460 years and less than 2920. Then we have to ascertain the exact length of the tropical year, which astronomers say is 365.2422 days, with an infinitesimal decrement, quite inappreciable in the period we have in view.

82. We may calculate back from any vernal equinox which occurs not too far from noon, say that of March 22, 1865, when the beginning of the Parsi year, according to Persian reckoning, had retreated to August 24, 1864, or 210 days, in addition to a previous retreat of a whole year of 365 days, or altogether 575 days since the establishment of the calendar. So that the difference between the Parsi year of 365 days and the correct tropical year of 365.2422 days had then accumulated to a total of 575 days. Divid-

ing the accumulated error of 575 days by the annual increment of 0.2422 of a day, we obtain a quotient of 2374 years, including A.D. 1865, as the time in which this error had accumulated, and this carries us back to B.C. 510 as an approximate date of the establishment of the Parsi calendar, with the first day of the year coinciding with the vernal equinox.

83. This date is, however, liable to some modifications for errors of observation on the part of the ancient astronomers, one of which errors, being constantly in one direction, must be taken into account. These old observers were not aware of the effect of refraction, which always makes the night seem somewhat shorter than it is in reality ; and this would lead them to antedate the vernal equinox by rather more than a day ; so that they would observe an apparent equinox in B.C. 505 on the same day in the Parsi year as that on which the real equinox occurred in B.C. 510. The most probable date of the establishment of the Parsi calendar is therefore B.C. 505, with a margin of four to eight years in either direction for *accidental* errors of observation.

84. A few years before this period we know, from the cuneiform inscriptions of Behistûn, that Darius Hystaspes used an older calendar, when recording his early victories over insurgents, which consolidated his empire. It was a time when he was introducing many reforms in the government, and, being a believer in Auramazdâ, his most influential advisers would probably be Zoroastrian priests. If they thought it necessary to reform the old calendar, the adoption of strictly Zoroastrian names for the new months and days in the Parsi calendar would be fully explained.

85. But, besides this ordinary civil calendar, in which new-year's day was constantly retreating, the Persians had a rectified calendar for religious purposes, which intercalated an extra month from time to time, for the purpose of bringing new-year's day forward again to the vernal equinox, and restoring the festivals to their proper seasons. It is this calendar which is used in Bd. XXV, and its days

and months are distinguished by the epithet *vəhîkākîg* (*veh + îk + ak + îg*), 'belonging to what is really good,' or *vehîkāk*, 'belonging to the really good,' which, in this connection, may be best expressed by the word 'rectified.'

86. This intercalation is described by Albîrûnî in various passages¹ which inform us that, after the new-year's day had retreated more than a month from the vernal equinox, the king would order the priests to arrange for the solemn proclamation of an extra month to be intercalated, between the last month of the year and the five extra days, by merely moving those five days from the end of the twelfth month to the end of the first month of the next year. The effect of this was to put an extra month into the earlier year which, beginning with the first month, would also end with the first month augmented by the five extra days as the usual termination of the year. All following years would begin with the second month, and end with the first month and the five extra days, until the second intercalation, when a year of thirteen months and five days would be again obtained, by merely moving the five extra days to the end of the second month which would thus become the last month of the year, while the third month would begin the year until the third intercalation. By these means, any number of intercalations could be made without any additional month being named, and the position of the five extra days always indicated the end of the rectified year, and that the rectified first month, which followed them, was to become the last month of the preceding year at the next rectification, or intercalation.

87. If the Parsi calendar, as used in Persia, were established B.C. 505, as we have calculated, it ought to have been rectified by an intercalation of one month about each of the following years:—B.C. 381, 257, 133, 10, A.D. 115, 239, 363, 487, 610. Albîrûnî (p. 121), however, has recorded only one intercalation of two months in the time of Yazdakard I (A.D. 399–420), son of Shahpûhar, when the

¹ Sachau's Albîrûnî's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, pp. 12, 13, 38, 53–56, 121, 184, 185, 220, 221.

five extra days were removed to the end of the original eighth month Âbân, where they remained until Albîrûnî's own time (Alb. p. 56), about A.D. 1000. The reason for intercalating two months at once, was because the time for the seventh intercalation (A.D. 363) was already long past; so the eighth was added three or four score years in advance, being due in 487.

88. All that Albîrûnî says about this double intercalation is quite in accordance with the original establishment of the calendar by Darius Hystaspes, and would render any date more than thirty-seven years later than his reign impossible¹. With regard to the earlier intercalations (which must have occurred to account for the movement of the five extra days) that of A.D. 115 was neither in the reign of Vologeses I, nor in that of Vologeses III, one of whom must have been the Askânian renovator of the Avesta. That of A.D. 239, if carried out punctually, would have been at the extreme end of the reign of Ardashîr; but the intercalations seem to have been usually delayed, as in the case of that of 363 which was delayed for thirty to fifty years, although it ought to have been carried out under the direction of one of those ultra-orthodox high-priests, Âtûrpâd son of Mâraspend, or his son Zaratûst, in the reign of Shahpûhar II.

89. It is worthy of notice that the names of both the days and months, which have come down to us in this calendar of Darius, include the names of the six Amesha-spentas, which, according to Darmesteter's hypothesis, were not invented till the time of Vologeses I, in the first century A.D. We have positive evidence that the calendar of twelve months of thirty days each, with five extra days to complete the year, must have been established in the time of Darius. This fact being recorded mechanically by the extent of the retreat of the Persian Parsis' new-year's day down to the present time, and by the number of months intercalated in their religious calendar down to the fifth

¹ If the calendar had been established thirty-eight years after the death of Darius, the seventh intercalation would not have been due till one year after the death of Yazdakarû I.

century A.D., being known from the position of the five extra days in the rectified calendar. We have no evidence of any change of names having been made in this calendar at any time ; and only positive and indisputable evidence could be admitted, because reformers of calendars are hardly ever satisfied with mere change of names, and the calendar itself is a permanent witness that no alteration can have been made in any other particular, since the time of Darius.

90. Darmesteter's theory of a late origin for the Avesta having been mentioned, it may be allowable to add, that the likelihood of this theory does not increase upon closer examination. It is a brilliant hypothesis, very carefully prepared to meet ordinary criticism ; but it does not appear to convince Avesta scholars in general, for want of sufficient evidence, as it is very necessary to distinguish carefully between possibilities and probabilities ; the former being not admissible as evidence, unless corroborated by positive facts. Its chief use has been in checking the tendency to exaggerate the age of the Avesta, but it seems itself to be an exaggeration in the opposite direction, a returning swing of the ever-restless pendulum of judgment. On the other hand, the traditional age of the religion cannot be fairly considered as exaggerated, for the chief difficulty in accepting it as sufficiently old, is that the nearer our researches penetrate to that time the less real light we obtain.

E. W. WEST.

April, 1897.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

A. D. for Anno Domini; Alb. for Albîrûnî's Chronology of Ancient Nations, translated by Sachau; A. R. for Anno Religionis; Ar. for Arabic; A. V. for the Book of Ardâ-Vîrâf; Av. for Avesta; B for Bombay MS. of Dînkard, brought from Irân in 1783; B. C. for Before Christ; Bd. for Bundahis (S. B. E. v, 1-151), and Band (volume); Beh. for Behistûn inscription; BK for an old copy of K35, made when this MS. was more complete than it is now; B. R. for Before the Religion; Byt. for Bahman Yast (S. B. E. v, 189-235); Chald. for Chaldee; Chap. for chapter; Chaps. for chapters; Dd. for Dâdistân-î Dînik (S. B. E. xviii, 1-276); Dk. for Dînkard (S. B. E. xxxvii, 1-397, 406-418, and this volume); ed. for editor or edition; Ep. for Epistles of Mânûskîhar (S. B. E. xviii, 277-366); Études irân. for Études irâniennes; Farh. Oîm for Farhang-i Oîm-aêvak; gen. for genitive case; Gesch. der Sas. for Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sâsâniden; Gf. for the Tale of Gôst-î Fryânô; Heb. for Hebrew; Ibid. for ibidem; Ind. vers. for Indian version; J. for Jâmâsp's old MS.; K for University Library at Kopenhagen; L for India Office Library at London; l. for line; ll. for lines; Mkh. for Mainyô-i Khirad (S. B. E. xxiv, 1-113); MS. for manuscript; MSS. for manuscripts; n. for footnote; nom. for nominative case; p. for page; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pers. for Persian; pp. for pages; Pt. for Peshotan's old MS.; S. B. E. for Sacred Books of the East; Sd. for Sad-dar (S. B. E. xxiv, 253-361); Sg. for Sikand-gumânîk Vigâr (S. B. E. xxiv, 115-251); Sls. for Shâyast-lâ-shâyast (S. B. E. v, 237-406); Sp. for Spiegel's edition; T for Tehmuras's MS. of Dd., Zs., &c.; Vd. for Vendidad, ed. Geldner; Vig. for Vigîrkard-î Dînik; Visp. for Visperad, ed. Geldner; vol. for volume; Westerg. Frag. for Westergaard's Fragments; Yas. for Yasna, ed. Geldner; Yt. for Yast, ed. Geldner; YZ. for Geiger's Yâtkâr-i Zarîrân; Z. for Zaratûst; Zs. for Selections of Zâd-spâram, first series.

MARVELS OF ZOROASTRIANISM

AS STATED IN

THE SEVENTH AND FIFTH BOOKS

OF THE

DĪNKARD

AND IN THE

SELECTIONS OF *ZÂD-SPARAM*

CHAPTERS XII-XXIV.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For all divisions into chapters and sections the translator is chiefly responsible, as the stops found in the manuscripts are not used systematically.

2. Italics are used for any English words which are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Italics occurring in Oriental words, or names, represent certain peculiar Oriental letters (see the 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets' at the end of this volume), or certain abbreviated modes of writing Pahlavi letters. Italic *a, ā, b, d, e, ē, h, i, ī, k, l, p, r, sh, u, v, zd* indicate no change of pronunciation; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *s* like *sh*, and Avesta *z* like French *j*.

4. In the translation words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those that precede them, and often translate Pahlavi glosses in the original text.

5. For the meaning of the abbreviations, used in the notes, see the explanatory list after the Introduction.

6. The manuscripts used for the *Dīnkard* are :—

B (written A.D. 1659), the only independent authority for Book VII; it was brought from Irān to Surat in 1783, and one folio, at the end of Chap. iv, appears to be missing.

K 43 (written A.D. 1594 and later), No. 43 in the University Library at Kopenhagen, which contains another independent authority for Book V in its later portion.

7. The manuscripts used for the Selections of *Zād-spāram* are :—

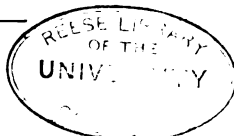
K 35 (probably written A.D. 1572), No. 35 in the same library, which was brought from Irān by Prof. Westergaard in 1843, along with No. 43.

T, a copy of a MS. about fifty years older, belonging to Ervad Tehmuras Dinshawji Ankalesaria of Bombay.

MARVELS OF ZOROASTRIANISM.

DĪNKARD.—BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.



1. *For* the gratification *of* the creator Aûharmazd, even through the complete superiority of the Mazda-worshipping religion, adorned by omniscience, in the world.

2. The seventh *book* is about the marvellousness of the greatest reminder of the Mazda-worshipping religion, Zaratûst¹ of the Spitâmas; also of the mindfulness of that illustrious *one* by Aûharmazd, and *of* his religion, arisen through the word of Aûharmazd, being blessed among those of the region of king Vistâsp; from the Exposition of the Good Religion².

3. But, before that, *there* is purposely written whatever *was* the progress of the character and effect of the good religion and its first acceptor in the spiritual and worldly *existences*; and, after that,

¹ Nearly always spelt Zaratûkhsht in the MS., the counterpart of the Persian form Zaratûhsht or Zaradûhsht.

² This Nikêzô-î Vêh-dênô was evidently the name of an older book, from which the Dînkard quotes much of its information on religious matters.

the prophets, apostles, *and* upholders in the period as far as Zaratûst, *whose* guardian spirit is revered, and their religion, which is this, due to the utterance and splendour with which they have been blessed with prophecy among mankind ¹.

4. According to the *Mazda*-worshipping religion *and* the Exposition of the Good Religion, it is the nature of Aûharmazd's disposition and his knowledge as to the complete obtainment of the first creature, the archangel Vohûmanô, and the first progress spiritually among the archangels *and* the other sacred beings of the spiritual *and* worldly existences, and materially in Gâyômarô, the first man, through concurrent *and* complete acceptance from the creator Aûharmazd, and the needful atonement in his own period through meditation, and the smiting thereby of the fiend of that period and the opposition thereof, by thinking of the creator's teaching, *that constitute* the whole of that first utterance ² of the religion of Aûharmazd.

5. According to the declaration of the good religion about the production of existence, which is the praise of him who *was* the causer of existence and creator, the beneficent spirit, the first craving among mankind *was* this, that 'we be happy and *be* the creation of Aûharmazd;' and the last, as regards the preservation of a remedy for mankind, is *this*, *that* 'the best is this, that the formation of lives *be* perfect now, though rendered sickly by him; and the spiritual existences of mankind *be* so now, though the destroyer *has* come to the creatures.' 6. *For*

¹ This preliminary matter occupies the whole of Chap. I.

² The Yathâ-ahû-vairyô, or most sacred religious formula of the Parsis.

human beings of the lineage of Gâyômarđ this is the one thing good, when they shall perform their duty and good works; and one's work is to smite one's own opposing fiend; an instance presentable to *any* of the lineage, that it is important *for* every one of you to smite his own opposing fiend, is the freedom from molestation which occurs thereby, and the non-contamination of the creatures by the destroyer; and it is that effect which the creator *of* creation *has* produced for it.

7. And this, too, is declared by the good religion, that through a true-spoken statement Gâyômarđ attained to the good spiritual lordship¹ of the arch-angels (that is, *he was* fit for the supreme heaven²).

8. And after Gâyômarđ, at various periods until the ever-favouring³ Zaratûst of the Sptâmas, *whose* guardian spirit is revered; much also *was* his acquaintance with knowledge, and *his* work *was* the preservation of the mankind of that time in which he came into notice; moreover he became requisite for conference with the creator; and because of *their* superior carrying on of destiny⁴, by command of the

¹ Reading hû-ahûîh, Av. hvanghevi. This section is one of the numerous quotations from the Pahlavi version of a lost Avesta text. When we are furnished with a complete Pahl.-Av. vocabulary, it will be possible to recover much of the original Avesta of such quotations, with some degree of certainty.

² Pahl. garôdmânîg. Such glosses and comments, inserted by the Pahlavi translator, are always marked as parenthetical.

³ Pahl. hamâî-bâhar; it might be read hamâî-bîdâr, 'ever vigilant.'

⁴ Reading vakhsh (= Pers. bakhsh), which is usually expressed by its Zvâris equivalent gadđ (traditionally gadman), and this means both 'destiny' and 'the star, or glory, of destiny' (Av. hvarenô, Pers. khura). Here the first letter of vakhsh is omitted, and this error converts the word into khayâ, the Zvâris of gân, 'life.'

creator, *it is* declared in the good religion, *that* the combined titles of prophet (vakhshvar), acceptor, *and* promoter *are* enumerated of them.

9. As Gâyômarđ passed away, *it*¹ *came* to Masyê and Masyâôi², the second of worldly beings who *were* the progeny of Gâyômarđ the first; *and it is* declared, by the word of Aûharmazd, that he spoke to them, when they had been produced by him, thus: 'You are the men I produce, you are the parents of the parents of all embodied existence; and so do you men not worship the demons, for the possession of complete mindfulness is the best *thing* produced by me for you, so that you *may* fully observe duty and ordinances with complete mindfulness.' 10. And the bountifulness of Aûharmazd *was* extolled by them, and they went on with their own duty; they also performed the will of the creator, enjoyed the advantage of the many duties of the world, *and* practised next-of-kin marriage for procreation, union, and the complete progress of the creations in the world, which are the best good works of mankind. 11. The creator showed them the sowing of corn, as declared in the words of Aûharmazd thus: 'This is thine, O Masyê! which is an ox; thine, too, is this corn; and thine those other appliances; henceforth thou shouldst know *them* well.'

This must have also occurred twice in a previous copy of the MS. in § 28, where the word is written *gân*, 'life,' in the MS. B. In S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, Dk. VIII, xiii, 20, vakhsh has been erroneously translated 'word.'

¹ The glorious destiny. §§ 9 and 10 have been previously translated in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 411, 412.

² Literally 'man and woman' who grew up as plants from the earth fertilized by Gâyômarđ, the prototype of the human race; see Bd. XV, 1-5.

12. This, too, is declared by the good religion, that Aûharmazd spoke to Hadish¹, one of the sacred beings thoroughly worthy through righteousness, thus: 'O Hadish, who *art* thoroughly worthy through righteousness! thou shouldst proceed to Masyê and Masyâôî, thou shouldst procure thy² corn *and* bread from Masyê and Masyâôî, *and* shouldst bless theirs thus: "This corn comes up owing to you, *and*, as it came unto you from Aûharmazd and the archangels, may the corn extend from you unto your descendants without disturbance from the demons;" *and* two Ahunavairs³ are to be recited for the staying away *of* the demon and fiend.' 13. And Hadish, the thoroughly worthy through righteousness, went to Masyê and Masyâôî, and he procured his corn and bread from Masyê and Masyâôî, and *it was* given by them; he also blessed them thus: 'May this corn come up from you, as from the archangels! as it came unto you *from* Aûharmazd *and* the archangels, may it extend from you unto your descendants, without disturbance from the demons;' and two Ahunavairs *were* recited by him, for the staying away of the demon *and* fiend.

14. And, owing to the explanation of the sacred beings, Masyê and Masyâôî attained also to the manufacture of clothing, the tending of sheep, house-building, and primitive carpentry, the agriculture *and* husbandry of the ancients, and the memory of their original state; and *these* proceeded from them through *their* lineage, presenting an example and

¹ Mentioned in Visp. i, 9 : ii, 11 : ix, 5, and recognized as a spirit in Pahl. Visp. i, 31 (Sp.). The spirit who assists the husbandman, see Études irân. ii, 201.

² The MS. has 'his,' as in § 13, by mistake.

³ Two of the sacred Yathâ-ahû-vairyô formulas.

spreading *in* the world, to artificers among the plenitude of artificers.

15. And after that, the destiny to be carried on came to Sâmak¹, who *was* their son, and the descent of *their* collateral descendants *was* on to each region and each quarter of the world, *to* that extent which the creator chose for that region and quarter; *and* thereby *there* was a completion of the progress and spreading of mankind into the various regions *and* quarters.

16. At another time it came to Vâêgered and Hôshâng² of the early law (*pês-dâd*), for providing in the world the law of husbandry, *or* cultivation of the world, and *of* sovereignty *or* protection of the world. 17. And through their companionship and united force, given by religion, the sovereignty and cultivation *of* the world *were* prepared through progress and a succession of provisions *of* Aûharmazd's creatures, *as well as* the religion appointed by Aûharmazd. 18. And through that glory *of* destiny (*gadâ*) two-thirds of the demons of Mâzanô³ *and* the seven evil-instructed *ones*⁴ of Aêshm *were* destroyed by Hôshâng.

19. After that it came to Tâkhmôrup⁵ the well-armed, and through that glory the demon and evil mankind, the wizard and witch, *were* smitten by him; idolatry *was* also cast out by him, and he propagated in *his* time the reverence *and* service of the creator; the evil spirit, converted into the shape of a horse, *was* also carrying him *for* thirty winters.

¹ See Bd. XV, 24-26.

² Grandsons of Sâmak, see Bd. XV, 28, and Sachau's *Albirûnî's Chronology of Ancient Nations*, pp. 206, 212.

³ The idolators of Mâzandarân. See Yt. XIX, 26.

⁴ Called 'seven powers' in Bd. XXVIII, 15.

⁵ See Bd. XXXI, 2, and Yt. XIX, 28, 29.

20. And it came, at another time, for the conference with Aûharmazd, to Yim¹ the splendid, the son of Vîvangha; and owing to his accepting the four classes of the religion, *which* are priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, and artisanship, *there* are the four classes which are priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, and artisanship, and thereby the world *was* improved, extended, and developed; he also rendered even the creatures, in a measure, immortal, undecaying, hungerless, thirstless, plentiful, and fully-settled. 21. And in the good religion² *it* is declared, by the word of the creator Aûharmazd to Yim, thus: 'Then do thou widen my world! (that is, make up *its* measure more), then do thou extend my world! (that is, make *it* up larger), and then thou shouldst accept from me the protection, nourishment, and chieftainship of the world; and do thou effect such watchfulness over *it*, *that* no one shall be able to occasion the wounding or injury of another.' 22. And *this was* accepted and done by Yim, as Aûharmazd commanded him; and through the same glory he widened the earth three-thirds larger than that *which* it was theretofore. 23. And, in that realm of his, the cattle and men of the realm *were* made immortal by him, and the other creations, water, vegetation, and the various foods, imperishable. 24. And this, too, is declared by the good religion, that the world *was* made by him like the supreme heaven in pleasantness; also the enclosure made by Yim, constructed by him according to all the commands of the creator³, about guarding the creatures from perishing through the winter of

¹ See Bd. XXXI, 3-5, and Yt. XIX, 31-33.

² In Vd. II, 4.

³ As detailed in Vd. II, 22-31, 40, 41.

Mahrkûs, and likewise many other wonders are reported by the good religion.

25. And it came, at another time, by command of the creator, to Frêdûn the Âspîgân ¹ when he was in the pregnant womb, owing to the share of husbandry *in* the avocations of the religion, through allotment from the glory of Yim, and through its triumphant splendour. 26. And Frêdûn, through that triumphant splendour, became a responder to Dahâk ² from the pregnant womb, and that degraded fiend *was* averted and paralysed by him; *having* come to nine years of age, he proceeded about his destruction, and through that victory Dahâk *was* smitten by him ³, the creatures *were* saved and relieved thereby, those of Mâzandar and Mâda *were* smitten, their ravage and mischief *were* removed from the region of Khvanîras, and the region of Khvanîras *was* preserved for his three sons. 27. And owing to his husbandry, which is the third avocation of the religion, pestilence and disease *were* disturbed by the medical treatment even of pestilence itself, and he exhibited to mankind also many other wonders produced and useful occupation for the world.

28. And, in the life-time of Frêdûn, the same destiny came to Atrik ⁴, son of Frêdûn, owing to introduction by the creator, and *was* diffused in him, and he practised humility; the life ⁵ which is perfect is brought through a prayer from his father Frêdûn,

¹ See Bd. XXXI, 7, 8, and Yt. XIII, 131; XIX, 36.

² The Arab usurper, or usurping dynasty, that conquered Yim in his old age; see Bd. XXXI, 5, 6.

³ See Yt. XIX, 37.

⁴ See Bd. XXXI, 9, 10.

⁵ Probably 'destiny;' the initial letter of vakhsh, 'destiny,' has been omitted, and this blunder converts the word into khayâ, 'life.'

and that life ¹ came to him from the creator through the blessing of Frêdûn.

29. And it came, through *his* mother, to a descendant of Frêdûn *and* descendant of Aîrlê; it proceeded with the angel Nêryôsang to Mânûskîhar ², and its entire progress was in the lineage of Aîrlê. 30. And it came to Mânûskîhar, the monarch of Irân, and through it many wonder-wrought actions *were* performed by him; he smote Salm and Tûg in revenge for Aîrlê ³, he was a responder *to* the superfluities of foreign countries, he arranged the realm of Irân, improved and fertilised the land of Irân, and made the country of Irân victorious over foreigners.

31. At another time it came to Aûzôbô, son of Tûmâsp ⁴, a descendant of Mânûskîhar the monarch of Irân; *and*, through that destiny and glory combined, the new-born came to mature activity and the proportions of a man during childhood, through agriculture; he disclosed *his* lamenting mother to the countries of Irân, he marched on to the destruction of foreigners, to drive out *and* make *them* outcast from the land of Irân; he also defeated the village-terrifier of the country of Irân, the wizard who frightened his father *and* fellow-immortals, Frangrâsiyâk of Tûr ⁵; and he developed *and* ferti-

¹ See note 5 on preceding page.

² Here spelt Nêresang and Mânûsr. The former is the usual spiritual messenger of Aûharmazd; and for the lineage of the latter see Bd. XXXI, 9-14. It appears that the glorious destiny was preserved by the angel Nêryôsang for some generations, and he conveyed it to the grandfather of Mânûskîhar (see Chap. II, 70).

³ The three sons of Frêdûn, among whom he divided his dominions, with the usual result of triumvirates.

⁴ See Bd. XXXI, 23; XXXIV, 6.

⁵ See Yt. XIX, 56-64, 77, 82, 93, and Bd. XXXI, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 35; XXXIV, 6; where the Av. form Frangrasyan is further

lised the country of Irân, and increased the many streams *and* cultivated lands in the country of Irân.

32. At another time it came to Kerêšaspô the Sâman¹, owing to the share of warriorship which is the second avocation of the religion, through allotment from the glory of Yim²; and, through it, the serpent Srôbôvar which *was* swallowing horses *and* swallowing men, the golden-heeled demon Gandarepô, and much other production *of* adversity *by* the demon and the fiend—the murderess of the creatures—*were* destroyed by him.

33. At another time it came to Kaš-Kobâd³, the progenitor of the Kayâns; through it he arranged the realm of Irân, he united the sovereignty with himself in the Kayân race, *and* he thereby occasioned much splendour *and* actions of advantage *to* the creatures.

34. And it came to Pâtakhsrôbô⁴, son of Aîryêshvâ⁵, son of Tâz, who *was* king of the Arabs, through the mindfulness of the archangel Ashavahistô, and his enquiry about it from its own tribe⁶—*for* the demon of greediness (*âzô*), with *one* similarly

corrupted into Frâšyâv, as it is also hereafter in Chap. II, 68; Zs. XII, 3.

¹ A famous hero whose exploits, like those of Hercules, have given birth to many legends; see S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 369–382.

² Compare § 25.

³ See Yt. XIX, 71; Bd. XXXI, 24, 25, 28; XXXIV, 7.

⁴ Or Pâtâsrôbô, spelt Pâtsrôbô in Pahl. Vd. XX, 4 (Sp.).

⁵ Or Aîryêshnîg; evidently the same as Virafsang in Bd. XXXI, 6, which is spelt Avirafshanêg and Âirafshanig in two MSS. of the Irânian Bundahis. Hence we may conclude that Pâtakhsrôbô was a brother of Zâînîgâv, and a great-uncle of Dahâk; but how his daughters could have been married to the three sons of Frêdûn, as stated in the *Kîtrâdâd Nask* (see Dk. VIII, xiii, 9), is a chronological difficulty that throws doubt upon this identification.

⁶ The people of the primitive faith, who are supposed to have

destined, had rushed for the destruction of him who *was* very gentle to that tribe ¹—*as he had* a full inclination for the ascendancy of the portion whose guidance to the lofty priestly master *was* owing to the archangel Ashavahistô, just as the fish image ² of that *other* portion *was* for falling into the river ; and *it is* declared *that* he came to the ceremonial of Zarâtûst.

35. At another time it came to Kat-Arsh *and his* brothers ³, the descendants of Kobâd ; through it they have been all-experienced and powerful, heedful and performing wonders ; and the eldest brother of them, Kat-Ûs, seized upon the sovereignty of the seven regions, *and* became very illustrious *and* full of glory. 36. *At* the same time it came to Aôshnar ⁴ who became fully sagacious (pûr-zîr), owing to the glory of Yim, when he was in *his* mother's womb, and many wonders *were* taught by him to *his* mother, through speaking from the mother's womb ; also at his birth he vanquished the maleficent spirit by uttering answers *to* the questions *of* the deadly Frâkîh the demon-worshipper. 37. He also attained to the chancellorship (farmâdârih) of Kat-Ûs, and became administrator (râyintdâr) in his realm *of* the seven regions ; the frontier speech (vîmand-gôbisnîh) *was* also explained *and* taught by him,

already practised most of the duties upheld by Zarathustra before his appearance as a reformer.

¹ Indicating that the Arab subjects of the king had revolted, because he favoured those of the primitive faith who, no doubt, gained further favour by putting down the rebellion.

² Or it may be 'fish priest,' as karapô, 'a heathen priest,' and kerpô, 'shape, image,' are written alike in Pahlavi letters.

³ See Yt. XIX, 71 ; Bd. XXXI, 25.

⁴ See Yt. XIII, 131 ; Dd. XLVIII, 33.

and much other learning of advantage *to* mankind *who* are unaffected by the utterance of replies of a foreigner; he *also* advised the Irânian country with the best-instructed counsel.

38. And *its* coming to Kaī-Sīyāvakhsh¹ the illustrious, through the wondrous-formed Kangdez *being* held by him for the retention *of* protection *for* the much splendour *and* suitable glory of the religion, from which the restoration of time, the re-arrangement of the realm of Irân, *and* the reunion of power *and* triumph with the religion of Aûharmazd are manifest.

39. It came to Kaī-Khûsrôī², son of Sīyāvakhsh, *and* through it he smote and vanquished Frangrâstyâk³ *of* Tûr, the wizard, and his fellow-miscreation Kêrsêvazd⁴ of those of Vakgir⁵, and many other very evil devastators of the world; he also joined in the destruction of that idol-temple which *was* on the shore of Lake Kêkast⁶, *and* demolished that fiendishness which *was* awful. 40. On account of the desirableness of means for the renovation *of the universe*, *he is also* on a throne (namêkô), which is assuredly selected by that destiny, at a secret place where *there* is an immortal preserver for his body until the renovation, through the will of the creator.

41. And it came from him, after Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas came to the conference of the creator

¹ See Yt. XIX, 71, 77; Bd. XXXI, 25; Byt. III, 25, 26.

² See Yt. XIX, 74, 77, 93; Bd. XXXI, 25.

³ See § 31.

⁴ Brother of Frangrâstyâk, see Yt. XIX, 77; Bd. XXXI, 15.

⁵ Reading Vakgiragânô, probably the inhabitants of the Bakyîr mountain, mentioned in Bd. XII, 2, 20 as a stronghold of Frâsiyâv (= Frangrâstyâk).

⁶ See Bd. XVII, 7; Mkh. II, 95.

Aûharmazd, and accepted from the omniscient creator Aûharmazd unmixed freedom from pollution, the comprehensive and also recited acquaintance with the knowledge *and* work of priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, and artisanship, *and* the separate portions of the Mazda-worshipping revelation (dênô) brought to king Kai-Vistâsp by command of the creator, illuminated by the great splendour in that supreme sovereign of the sacred beings, *and* propagated *by* the learned of the region, in the regions which *are* seven, through the good eloquence which is owing to the succession of creatures until the renovation *of the universe*. 42. And through its production by those who *will be his* sons, Aûshêdar, Aûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns¹, the renovation in the existence of the creatures of Aûharmazd is immortal; and a more remindful statement of its splendour, glory, *and* marvellousness is a statement *that* is written and found below².

43. And *there* have also been others before Zarâtûst, the prophet (vakhshvar) of desired fame in the Mazda-worshipping religion; for it is declared that, at times, some came from the spiritual *beings* to him who *was* more of a leader, *and* mankind have become as captivated by the solicitation *and* interrogation of that affair, as now by the solicitation *and* interrogation of the religion; the necessity for that period is not now necessary, because all mankind

¹ The Pahlavi transcripts of the Avesta names, Ukhshyad-ereta, Ukhshyad-nemangh, and Saoshyâs, of the three apostles expected to revive and renovate the Parsi religion in successive millenniums. According to the imperfect chronology of the Bundahis, the millennium of Aushêdar-mâh has now nearly one-fourth elapsed.

² See Chap. XI, 7-11.

are made acquainted with the religion, and Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas, *whose* guardian spirit is righteous, is to be revered.

44. Now, that which is declared in the world is written, about the splendour, glory, and marvellousness of the prophet of the Mazda-worshipping religion, the best of creations, *whose* guardian spirit is revered, Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas; and ten chapters are published here, as to the information from the Avesta, and *in* benediction of the religion of Aûharmazd¹.

45. That of it which is before the birth of that glorious *one* from *his* mother *in* the present world.

46. That of it which is from the birth of that illustrious *one* onwards, *till* his coming to a conference *with* Aûharmazd.

47. That of it which is from the conference onwards, till his pre-eminence over prophecy in the world, *and* the acceptance of the religion *by* the exalted Kaî-Vistâsp.

48. That of it which is onwards from that, till the departure (vîkhêzô) of that pure soul to the existence which is best.

49. That of it which is also successively after that, in the reign of the obedient king Kaî-Vistâsp.

50. That of it which is after that, until the collapse (angâvisnô) of the sovereignty of Irân.

51. That of it which is also after that, until the end of the millennium of Zaratûst *and* the arrival of Aûshêdar.

52. That of it which is also after that, until *the* end of the millennium of Aûshêdar *and* the arrival of Aûshêdar-mâh.

¹ Then follow the headings of these ten Chapters (II to XI).

53. That of it which is also after that, until the end of the millennium of Aûshêdar-mâh and the arrival of Sôshâns.

54. *And* that of it from the arrival of the Triumphant Benefiter, *until* the wonder *of* the renovation *and* future existence; a statement of them each separately.

CHAPTER II.

1. About the marvellousness of the manifestations before ¹ the birth of that most auspicious of offsprings from *his* mother ².

2. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that the creator passed on that glory of Zaratûst through the material existences of the creatures ³ to Zaratûst; when the command arose from Aûhar-mazd, the coming of that glory from the spiritual *existence* to the worldly, and *to* the material substance (mâdîyâtö) of Zaratûst, is manifested as a great wonder to the multitude (val kabadânö).

3. *Just* as revelation mentions *it* thus: 'Thereupon, when Aûharmazd had produced the material (dahisnö) of Zaratûst, the glory then, in the

¹ The MS. has *pataš* for *pêš*.

² The contents of this chapter are thus mentioned in the summary of the Spend Nask (Dk. VIII, xiv, 1 in S.B.E., vol. xxxvii, p. 31):—'The Spend *contains* particulars about the origin *and* combination *of* the material *existence*, guardian spirit, *and* soul (or glory) of Zaratûst; how the creation of each one *occurred* in the spiritual *existence*, and *in* what mode *it was* produced for the worldly *existence*; how their connection with the parents *arose*, the coming of the parents together, the combination in the mother, and the birth from the mother; *and* whatever is on the same subject.'

³ The writer uses two Arabic words: mâdîyâtö-i 'halqö.'

presence of Aûharmazd, fled on *towards* the material of Zaratûst, on to that germ; from that germ it fled on, on *to the light which is endless*¹; from the light which is endless² it fled on, on to that of the sun; from that of the sun it fled on, on *to* the moon; from that moon it fled on, on to those stars; from those stars it fled on, on to the fire which *was* in the house of Zôis³; *and* from that fire it fled on, on to the wife of Frâhîmravanâ-zôis⁴, when she brought forth that girl who became the mother of Zaratûst.

4. Of that splendour, escaped at the same time into the earth *and* into the sky, the father-in-law's ignorance is declared, so that it is said by those in the village of the more instructed and invoking Zôis⁵, as to the self-combustion *which* burns the fire, that fuel is not necessary for its use. 5. Then they went on to the governor (kêdö), and he explained *to* them concerning that same (that is, he spoke to them) thus: 'The full glory of embodied existence

¹ Perplexed by the repetitions, some copyist has evidently omitted this phrase by mistake.

² Pahl. anagar, a transcript of Av. anaghra which is always translated by Pahl. asar, 'endless.' The 'endless light' is the abode of Aûharmazd, see Bd. I, 2.

³ Written in Pâzand.

⁴ Also written in Pâzand. In Bd. XXXII, 10, it is stated that 'the name of the father of the mother of Zaratûst was Frâhimravâ' (or Fereâhimruvânâ in the Irânian version); but very little reliance can be placed on such Pâzand readings of names originally written in Pahlavi.

⁵ Here written in Pahlavi letters which can also be read Zandîh. In the text, the two preceding adjectives, farhakhtar va-khvân, might be read Farâkht-ruvânân as the beginning of the name. But, as it stands, the text implies that Zôis, the father-in-law of his son Frâhîm-ravanâ's wife, was the master of the house, which is the usual oriental arrangement.

is the glory of life *apart* from the body, so that all diligence devoid of this is only movement.'

6. And *it is* declared that the demons, on account of their defeat by that glory in maintaining¹ adversity for the girl, *were* bringing on to that district three armaments (hênô), winter, the demon of pestilence, and oppressive enemies; and *a suspicion was* cast by them into the minds of those of the district, that this harm happened to the district owing to the witchcraft of this girl; so that those of the district quarreled dreadfully with the parents, as to the witchcraft of antagonism *in* the girl, and about putting *her* out from that district.

7. And the father of that girl spoke even these *words* to those of the district, with much reason, about the unjust assertion of witchcraft relative to the girl, that is: 'When this girl *was* brought forth among those of mine, her whole destiny (vakhsh) *was* afterwards set forth *by* that manifest radiance of fire, where it brought out radiance from all over her in the dark night. 8. When this girl sits in the interior of the house, wherein there is no fire, and in the chamber (sarâl) of fire they increase *its* intensity (bûrzô), it is lighter there, where *and* when this girl sits, than there where they increase the intensity of the fire; *one* is dazzled by the radiance from her body, *and* that of a wizard *would not have* been so glorious.'

9. Even then, owing to the influence (sârtnisnô) of the demons, and the Kavîg and Karap² of the

¹ Reading dêrîh, but it may be gârîh for kârîh, 'producing.'

² The Karaps were apparently idolatrous priests, especially those before the conversion of Vistâsp by Zaratûst; one being called 'a wizard' in Chap. III, 5, 42-44, another 'unsanctified' in IV, 24,

district, they did not become satisfied; so the father ordered the girl to go to Padīragtarâspô¹, the father of a family in the country (matâ) of the Spîtâmas, in the district (rûdastâk) of Alâk; and the girl obeyed the command of *her* father. 10. That disturbance which the demons caused, with evil intention, for the expatriation of that girl, the sacred beings assiduously made the reason for the coming of the girl for marriage to Pôrûshâspô, the father of Zaratûst, through *her* father sending the girl to the dwelling of Padīragtarâspô, the father of Pôrûshâspô.

11. One *marvel*² is this which is declared, that when that girl, in going to that family, stood on the loftiest place in the country of the Spîtâmas, and *it* is surveyed by her, a great wonder is manifested to the girl, *just* as revelation mentions: 'It is their³

a third is 'deadly' in IV, 67, and a demon himself is a Karap in IV, 61, and has Karaps under his control in II, 45. The following Karaps are named in the time of Zaratûst:—Dûrâsrôbô mentioned in Chap. III, 4-41; Brâdrôk-rêsh in III, 20-34, who is called a Tûrânian in III, 28; Vaêdvôist in IV, 21-24; and Zâk in IV, 67. Some others are named by other writers. The Kavîgs, Kaîs, or Kîgs are mentioned with the Karaps in Chaps. II, 9; III, 50; IV, 2, 6, 14, 64, 67; VIII, 26, 40, as equally objectionable, but their avocation as officials is not defined. Both classes seem to have held official rank, but whether their titles were tribal or official is uncertain. The Avesta calls them Karapan and Kavi; the latter word being also the royal title of the Kayân dynasty, of which Vistâsp was a member. Compare Zs. XV, 1-4; XXIII, 8.

¹ So also in §§ 13, 70. In Bd. XXXII, 1, 2, the two old MSS. of the Irânian Bundahis have Padtarâsp thrice and Pîrtarâsp once; K 20 has Spîtarasp and Paitiresp; K 20 b has Padirtarâspô and Paitirispô; and M6 has Padirtarâsp and Paitiresp. Zs. XIII, 6, has Purtarâspô.

² One of the marvellous manifestations mentioned in § 1.

³ Probably we should read: 'It is the voice of those sacred beings' who are mentioned in § 10. As the word *yazdân*, 'sacred beings,' is exactly similar, in Pahlavi, to *shân* (in *valdshân*, 'their'

voice is carried away to her from them; "do thou proceed to that village which is theirs; it is very depressed in height and very wide in breadth, in which he who is living and the cattle mostly walk together; besides, for thy assistance that village is divinely fashioned *and* compassionate." 12. Thereupon that damsel stopped, and also fully observed that *their* recital seems *to be* for the conveyance of this statement, that my action *should be* such *as was* ordered me *by* my father also. 13. Then that damsel thoroughly washed *her* hands, and proceeded from them to that village which was Padīragtarâspô's, and the glory came to Pôrûshâspô, the son of Padīragtarâspô.

14. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that the creator Aûharmazd passed on the guardian spirit (fravâhar) of Zaratûst, to the parents of Zaratûst, through (le-*k*adôn) Hôm¹, by a marvel produced by cultivation. 15. Again, too, revelation says that, when the separation (burînô) of the third millenium occurred, at the end of the 3,000 years of spiritual existence without a destroyer, (after the creatures *were* in spiritual existence, *and* before the arrival of the fiend); then the archangels framed Zaratûst together, *and* they seated the guardian spirit within, having a mouth, having a tongue, and the proclaimer *of* the celestial mansions.

or 'those'), a copyist would be liable to the blunder of leaving out the final word in writing valēshân yasdân. Or the original writer himself may not have quoted enough of the text he was reading, to make his meaning clear.

¹ A sacred and mythical tree, described in Bd. XVIII, 1-3, and often personified as a sacred being. It is now represented, in Parsi ceremonies, by twigs of a particular plant brought from Persia.

16. Then the three millenniums of Zaratûst¹ *were* the number manifest to them through observation by the eye, *and* it seemed that he became just like an archangel through bodily contact with (ham-kerpîh)² the archangels. 17. And when the separation of the third millennium occurred, after the framing of Zaratûst together, and before the conveying of Zaratûst down to the worldly *state*, at the end of the 3,000 years *of* worldly existence with a destroyer, then Aûharmazd argued with Vohûmanô *and* Ashavahistô³ thus: 'Is his mother beheld by you, so that we may produce Zaratûst?'

18. And Ashavahistô spoke *in* reply thus: 'Thou art aware even of that, *O* propitious *one*! about the Zaratûst we *shall* produce, *and* thou and we have produced, thou knowest, *O* Aûharmazd! *and to us* who are the other archangels do thou announce the place, because its appearance thou knowest, *thou* propitious spirit Aûharmazd!'

19. Then Aûharmazd argued with Vohûmanô and the reminding by Ardavahistô⁴, Shatraver, Spendarmad, Khûrdad, *and* Amûrdad⁵, *saying*:

¹ Meaning the period of Zaratûst's existence merely as a guardian spirit, the first period of the destroyer (§ 17) who then remained powerless in confusion (see Bd. I, 22).

² Or 'sheltering with' (ham-karîkîh).

³ The personifications of the Avesta phrases for 'good thought' and 'perfect rectitude,' who are two of the seven that hold a superior position among sacred beings, somewhat similar to that of archangels. When a Parsi speaks of Aûharmazd as the first of the Ameshaspendis, or archangels, he does not put him on an equality with the rest, any more than we put a commander-in-chief on an equality with his troops when we call him a good soldier.

⁴ Another pronunciation of Ashavahistô.

⁵ These last four archangels are personifications of the Avesta

'The conveying of Zarâtûst down does not seem to *be for* me, because, having a mouth *and* having a tongue, *he will be* a proclaimer to the world of embodied beings. 20. If we convey Zarâtûst down on to the world of embodied beings, having a mouth *and* having a tongue, *as* a proclaimer *of* the celestial mansion, this is evident: they *will* say, concerning the origin *of* him who is my righteous man, *that we* frame him together with the water, with the land, with the plants, *and* with the animals¹. 21. Therefore we *will* carry off there, to the village of Pôrûshâspô, him whom they *will* call Zarâtûst of good lineage of both natures, both *of* Nêryôsang² who is of the archangels, and *of* Yim who is of mankind.'

22. Then the archangels framed together a stem of Hôm the height of a man, excellent in colour, *and* juicy where fresh; also to carry off the guardian spirit of Zarâtûst to that stem of theirs, the archangels made it go forth thither from that endless light, and gave it up there also to the instinctive intellect (âsnô vîr). 23. Likewise their carrying off *was* manifest around, and a wall *was* openly displayed round them, but a restless one; the Hôm *was* constantly provided with a mouth, where it was suitable, *and* sap constantly oozed from the Hôm where it was moist.

24. And when thirty³ years of the 3,000 years of

phrases for 'desirable dominion, bountiful devotion, completeness or health, and immortality.'

¹ That is, as an inferior and irresponsible being.

² Here spelt Nêrôsang; see Chaps. I, 29; II, 70; and Zs. XIII, 6, for this angel's influence on the royal race.

³ The MS. has 330 years, but the time intended is evidently that shortly before the birth of Zarâtûst, and this third 3,000 years

well-disturbed¹ worldly existence remained, Vohûmanô and Ashavahistô then associated their pre-eminence together, *and* turned off into the embodied existence ; there they came up to where two birds had settled in quest of progeny, *and* seven years before the serpents devoured the inexperienced progeny. 25. For their *own* designs, Vohûmanô *and* Ashavahistô went on, and those birds consulted *them* thus: 'We have to offer homage, and our want is that Hôh.'

26. The circumstances of those associated together in pre-eminence and the request of these *for* that Hôh *were* a double marvel ; Vohûmanô seized one of those *birds* by both legs, and the other *by* one ; he also brought them that Hôh, and gave it up to them there, on that tree within *their* nest. 27. And they uncovered above the serpents, that have gone up to the progeny of the birds ; then that guardian spirit of Zaratûst started up, and the serpents on the tree rushed also from them away towards the demons ; *but* that guardian spirit of Zaratûst smote them on the jaws, *and* the serpents fell down *and* expired, which *events* have also occurred among them till now, *having* been requisite as regards a depriver of life (*gân-gîr*) and *any* one of that species. 28. And that Hôh *was* connected with that tree ; and on the summit of that tree, there

ended either when Vistâspô accepted the religion, in Zaratûst's forty-second year, or when Zaratûst received the religion in his thirtieth year, but this earlier date is the more likely.

¹ This word, hû-aîbigadîg, is written in Pahlavi precisely like an-aîbigadîg, 'without a destroyer,' though its meaning is the reverse, which is an unexpected cause of perplexity to a cursory reader.

where the nest of the birds was, it grew constantly fresh and golden-coloured¹.

29. After the coming of her who bore Zaratûst, to Pôrûshâspô for marriage, Vohûmanô *and* Arda-vahistô, thus associated together in their pre-eminence, came up there to Pôrûshâspô in the cattle-pasture of the Spîtâmas, and their thoughts *were* confined to that Hôm brought by them. 30. Then Pôrûshâspô walked forth, with spiritual desire, up to the water of the Dâit², because the requirement of the spirits is the spiritual knowledge³ that spirits are ever-beneficial; and that Hôm *was* also seen by him, when it had grown on that tree, on the inside of the nest. 31. Then Pôrûshâspô thought thus: 'It is for me, really (*madam-îk-am*) to proceed and, even as *there* is no reaching by me up to that Hôm, that tree must be cut down, for apart from that, *O* Hôm of Aûharmazd! thou seemest fresh, so that the benefit of something from thee *will be* advantageous.'

32. Then Pôrûshâspô walked on and washed their clothes acquiescently (*patâstg*), and here a great wonder was manifest to Pôrûshâspô. 33. About this it says that, all the while that Pôrûshâspô washed their clothes, Vohûmanô then proceeded from the uppermost third of the tree unto the middle of it, whereon *it was* the desire of Pôrû-

¹ Or it may be 'verdant.'

² Av. Dâitya, a mythic river in Aîrân-vêg (Bd. XX, 13); a favourite place for religious rites, see Yt. V, 17, 104, 112; IX, 25, 29; XVII, 45, 49, 61. Or it may be merely *mayâ-f shêd*, 'brilliant water.'

³ Reading *mainôg-dânisnîh*, but the MS. has *mainôg dênô-dânîh* which might be translated 'spiritual knowledge of religion,' though the latter Pahlavi word is unusual.

shâspô to be conveyed. 34. Then Pôrûshâspô, *having* washed the clothes, walked up to it and, thereupon gathering up the whole of that *Hôm*, all of it *was* then also appropriated by him through assistance like that of that *archangel*, *just* as what thou offerest for the food-sustenance of a friend's son of two years *or* three years *of age*; and it seemed to him that *archangel's* joyful payment.

35. Carrying off their *Hôm*, Pôrûshâspô spoke of it to *his* noble (mas) wife thus: 'So thou, *O Dûk-dâûb*! shouldst keep their *Hôm* in custody, all the while that their *Hôm* fulfils duty and routine.'

36. One *marvel* is this *which* is declared, that the coming of the nature (gôhar) of the body of Zaratûst, through water *and* vegetation, to the bodies of *his* parents, is manifested *as* a great wonder of the creator to the multitude. 37. As revelation mentions *it thus*: 'Thereupon, when Aûharmazd had produced the material (dahisnô) of Zaratûst¹, the nature of *his* body then, in the presence of Aûharmazd, fled on *towards* the material of Zaratûst.'

38. About Khûrdad and Mûrdad² bringing the cloud-water down in a compassionate manner ever anew, drop by drop, *and* completely warm, for the delight of sheep and men, *and—with* as much seed as the roving of two rampant bulls *would* thereby *cast* upon the plants *which* have grown, all of every species—*they are* casting *it* upon those other plants at that time, even upon the dry *ones*; and the

¹ Compare § 3.

² These two archangels have special charge of water and vegetation (see Sls. XV, 25–29), and here they are represented as acting in a manner usually ascribed to Tistar, the Dog-star.

nature of Zaratûst came from that water to those plants.

39. One *marvel* is this *which* is declared, that, in order that the nature of Zaratûst shall come unto *his* parents, after¹ the mounting of the archangels Pôrûshâspô drives six white cows, with yellow ears, up to those plants. 40. And here is manifested a great wonder, *such* as revelation mentions thus: Two² of those cows, unimpregnated, *had* become full of milk, and the nature of Zaratûst came from the plants to those cows, and is mingled with the cows' milk; it is owing thereto *that* Pôrûshâspô drove those cows back. 41. And Pôrûshâspô spoke to Dûkdâûb thus: 'O Dûkdâûb! in two of those cows, *which* are unimpregnated and have not calved, milk *has* appeared; do thou milk those cows, which are the splendour and glory of the cows and of any embodied existence whatever.' 42. And Dûkdâûb arose and, taking that pail of hers which had a four-fold capacity, she also milked from them the milk which *was* in them, and a great *part* of what they gave up to her she had to throw away; and the nature of Zaratûst was in that milk.

43. One *marvel* is this which is manifested in the struggle of the adversary for concealing and spoiling that milk, *just* as revelation mentions thus: Thereupon, at that time, the demons formed *themselves* into an assembly, and the demon of demons growled thus: 'You demons become quite unobservant: that food is really supplied fresh, so that the formation is settled which *will* extend as far as to that

¹ Reading akhar instead of adên, 'then.'

² In some places the singular number is used, in others the plural.

man who *will be* the righteous Zaratûst; which of you *will* undertake his destruction, all the while that he exists for mankind, so as to make *him* more contemptibly impotent?' 44. *Kêshmâk*¹, astute in evil, growled thus: 'I *will* undertake his destruction.' 45. Astute in evil, he rushed away with thrice fifty *of* the demons who are Karaps of *Kêshmâk*; and that village *was* partly uprooted and partly destroyed² by him, fellow-workers *were* ruined, and the number of fellow-eaters of broken victuals, attending the great, *was* not broken up, among whom was he that had repelled his authority.

46. *It is* declared that, afterwards, Pôrûshâspô asked again *for* that Hô^m from Dûkdâûb, and he pounded it, and with that cows' milk³, into which the nature of the body of Zaratûst had come, he here mingled the guardian spirit of Zaratûst, and the nature of the body came at once into union with it.

47. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that Pôrûshâspô and Dûkdâûb drank up that Hô^m and milk, when they were mingled together and announced to Aûharmazd; and here occurred a combination of the glory, guardian spirit, and bodily nature of Zaratûst into a *manchild*. 48. And a great wonder is manifested to both of them, through that which revelation mentions thus: Thereupon, both have embraced the first *time*⁴ with desire

¹ The whirlwind demon; see Bd. XXVIII, 24. Compare Chap. IV, 61.

² The usual effects of a hurricane.

³ The mingling of milk with pounded Hô^m still constitutes part of the Parsi ceremonial; see Haug's Essays, 3rd ed., p. 405.

⁴ Pahl. 'koâ 2 lââ fratûm vapidâv havând.'

for a son, *and* the demons shouted out unto them, in the villainous speech *of* sinfulness, thus: 'Why shouldst thou act like this, vile¹ Pôrûshâspô?' whereupon they started up like people who *are* ashamed. 49. A second *time* they have embraced, and the demons shouted out unto them, in villainous speech; whereupon they started up like people who *are* ashamed. 50. A third *time* they have embraced thus, with desire for a son; and the demons shouted out unto them, in villainous speech; whereupon they started up like people who *are* ashamed. 51. And they spoke with one another about *it*, *and* continued at this duty, and accomplished it², *saying*: 'We will not so stop without accomplishing something, not *even* though both Râk and Nôdar *should* arrive here together³.' 52. Then that *manchild* who *was* the righteous Zaratûst became complete, and here *below there* came together the nature of the body, the guardian spirit, and the glory of Zaratûst in the womb *of his* mother.

53. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that, after the combination of Zaratûst in the womb *of his* mother, the demons strove anew wonderfully

¹ Reading anâg, but it may be intended for hanâ=aê, 'O.'

² Pahl. 'afshân madam hâr suftô, aêghshânô pavan akôsh frâz vaîdûntô.'

³ Evidently an old proverb, implying a fixed determination whatever catastrophe may happen, even if one's ancestors of the eleventh or twelfth generation shall appear. Nôdar (Av. Naotara) was a son of King Mânûsîhar (Bd. XXXI, 13, 23), and Râk was a nephew of Nôdar (Bd. XXXI, 31), doubtless the same as Ragan (Bd. XXXII, 1; XXXIII, 3) which seems to be a Pâzand misreading of Aîrikô, or Êrikô, see Zs. XVI, 11-13, and compare the genealogies in Chap. II, 70 and Zs. XIII, 6. The proverb is used again in Chap. III, 19, and the names are mentioned in III, 39.

to cause the death of Zaratûst in *his* mother's womb, and she who bore him *was* rendered sickly by them through the sharpest of sharp and afflictive pain, until she wished to ask the wizard physicians for a desirable remedy. 54. And here is manifested a great wonder, just as revelation says: 'It is then a voice of theirs is carried away there to her from the higher region, from Aûharmazd and from the archangels, thus: "Thou damsel who goest! do not proceed thither, because anything *of* theirs is destruction through wizard medical treatment; *for* healthfulness wash *thy* hands thoroughly, *and* those hands shall take firèwood, and upon it thou shalt offer meat for the sake of the infant, thou shalt offer up cows' butter *to* the fire for his sake; thou shalt likewise heat *it* at the fire for his sake, and shalt quaff (pâimês) *it* off at the *proper* time for his sake, and thou *will* become well."' 55. Then at once that damsel washed *her* hands thoroughly, and she did just as *she had* heard, and became well¹.

56. One *marvel* is this which is manifested to the multitude when three days remained to his coming² *forth*; in the manner of the sun, at the approach of *its* uprising, when its first advancing twilight is diffused, *his* body is then announced as revelation says: 'It is then when in those last three nights during which Zaratûst was in the womb, where he still subsisted three days till afterwards born, *that* the village of Pôrûshâspô became all luminous. 57. Then spoke the horse-owners and cattle-owners of the Spîtâmas, in running away, thus: "It is requisite *to be* forgiven³; the village of Pôrûshâspô, on which

¹ Compare Zs. XIV, 2-5.

² Literally 'going.'

³ Apparently an appeal for mercy.

that fire¹ is in every crevice, is disturbed by confusion²." 58. Then, on running together again, they said: "It is not fully forgiven for the village of Pôrûshâspô; fire is on it in every crevice *and* it is disturbed by confusion; unto him is born, at his house, a brilliant *manchild*."

59. This, too, is one of the wonders, when the report of the marvellousness of the birth *of* that *manchild and of his* great glory, is due to statements of Yim and also others, brilliant in carrying on the destiny which had entered them from the sacred beings. 60. Wherein Yim spoke to the demons thus: 'Here *below* the pure *and* righteous Zaratûst *will* be born, who *will* produce for you who are demons that absence of intercession which is prepared for you (that is, he *will* produce for you a thoroughly-harassed actual inactivity, an absence of intercession so that you are not able to pray on your own account, *and* no one prays for you).'

61. *It is* declared that the report about the birth of Zaratûst, and concerning his prophesying, is explained (avazandî-hastô) only by the illustrious, *such* as Yim and Frêdûn *and* many learned people; but the sacred beings are also heard through the tongues of the animals scattered in the world, in order that even that witness shall arise as regards his prophesying. 62. *Just* like that which is declared, that in the reign of Kat-Ûs *there* was an ox, and a splendour had come to his body from the sacred beings; and whenever a dispute as to the frontier arose between Irân and Tûrân, that ox *was* brought, and the boundary between Irân and Tûrân

¹ Assuming that nîram stands for nîrâ, a variant of nûrâ.

² Or 'terrified with fear.'

was truly shown by him. 63. And because, when an Irānian *had* to seek a decision as to a Tûrānian in a dispute *and* lies occurred, the Tûrānians were constantly convicted through the showing of the boundary *by* the ox, and happened to be defeated by the Irānians—*and*, besides that, their envy also *arose* as to Kat-Ūs, even of *his* ownership—therefore, on account of *his* possession of that wonder, the Tûrānians proceeded about the smiting and destruction of that ox, and through their sorcery and witchcraft the mind of Kat-Ūs *was* disturbed about that ox, and he went to a warrior, *whose* name *was* Sritô¹, *and* ordered him to kill that ox; *so* that man came to smite the ox. 64. And here is manifested a wonder of importance by that ox, *such* as revelation mentions thus: 'To him spoke the ox, in grave words, thus: "Thou shouldst not murder me, O Sritô! thou seventh² of those of this race; you *will* atone *for this* malice when Zaratûst, the most desirous of righteousness among the existences, arrives and proclaims thy bad action in revelation; and the distress in thy soul becomes such as is declared by that passage where *it* says: 'As death occurs to him, that of Vadak³ and the like occurs.'"' 65. *It* is declared that that man, when this wonder *was* thus seen by him *proceeding* from the ox, did not kill *it*, but went back to Kat-Ūs *and* told *him* what he *had* seen. 66. Kat-Ūs then still, on account of the amazing deceitfulness of the demons *and* wizards, ordered the same man to smite that ox;

¹ This legend is also told, with further details, in Zs. XII, 7-25.

² Compare Zs. XII, 10.

³ The mother of Dahâk, who first committed adultery in an aggravated form (see Dd. LXXII, 5; LXXVIII, 2).

and that man proceeded also again to the ox, *and* though *it was* carrying *on* still much *of* that talk, he did not lend an ear to *it*, *but* killed *it*.

67. Regarding the sole-created ox¹, too, *it* is declared that, *on* meeting its destruction by the evil spirit, it bellowed thus: 'Though thou thinkest it as to us, *O* evil spirit, astute in evil! that thou art *in* every way a winner by destruction, *it is* not to our destruction thou art even then an attainer *in* every way (that is, *it* is not possible for thee so to annihilate that we *shall* not arise again); even now I proclaim that that man, Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas, *will* arrive in that last revolution, who *will* produce distress for the demons, the assistants of the demon, and also the wicked who are bipeds.'

68. Likewise the marvellousness of Zaratûst's defeat of the demons, owing to his glory and by means of his sagacity, even before he had come into the world by birth; when Frâsîyâv² the wizard is amazingly distressed through seeking that glory of his by desire of the demons, just as revelation³ mentions thus: 'Thereupon Frâsîyâv, the very powerful Tûrânian, rushed away, *O* Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas! to the wide-formed ocean a first, a second, and a third time; and he wished to obtain that glory which is specially for those *of* the countries of Irân, *for* the born and the unborn, and which is *for* the righteous *one*; *but* he did not attain to that glory.'

¹ Pahl. tôrâ-î aêvak-dâdô, the primeval ox, from whom the animals and plants have all descended (see Bd. III, 14, 17, 18; IV, 1-5; X, 1; XIV, 1-3; XXVII, 2).

² The same person as Frangrâsîyâk of Chaps. I, 31, 39; II, 69; XI, 3.

³ In Yt. XIX, 56-62; V, 42.

69. And this, too, *is mentioned*, that to all the seven regions the villain Frangrâstyâk rushed away, and the glory of Zaratûst *was sought by him* ¹.

70. Here is an enumeration *of* the worthy lineage of Zaratûst ²:—Zaratûst *was son of* Pôrûshâspô, *son of* Padîragtarâspô, of Urugadhasp*, of Haêkadâspô*, of Kikhshnus*, of Paêtrasp*, of Aregadharsn*, of Hardhar*, of Spîtâm, of Vaêdist*, of Nayâzem* ³, of Aîrîk ³, of Dûrâsrôbô, of Mânûskîhar monarch of Irân, of Mânûs-khûrnar, of Mânûs-khûrnâk whom Nêrôksang implanted in ⁴ Vîzak*, *daughter of* Airyak*, *son of* Thritak*, of Bitak*, of Frazûsak*, of Zûsak*, of Fragûzak* ⁵, of Gûzak* ⁶, *daughter of* Aîrîk, *son of* Frêdûn monarch of Khvanîras, *son of* Pûr-tôrâ the Âspîgân, of Nêvak-tôrâ the Âspîgân, of Sôg-tôrâ the Âspîgân, of Bôr-tôrâ the Âspîgân, of Kardâr-tôrâ ⁷ the Âspîgân, of Siyah-tôrâ the Âspîgân, of Spêtô-tôrâ the Âspîgân, of Gêfar-tôrâ the Âspîgân, of Ramak-tôrâ ⁸ the Âspîgân, of Vanô-fravîsn the Âspîgân, of Yim monarch of the seven

¹ See Yt. XIX, 82.

² Compare the genealogy in Zs. XIII, 6 ; Bd. XXXII, 1, and that quoted there from the Vigîrkard-i Dênîg. The names marked here with an asterisk are written in Pâzand, or partly so.

³ Ayazem, of Ragan, in Bd. The latter name is Ragîsn in Vig., but Êrîkô in Zs. XVI, 13.

⁴ This wants confirmation, but varzîd bân can hardly be a name as assumed in Vig., where it is altered to Varzîd-dên.

⁵ The g is of the old form like s.

⁶ The G is omitted, but see Bd. XXXI, 14.

⁷ Or Kûtâl-tôrâ ; this generation is omitted both in the Vigîrkard and Bundahis.

⁸ This generation is interlined in the MS. of the Dînkard. The Bundahis, XXXI, 7, also omits Nêvak-tôrâ ; and the Vigîrkard omits Bôr-tôrâ, Siyah-tôrâ, Spêtô-tôrâ, and Ramak-tôrâ. The termination tôrâ is merely the Zvâris equivalent of gau. In Irânian MSS. the Pahlavi t and û are practically written alike in most cases.

regions, *son* of Vîvangha, of Ayang, *had**, of Anang, *had**, *son* of Hôshâng the Pêsdâdian monarch of the seven regions, *son* of Fravâk, of Sîyâmak, of Masyâ, of Gâyômarđ the first man.

CHAPTER III.

1. About the marvellousness which is manifested after the birth of that most auspicious of offsprings from *his* mother, till his coming to a conference *with* Aûharmazd¹.

2. One *marvel* is this *which* is declared, that on being born he laughed outright; the seven midwives (*dayah*)², who sat around him, were quite frightened thereby; and those terrified ones spoke thus: 'What was this, on account of grandeur or contempt? when, like the worthy man whose pleasure is due to activity, the man's child so laughs at the birth owing to him.' 3. Pôrûshâspô also spoke thus: 'Bring out this *manchild* to the *sheepskin* clothing which is soft; the affair *was* owing to thee, owing to the virtue of thee who art Dûkdâûb, that the advent of glory and coming of radiance to this *manchild* *was* openly seen when he laughed outright at his birth.'

4. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that Pôrûshâspô afterwards went to a Karap, Dûrásrôbô *by* name, who was the most renowned for witchcraft in that district, and informed him of the birth of Zaratûst *and* the wonders which were manifested

¹ The contents of this chapter refer chiefly to 'the rearing of Zaratûst.' For the other matters mentioned in Dk. VIII, xiv, 2, see Zs. XIV, 6-12.

² Sls. X, 15 prescribes 'ten women.' Zs. XIV, 13 mentions 'seven wizards (*yâtûkô*).'

therein; he *also* brought *him* to the house for the purpose of seeing Zaratûst. 5. That wizard, owing to the coming *on* of vexation at that glory in Zaratûst, desired with evil intention a really mischievous deceit (shêdö), to compress with *his* paws (gôv) the tender head of that full-glorious child, to cause *his* death. 6. And here is manifested a great wonder to the multitude, just as revelation mentions *it* thus: 'Thereupon the paws of that deadly *one* (mar) *are* driven back to behind him (that is, reversed (aûskûn) backwards); nor ever after *did* that deadly *one* become again a devourer of meat with *his* jaws by means of those paws.' 7. That Karap also, besides that, examined the marks *and* evil specks on Zaratûst¹; and Pôrûshâspô, *in* awful alarm as to the dispersion *of* the emanation of splendour (âp-dihîh) from Zaratûst, hastened (sârîniâ) to make Zaratûst invisible.

8. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that the Karap Dûrâsrôbô, through witchcraft, cast such fear of Zaratûst into the mind *of* Pôrûshâspô, *and* so injured the mind of Pôrûshâspô, that, owing only to that very fear as regards himself, he asked the Karap for the death of Zaratûst. 9. Also about² the mode of putting to death for which Pôrûshâspô, owing to the distraction (vishôpisnô) by which he becomes helpless, asks Dûrâsrôbô; and that Karap is bringing much firewood together, and to shelter (nipâyîdanô) Zaratûst amid that firewood, to stir up a fire, and to make *it* blaze with the wood were the remedy he arranged (vîrâstô); and Pôrûshâspô acted accord-

¹ Compare Zs. XVI, 1-3.

² Pahl. madam-mâ, where mâ=ki, 'what? whatever,' is used for -ik, 'also,' as often happens.

ingly. 10. And here is manifested a great wonder to the multitude, just as revelation mentions it thus : 'Neither *was* fire among the vegetation on a tree (that is, it does not come on), nor *has* fire seized upon plants ; *but* on rushed, at dawn ¹, that son-loving mother, and she came forth to him intelligently (hûshûmônd), and seizing him, thereby removed him with *her* right hand aloft as he sat ².'

11. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that after Pôrûshâspô spoke to the Karap Dûrâsrôbô about the fire not burning *the child*, he asked anew about putting Zaratûst to death ; *then* to ensconce (nipâyîdanô) Zaratûst in a narrow path, and despatch many oxen on that path, so that he *may* be trampled on *by* the feet of the oxen *at* night, were the remedy that Karap proposed (girâyîdô) to Pôrûshâspô ; and Pôrûshâspô acted accordingly. 12. Here also is manifested a wonder of grandeur to the multitude, just as revelation mentions : 'It *was* that ox walked on which *had* become sorrowful (that is, its sorrow was great owing to another ox) and *it was* aged and walked before that *one* (before the leading ox), it *also* hastened before that *other* (that is, it stood up before Zaratûst), *and* he *was* greatly pitied by it for the whole day, so that it kept away the oxen from him, *being* the first *that* walked thither *and* the last *that* walked away ; on rushed at dawn that son-loving mother, forth to *him* she came intelli-

¹ Reading pavan aûsh, but it might be pavan hûsh, 'with sense,' here and in § 14, where there is nothing to indicate that the child was out all night, but in §§ 12, 18 he is evidently rescued the next morning.

² Pahl. 'madam pavan aûstakô.' Compare Zs. XVI, 7.

gently, and seizing him, thereby removed him with *her* right hand aloft as he sat¹.

13. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that Pôrûshâspô came a second time (īdanō) to that Karap also about the oxen not trampling on Zarātûst, *and* asked anew about the mode of putting Zarātûst to death; *then* to ensconce Zarātûst near a drinking-pool (āvkhûr) in the domain (gêhân), and to drive many horses to that drinking-pool, so that he may be trampled on by the hoofs of the horses, were the substituted² remedy that Karap proposed; *and* Pôrûshâspô acted accordingly. 14. And here is manifested a great wonder to the multitude, just as revelation mentions thus: 'That horse walked on which *had* become fully-hoofed (that is, its hoofs were very thick); *it is* yellow-eared and it walks before that *one* (before the leading horse), and it hastens before that *other* (that is, it stood up before Zarātûst), and *was* the first *that* walked on thither, *and* the last *that* walked away; on rushed at dawn that son-loving mother, forth to him she came intelligently, and seizing him, thereby removed him with *her* right hand aloft as he sat³.'

15. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that Pôrûshâspô *came* again to that Karap, spoke also about the horses, too, not trampling on Zarātûst, and asked anew as to what *may be* the mode of putting

¹ Compare Zs. XVI, 5.

² Possibly 'supplementary' or 'gratuitous.' The word is nîrmatō which, as a noun, means the gratuity or honorarium paid to a priest for acting as a substitute for another. Its etymology is obscure, unless it be an abbreviation of nîrūmandī, 'strength,' used in the legal sense of 'refresher.'

³ Compare Zs. XVI, 6.

Zaratûst to death ; *then* to have Zaratûst carried off into the den (sûrâk) where a wolf's cubs (hûnûskân) *are* slaughtered, so that when the wolf arrives *and* sees the slaughtered cubs, she *will* wrathfully growl *and* mangle Zaratûst in revenge for those cubs, was the remedy that Karap proposed ; and Pôrûshâspô acted accordingly. 16. *And* here is manifested a great wonder to the multitude, just as revelation mentions : ' It is when that wolf came on, several Yûgyâsts¹, towards Zaratûst, the wolf *was* struck dumb by the assistance of the sacred beings, so that its mouth *was* down *at* the cubs, one with the other.'

17. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that Srôsh² the righteous *and* Vohûmanô proceeded to him, and a woolly (kûrûsak) *sheep* was brought by them unto him ; the nurses (dâyagân)³ also *were* terrified, apart from him, the whole night. 18. *Then* on rushed at dawn that son-loving mother, forwards from the position *of* that woolly *sheep* she walked, and she, the mistress of the domain (zan-î gehân), spoke thus : ' Thou runnest on violently (ûtayûtô) in excess ;' for she considered in this *way*, that ' the wolf is so much better to that son than thou art⁴ good to me, when I shall show *his*⁵ bone or blood in thy sight⁶.' 19. Forwards to him has she come

¹ The Yûgyâst is a distance of sixteen Roman miles of a thousand paces each (see Dk. VIII, xx, 19, note). But the writer of the scripture here quoted could have had no idea of the distance he was mentioning.

² A sacred being who personifies 'obedience,' and is a special protector of man, particularly at night.

³ It may also be read dehîgân, 'the country-folk.'

⁴ Or '*she* would be.'

⁵ Or '*they* show *my*.'

⁶ This seems to be a bitter reproach addressed to her husband ; but the ambiguity of the Pahlavi makes its exact meaning rather uncertain.

intelligently and, seizing him, she thereby removed him, through the grace (dahisnō) of the sacred beings, aloft as he sat; and she, the mistress of the domain, spoke thus: 'I *shall* not give thee up again, *my* son, not *even* though both Rāk and Nōdar *should* arrive here together¹.'

20. And *it* is declared that, afterwards, the Karap Dûrâsrôbô, with a malicious disciple, came to the same district and noticed about the advancement of Zaratûst; and they saw no means for injuring *or* putting *him* to death, but his condition (mindavam) *was* a marvel as full of vigour as this which is declared, that Brâdrôk-rêsh, the Karap, growled thus:—21. 'Then I, *who* am the most far-seeing of the people in that district of ours as to witchcraft, see upon their district that well-directing (that is, he understands good commands) produce *of* development (that is, the increase which continually becomes more, which *has* come and which *will* arrive), with good flocks (that is, he understands to keep good sheep), with good herds (that is, he understands to keep a herd which is better *than* another's), the well-exerting (that is, he understands to do work which is better *than* another's), well-fighting (that is, he understands to do battle well), and perfectly liberal (that is, he understands to exercise beneficial liberality) bantling (hûnûskō) of Pôrûshâspô², in the three nights while he was begotten out of

¹ See Chap. II, 51. Compare Dk. V, ii, 4; Zs. XVI, 8-13.

² The Pahlavi version of an Avesta text, here translated, is a fair specimen of the complication produced by appending a gloss to every epithet. It is useful as a combination of translation and lexicon, but it is apt to be perplexing, unless all the glosses are carefully omitted by the reader who can dispense with a lexicon.

his parents. 22. Unto him *will* Vohûmanô come in the embodied world (that is, Vohûmanô *will* come unto Zaratûst), and conducting him unto a conference, his good religion *will* extend into the seven regions *of* the earth; and so I *shall* not even let him produce in *his* mind (that is, he *will* not know) where *and* how I *shall* murder him; and a token of this matter, that *one* speaks truly, is this, that I state *it* beforehand, promptly after the full hearing of the statement of the matter, when you heard this statement.'

23. Pôrûshâspô advanced, conveyed in a four-in-hand chariot¹; then, on hearing that statement, *and* when they had heard that statement, Pôrûshâspô started forth, conveyed in that four-in-hand chariot. 24. And Pôrûshâspô spoke to Brâdrôk-rêsh, the Karap, thus: 'Brâdrôk-rêsh, *thou* Karap! whatever men they shall behold, cry out when at birth; even the offspring of that secluded person they behold in death, cry out when at birth²; *but* what *was* that which *they* beheld *at* the birth of my son? 25. When at birth he laughed outright; *was* that also beheld *in* thy son, when at birth did he laugh outright? 26. When Vohûmanô comes unto him, into *this* embodied existence, *it* is also said by him on *his* return: "O Pôrûshâspô! where is thy servant³?" So, O Karap! concerning him who is my son, *it* is beheld that *he* *was* seen sagaciously by thee.'

For restoring the original Avesta, the Pahlavi translation, without the glosses, is usually the best guide.

¹ Pahl. 4-ayûgîsnô râê (Av. *kathrûyukhta* and *ratha*).

² This seems to be the meaning of Pahl. 'zag-*fk* tanô armêstô-dahîsnîh pavan frâz khadîtund margîh, amat pavan zerkhûnîsnô, barâ bekhûnd.'

³ Pahl. 'Pôrûshâspô! aêghat bandakô?'

27. And ¹ when Pôrûshâspô enquired of him thus : 'What was the *matter* with thee when, through bringing thee unto that son of mine, *he was* thereby offered ; and thou lookedst long up away from him in height, and thou lookedst long down away from him in depth, and thou lookedst long out away from him in different directions?' 28. The Tûrânian, Brâdrôk-rêsh the Karap, spoke *in* reply thus : 'When through bringing me unto that son *was thy* offering of him, and I ² looked long up away from him in height, then the radiance *and* glory out of him kept together up to the sun, *and* through him ³ I have accompanied *them* on the boundary of *its* radiance *and* glory ; so that I saw this, that mankind through speaking to the soul may attain to the firmament of the sun ; *but* this, namely, how the routine (dâdistânô) is in the supreme heaven, *was* not seen by me. 29. When through bringing me unto that son of thine *was thy* offering of him, and I looked long down in depth away from *thy* offering of him, then the radiance and glory out of him kept together unto the sky which is below this earth, and through him ⁴ to the boundary of *its* radiance and glory ; *but* this, namely, how the routine is in that sky, *was* not seen by me. 30. And when through bringing me unto that son of thine *was thy* offering of him, and I looked long out away from him in different directions, then the radiance *and* glory from him kept together for adorning this earth, *and*

¹ The first five words of § 28 are here inserted in the MS., so as to combine the two sentences in a perplexing manner.

² The MS. has *afat* for *afam* by mistake.

³ Or 'that.'

⁴ The differences of form in §§ 28-30 are probably due to errors of copyists.

through him I have accompanied *them* on the boundary of *its* radiance *and* glory ; so that I saw this, that only from the action of this *one* the future existence *will* arise ; but the routine of the future existence *was* not seen by me. 31. This son of thine thinks thus : “ I *will* make a grander material existence than that of *any* other ; ” so he *will* also make thy spiritual *one*, where thou goest : *and* this son of thine *will* remain in the great protection of Vistâsp, not in thine.’

32. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that when Zaratûst was seven years old, that Dûrâsrôbô being joined by Brâdrôk-rêsh the Karap at the village of Pôrûshâspô, on account of the little previous seeing of Zaratûst *by the latter*, they saw Zaratûst in that neighbourhood when a hut (kâdâkô) was constructed by him with the children ; and they sat with evil intention to injure the mind of Zaratûst through witchcraft, and for that reason fear and terror *were* cast by them upon the children. 33. Here a great wonder became manifest to them, owing to the powerful intellect, cautiousness, and practice of Zaratûst, just as revelation mentions thus : ‘ When the other children were excessively terrified at their own silliness of speech, Zaratûst did not quite close the eye in his mind as regards them.’

34. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that when these two Karaps came to the dwelling of Pôrûshâspô, he ordered the preparation of food for their eating ; and his prepared food is chewed up (frâz khayâi-alt), *with* a gobletful (pûr dôlakô) of mare’s milk. 35. He also spoke to Dûrâsrôbô thus : ‘ Thou art the most spirit-worshipping¹ of mankind

¹ Literally ‘ demon-worshipping ; ’ it is not clear that idolatry is

in our district; do thou worship this of mine.' 36. A great marvel, owing to the sagacity of Zaratûst at a childish age, is just as revelation mentions that Zaratûst spoke thus: 'I worship this, *O* father! *it* is not that which it is necessary for me to worship *that* he should worship.' 37. And Pôrûshâspô spoke thus: '*It* is not that of mine thou worshipping, *and* it is that of mine he should worship.' 38. As many as three times those persons (gabrâân) carried on those assertions; *when* up stood Zaratûst and spoke concerning them, and he broke forth with that eternal statement¹, namely: 'The righteous I reverence, men *or* women; the poor I reverence, men *or* women; *not* the wicked, men or women; when any one whatever shall join Pôrûshâspô, where he shall be celebrating worship, the worship shall then be suitable to the worshippers, that is, he shall worship that which it is necessary to worship.'

39. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that afterwards Dûrâsrôbô the Karap shouted to Zaratûst thus: 'Evil was thy reckoning² which, owing to the conduct of fate (bâhar), I, the foremost of the existences embodied in Râk and Nôdâr³, bring to thee; I am made further worthy where thy fate is carried away from me; now is the joy (parkân) which I convey to him⁴ through bringing *it* on, and this

intended, but rather some form of worship antecedent to Zoroastrian Mazda-worship which latter had not yet been established. The author of this legend must have supposed that it differed very little from the religion of Pôrûshâspô.

¹ Reading sakhûn-i leyalmin which is written in Pahlavi exactly like dashinô rigelǎ, 'the right foot.'

² Pahl. marakǎ, possibly for marg, 'death.'

³ See Chap. II, 51, note.

⁴ Probably referring to his companion Brâzrôk-rêsh who, accord-

will occur, so that I *may* observe he *will* kill thee with the evil eye in the house.' 40. And here is a great wonder which became manifest about Zaratûst, in the sagacity of *his* reply to that deadly *one* at that childish age, which *was* just like this which revelation mentions, that Zaratûst spoke thus : 'Without the joy of a murderer I observe, with propitiousness and complete mindfulness, that it is thee I notice in that house which is thine ¹.'

41. One *marvel* is that which, after this reply of Zaratûst to Dûrâsrôbô, became manifest in that Karap, just as revelation mentions thus : 'The deadly *one* became disabled and stupefied as long as the milking of ten mares *in* milk whose milker is *only one*.'

42. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that when that wizard emerged from *that* stupefaction, he then shouted again to Zaratûst *in* the same manner, Zaratûst uttered that same reply, *and* the deadly *one* became anew disabled and stupefied as long as the milking of twenty mares full of milk whose milker *is only one*.

43. One *marvel* is this which is declared, that again when that wizard emerged from *that* stupefaction, he then shouted to Zaratûst *in* the same manner, Zaratûst uttered that same reply, *and* the deadly *one* becomes anew disabled and stupefied as long as the milking of thirty mares full of milk whose milker *is only one*.

44. One *marvel* is this *which is* declared, that when that wizard emerged from that stupefaction, he

ing to most accounts, was the murderer of Zaratûst in his old age. This tradition is mentioned in Dk. VII only here and in § 22.

¹ Alluding to Dûrâsrôbô's own fate, see § 45.

then grumbled thus : ‘ Do ye have the horse driven for us, and turn round the chariot wherein you harness *it* ; for really this smiting *one* (ganâk) *will* destroy me through the arrival of the *sacred* text *and* through *his* possession of authority.’ So they had the horse driven, and *it was* harnessed to the chariot by them.

45. And here is manifested a great wonder to the multitude, just as revelation mentions thus : ‘ When he *had* proceeded several Yûgyâsts¹ in driving, he stopped in his distress through being terrified, *and* this occurred which I mention for a warning², his semen *was* expelled, so that it arose in his skin and burst it³, and *his* loin thereby broke from *his* thigh ; he then died outright, then his progeny, and then the offspring of his progeny.’

46. One *marvel* is this which is declared that, even before the coming of *Zarathûst* to a conference⁴, *there* is manifested in him a mind which is more capacious than the whole world, *and* more exalted than every worldly possession, with an understanding whose strength is perfectly selected, an intellect of all-acquiring power, and a sagacity of all-deciding ability ; also with the much heedfulness of the kingly glory, and the full desire for righteousness, the efficacious diligence and authority, and even the superiority in mightiness and grandeur of the priestly glory. 47. Also the handsomeness of body *and* completeness of strength which are in the character of these four classes of his, which are priesthood,

¹ See § 16 n.

² Pahl. ‘avô pês yemale/ûnam.’

³ Or ‘in his back and broke it,’ if we suppose that pôst, ‘skin,’ stands for pôst, ‘back.’ Compare the same legend in Zs. XIX, 1-8.

⁴ With the sacred beings.

warriorship, husbandry, and artisanship; *besides* a perfect friendship for the sacred beings *and* the good, *and* an awful enmity for the demons *and* the vile. 48. That is the nature by which the habits (dâdōh) of mankind *and* bipeds, the perfection and completeness of the sacred beings through the creativeness of Aûharmazd, and its *own* commemoration of *them* are provided. 49. So that the sacred beings shall bring a report, as to his superiority, from every one of those who are *and* were *and* will be, *and* of his coming for reminding *us* of Aûharmazd and of the lord-and-mastership (ahû-va-radîh) of the world, *also* of the preservation of the creations therein (ayîpö-dahisnân), from the destroyer, by the tongue of the many-mannered (kabad-sarâdakö) sage, the fully-virtuous *one* of the age producing no harm (avazand-dahîg) in the world. 50. And the demons on this *account*, that this is *he* whom many Kîts¹ *and* Karaps *have* to influence the good to confound *and* destroy, then also kept *their* promise and practised friendship.

51. And on the completion of thirty years beyond his birth², the archangel Vohûmanô came on in commemoration of Aûharmazd, when *he was* bringing his Hô-m-water (mayâ-i Hô-mîgân)³ from the

¹ See Chap. II, 9 n.

² The remaining contents of this and the following chapter are thus summarized in Dk. VIII, xiv, 3, 4:—'His attainment on maturity, at thirty years *of age*, to a conference *with* Aûharmazd; and the occurrence of seven conferences in ten years. Many marvels, owing to him are published therein, just as there are *some* which, collected *and* selected, are noticed by the Dînkard manuscript,' that is, in this seventh book, in which, however, the details of the seven conferences do not occur; but some are mentioned in Zs. XXI, 8-XXII, 13.

³ See Visp. XI, 2.

river Aêvatâk¹, just as this which revelation mentions thus: 'When Zaratûst came forth to the third effluent (*barâ-tagisnîh*), that of the good Dâiti, he further proceeded through that; and when he marched onwards from that, a man *was* seen by him, who marched from the southern quarter. 52. That was Vohûmanô, and it seemed *to him* *that* Vohûmanô *was* of early form (so that he is more discerning as to a person) and foreseeing (that is, he was beforehand in everything); it seemed *to him* *that* Vohûmanô *was* as much *in* height as three men's spears; and it seemed *to him*, *as to* Vohûmanô that a glossy twig (*arûs tâk*) *was* brought by him in *his* hand, through carrying off which branch the plant *was* not injured by him; that became the spiritual twig of the religion, and this *was* indicated by it, that it is necessary to proceed as uninjuriously by the religion. 53. There is *some one* who says that it became a reminder of the spiritual *existence*, and this *was* indicated by it, that it is necessary to proceed as uninjuriously in the world, so that peace may exist with every one.

54. When he came onward to the fourth effluent, as far as the Aûshân-rûd of the good Dâiti (which was the name of it) and *he was* in it, Zaratûst *was* bringing the Hôm-water from the middle of it; and on the ascent Zaratûst, bringing his right foot out of the Aûshân-rûd, covered *himself* with his clothes, and upon that Vohûmanô, advancing, joined him in front.

¹ Literally 'single-flowing.' In Bd. XXIX, 4, 5, it is Nâivtâk which has been translated as 'navigable' in Bd. XX, 34, and as 'flowing in a channel' in Dk. VIII, xxxvii, 38, 42; IX, xvi, 16.—From § 54 it appears to have been a channel of the good Dâiti river which flows from Aîrân-vêg (see Bd. XX, 13).

55. And that man enquired of him thus: 'Who art thou; from whom of them art thou¹?' *He replied*: 'I am Zaratûst² of the Spîtâmas.'

56. The words of Vohûmanô *were*: 'O Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas! about what is thy foremost distress (that is, for what is thy need when thou becomest quite distressed); about what is thy foremost endeavour; and for what is the tendency of thy desire (lak kâmakô-dahisnth)?' 57. The reply of Zaratûst *was* thus: 'About righteousness, I consider *my* foremost distress; about righteousness *my* foremost endeavour; and for righteousness the tendency of my desire (that is, my need is for that thing, and I am a distressed seeker of righteousness).'

58. The words of Vohûmanô *were*: 'O Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas! that which is righteousness is existing (that is, a real thing is, as *it were*, that which is righteousness), so that whatever is that which is righteousness is thus what is one's own.' 59. And Zaratûst spoke thus: 'That which is righteousness exists, and concerning that I am completely clear and aware; *but* where *and* how is that radiance which is that whose arrival is through Vohûmanô.'

60. And Vohûmanô spoke to him thus: 'O Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas! deposit this one garment which thou carriest, so that we *may* confer with him *by*

¹ See Pahl. Yas. XLII, 7 c (Sp.).

² According to the numbering of the folios in the old Bombay MS., written in 1659, nine folios were here separated from it last century. They contained the text as far as the end of Chap. IV, and the first eight of them were found at Naosâri about twenty years ago and copied. But all Indian copies, written before that time, omit this mislaid text. See S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. xxxvi, xxxvii.

whom thou art produced *and by* whom I am produced, who is the most propitious of spirits, who is the most beneficent of existences, and who is he *that* I, who am Vohûmanô, am testifying (that is, I am a reminder of him).'

61. Thereupon, Zaratûst thought thus: 'Good is he who is the creator, who is better than this reminder.' 62. Then they proceeded in company, Vohûmanô and Zaratûst; Vohûmanô *first and* Zaratûst after.

CHAPTER IV.

1. About the marvellousness which is manifested from the first conference onwards till the end of the seventh conference which occurred within the duration of ten years, also his pre-eminence in prophecy in the world, *and* the acceptance of the religion *by* the exalted Kai-Vistâsp, as *happened* after the ten years of conference.

2. In *the first* two years, one *marvel* is this which is declared, that when he was back from the first conference, he then, by the first command of the lord *and* creator Aûharmazd, recited the unique formula (âyînô) in an assemblage (ram) of Kîgs and Karaps, the prophecy of his Mazda-worshipping religion and commemoration of Aûharmazd, as he chanted with a loud voice, *and* invited mankind to the religion of Aûharmazd. 3. Just as this *passage* of revelation mentions thus: 'Thereupon, the thorough inspection for this material existence of those with a *sacred* girdle, provided with dwellings *and* provided with cattle, *was* altogether arranged by Zaratûst.'

4. And when their announcement (nivêdisnô) for

speaking to be heard *was* issued¹, then Zaratûst, on becoming exalted, called out unto the embodied world of righteousness to extol righteousness and to scorn the demons². 5. 'The homage of the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst, *and* the ceremonial and obeisance for the archangels *are* the best for you I assert; and of deprecation (ayazisnîh) for the demons next-of-kin marriage is really the best intimation, so that, from the information which is given *as to* the trustworthiness of a good work, the greatest are the most intimate of them, *those of* father *and* daughter, son *and* she who bore *him*, and brother *and* sister.'

6. *It is* declared that, upon those words, innumerable demon-worshipping Kîgs and Karaps have rushed upon Zaratûst and strove for his death, just like this which revelation states:—'It is then a number (mar) have run away who have sat in the vicinity of Tûr's progeny (hûnûskö)³, the arbitrator; and the shame of the brother of Tûr arose, like *that of* a person whose shame *was* that they spoke of his next-of-kin marriage so that he might contract it.'

7. This Tûr *was* Aûrvâtâ-dang⁴ the Tûr, the scanty giver, *who* was like a great sovereign of that

¹ From this point §§ 4-8 and 11 have been already translated in S. B. E., vol. xviii, pp. 412, 413, in illustration of the meaning of Khvêtûk-das in Sasanian times and later.

² Av. staomî ashem; nâismî daêvô (Yas. XI, 19; XII, 1).

³ An opprobrious term for the progeny of evil beings and animals, also used by a Karap when speaking of Zaratûst in Chap. III, 21.

⁴ As this name has not been found in the extant Avesta, its correct reading is uncertain. In Zs. XX, 8, it can be read Aûr-vaîtö-dih, in which dih is the Pahl. translation of Av. dang, hu, of which dang is a Pahl. transliteration; and the whole name may mean 'friendly to the province,' which seems suitable to this particular ruler. The MS. appears to have deng.

quarter; many troops and *much* power *were* also maintained by him, and the multitude (*mar*) told him they would seize the great *one* from *him* who is little.

8. *But* the progeny of Aûrvâtâ-dang the Tûr, the scanty giver, *spoke* thus: '*Should* we for that *speech* destroy him, this great *one* who mingles together those propitious words *for* us—where we are thus without doubt *as to* one thing therein, *such* as next-of-kin marriage, that it is not necessary to contract *it*—it would make us ever doubtful whether it *might* be necessary to contract it.'

9. And Aûrvâtâ-dang the Tûr, the scanty giver, *spoke* thus: 'Thou shalt not destroy that man whom mine eyes *have* seen *as* the most loving-eyed of the whole embodied existence; he *will* attain strength, for it *has* not seemed to me, when thou destroyest him on this account, *that* wisdom *has* arisen *for* a long time; so that no rule (*âhankö*) of wisdom *will* arise, in this earth, which is so counselling (*hanga-manig*) as this *one* is (that is, when they destroy a man who is counselling, wisdom *will* not arise *for* a long while).'

10. Aûrvâtâ-dang the Tûr, the scanty giver to his own *people*, also *spoke* thus: 'For me thou art a pure *man* who is counselling.'

11. And Zaratûst *spoke* thus: 'I *shall* not always be that quiet speaker, by¹ whom that I *have* mentioned is the most propitious *thing* to be obtained; and of interfering² speaking and managing the temper *there* is a next-of-kin marriage, and the high-

¹ Or 'from.'

² It may be 'parenthetical or ambiguous.'

priest *who has contracted* ¹ *it* is to perform the ceremonial.'

12. And here the good spiritual lordship and mightiness of glory of Zaratûst, those which are provided for commemoration *of* the supreme lord and creator Aûharmazd, are manifested *as* a great wonder to the multitude, *and there* is rendered visible the great pre-eminence which is in him *as* a prophet *of* the creatures, which for the baseness (nankth) of the deceitful Agash ², the secret-moving and deceiving-natured, is the concealed control of a good disposition. 13. Then idleness, like even the habit of fear and nature of apostasy, is an attractor of every one of the multitude, when it extends to much length; little by little, too, that guide and combatant becomes a petitioner for greatness, *and it is* manifest through that compassion (tang-libbemâth) and superior mindfulness of his, *and* through the glory of that stout champion, *there are* much fame *and* treasure.

14. The nobles of Aûrvâtâ-dang the Tûr, the ruler of the land, *were* angry and clamourers for Zaratûst's death; but he invited the Kîgs and Karaps to the religion of Aûharmazd, just as this *passage* of revelation states that Zaratûst also spoke thus: 'Worldly righteousness, O Aûrvâtâ-dang, *thou* Tûr *and* scanty giver! is the whole *of the worship of* the demons and the termination of the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst.' 15. And Aûrvâtâ-dang the Tûr, the scanty giver, spoke thus: 'O Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas! thou shalt not attract me to this evil in which thou really art.'

¹ Or, perhaps, 'celebrated.'

² The demon of the evil eye (see Bd. XXVIII, 33); Av. Ag-hashî, Vd. XX, 3, 7, 9.

16. Zaratûst also spoke thus: 'Aûharmazd' enquired of me thus: "O Zaratûst! when thou hast come away to us, among the spiritual lords, who of the people in thy material existence *was* the protector of the powerful men who *are* warriors, *that was* most seeking benefit, most seeking cattle, most extensively associating, most fully-supplying (that is, he gives out most things), and most hospitable¹ (*that is, one saw the door of a prince's (khidîvö) treasury*)?" I replied to him thus: "Aûrvâitâ-dang the Tûr, the scanty giver."

17. 'And he spoke *in* reply to me thus: "Him, O Zaratûst! thou shalt attract, first of the men *who are* warriors, to thinking about, speaking about, and acting about this religion which is Aûharmazd's and Zaratûst's. 18. If you attract him, O Zaratûst! and he believes in it and also gives currency to this *religion* of thine, and sits before *thee* in discipleship, this that *one* calls discipleship of thine he shall undertake, and the religion he hears fully he shall propagate (rûbâk va ðîdûnyên); he is also ever after, O Zaratûst! the first of the men *who are* warriors, the *one* most seeking benefit, most seeking cattle, most extensively associating, and most hospitable of those who have yet been born *and* who *will* henceforth be born. 19. And if you do not attract him, O Zaratûst! and he does not believe in it, nor gives currency to this *religion* of thine, nor hears *it*, nor even sits before thee, nor would sit before thee, so that *it* is obvious to me that *he* is not attracted, thou shalt speak unto him thus, O Zaratûst: 'Thou art a stricken supplicant for righteousness, and a producer of lamentation for the souls of Tanâpûhar sinners

¹ Literally 'most many-doored.'

worthy of death;' for even so it is, and for this reason he becomes worthy of death, because the existence of the religion is known to him." 20. What I tell thee, *O Aûrvâltâ-dang, thou Tûr and scanty giver!* is that thou art a stricken supplicant *for* righteousness, a producer of lamentation for the souls of *Tanâpûhar* sinners worthy of death.'

21. One prodigy of the demons is specified, who *was* the enemy of whatever sacred beings *there are*, a *Karap, Vaêdvôist*¹ *by name, of those unsanctified (ayastân) by Aûharmazd*². 22. And *Aûharmazd* spoke thus: 'I so befriend that man, *O Zaratûst!* who is put forward by me over the creatures, whom thou shalt invite (*khvânês*), I *who* am *Aûharmazd*, because I am through righteousness opposed to harm (that is, through virtue I keep harm away from the creatures), *and* the archangels are opposed to harm. 23. Therefore do thou proceed, *O Zaratûst!* *and* thou shalt demand from him for me (that is, keep as my property) a hundred youths of vigour (*tôsh tal*)³, girls, and teams of four horses; so do thou speak to him thus: "*O Vêdvôist! Aûharmazd* demands from thee a hundred youths of vigour, girls, *and* teams of four horses; if thou givest *them*

¹ Here written in Pâzand, but the Pahlavi form, *Vêdvôist*, occurs in §§ 23, 24.

² Or '*of the non-worshippers of Aûharmazd.*'

³ For an instance of gifts of slaves see the Pahlavi inscription on an engraved stone from Baghdâd, in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xi, p. 224, ll. 2, 3 of inscription: '*kevan bîdûn va-kanîgakô . . . lakhvâr . . . shedrûnam . . . va-zak shibâ rîdô va-shibâ kanîgakôân shedrûnt:*'—'*Now . . . I send back a slave-boy and slave-girl . . . and those seven slave-boys and seven slave-girls are sent.*' This inscription was probably engraved in the seventh century, judging from the forms of the letters.

to him, splendour and glory are thine through that giving; and if thou dost not give to him, evil destiny is thine through that not-giving.”

24. Then Zaratûst walked on to that Vêdvoist of those unsanctified, and spoke to him thus: ‘*O Vêdvoist of the unsanctified! that which Aûharmazd demands from thee is a hundred youths of vigour, girls, and teams of four horses; if thou givest them to him, splendour and glory are thine through that giving; and if thou dost not give to him, evil destiny is thine through that not-giving.*’ 25. And that Karap shouted in reply to Zaratûst thus: ‘For me *there* is no more from thee (that is, there is no opulence for me from thy action), nor from Aûharmazd; I am more of a divinity (bagtar) and am more forward in opulence than even Aûharmazd; many droves of a thousand swine are also acquired by me.’

26. On went Zaratûst, up to Aûharmazd and up to the archangels, and Zaratûst spoke thus: ‘*O Aûharmazd, propitious spirit, creator of the world of embodied beings, thou righteous one!* thus spoke he in reply to me: “For me *there* is no more from thee, nor from Aûharmazd; I am more of a divinity than thee or even Aûharmazd, and many droves of a thousand swine are acquired by me.”’

27. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: ‘Owing to the splendour and glory of those which are ours, *O Zaratûst!* that man has acquired arrogance (that is, the cattle we produced are the many cattle of his arrogance). 28. This *will be* his retribution for it then, however, when he does not reach further alive at the end of the third night¹; in that third night

¹ Apparently the third night after death, on the passing away of

they *will* have stood aloof from alongside his life (that is, they *will* have stood away from assisting it); those seven of them who are radiant and bright-eyed (*spêdō dōtsar*) make him rush up on high, and up there on high *he* shall be fed upon mouldy bread (*parnân*).'

29. One *marvel* is the great healthfulness owing to the Hô-m-water *and* the bringing of this *by* Zaratûst from the river Dâtî, which is manifested when Vohûmanô *was* conveying *him* to the conference.

30. Just as is declared in the words of Aûharmazd to Zaratûst thus: 'For them is the Hô-m-water which thou bringest, *O* Zaratûst! not for those demon-worshipping people *who* worship the demons, or for a satisfier of courtezans (*gêh-vigâr*); they shall sprinkle it on to that bull thou shalt bring forward, who is a four-year-old of exhausted vigour, black-haired and useful; *on* drinking up the water, that bull *will* become quite sound from that infirmity.'

31. Thereupon, Zaratûst went on first into the embodied existence, on which dwelt, at the end of Sagâstân¹, that same Parshad *whose* title was Tôrâ (*the Bull*). 32. Parshad-tôrâ² also spoke to him

which the soul is supposed to have its destination determined, until the resurrection (see Hâdôkht Nask, II, 18; III, 17). If the seven sacred beings who stand aloof from him be the archangels, they treat Vêdvoist very leniently; but this legend treats of a period which it assumes to be earlier than the laws of Zaratûst.

¹ The modern Sîstân, bordering upon Afghânistân and Bulû-kistân.

² Av. Parshad-gau, mentioned twice in Yt. XIII, 96, 127, but it is not certain that both allusions refer to the same individual. The name also occurs in Bd. XXIX, 5, but only in one old MS.; in all others another name is given, though the locality appears to be

thus: 'O Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas! give me this Hô-m-water which thou bringest.' 33. And Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Do thou praise righteousness, O Parshad-tôrâ! and scorn the demons; *also* utter the profession¹ of the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst among the iniquitous.' 34. *It was* praised by Parshad-tôrâ, and the demons were scorned by him; yet he did not speak among the iniquitous as to his accepting the Mazda-worship of Zaratûst. 35. Forward to him *came* Zaratûst at that praise of righteousness, for him *was* that Hô-m-water which Zaratûst brought; not for those demon-worshipping people *who* have worshipped the demons, *but* for that bull of his *which* Zaratûst brought forward, a four-year-old of exhausted vigour, black-haired and useful; owing to that bringing forward of the water, the bull became quite sound from that infirmity.

36. One *marvel* is that which is declared regarding the rushing of the evil spirit for the slaughter of Zaratûst, just as revelation² mentions thus: 'From the northern quarter forth rushed the deadly evil spirit, and thus shouted he, astute in evil, the deadly evil spirit: "Rush on, O fiend! and destroy the righteous Zaratûst."' 37. On to him they rushed, the fiend, the demon Bûd, and secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver. 38. Zaratûst chanted aloud the Ahunavair; the fiend *was* confounded at that, *and* away they rushed, the demon Bûd and secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver. 39. And the fiends shouted thus: "Thou art scornfully observing, O evil spirit! (that is, anything to the purpose thou

nearly the same. In § 31 the first part of the name is here written Parshêd.

¹ The Fravarânê, Yas. XI, 16.

² Pahl. Vd. XIX, 1-4.

dost not thoroughly observe, and what thou orderest *us* to do is not possible); the death of him who is Zarâtûst of the Spîtâmas is not contemplated by us."

40. Owing to the full glory of the righteous Zarâtûst, he perceived in *his* mind thus: "The wicked demons, astute in evil, consult together about my death;" and up stood Zarâtûst, forth went Zarâtûst.'

41. Here is manifested a great wonder to the multitude, in that which is mentioned thus: 'And a stone *was* put forth by the righteous Zarâtûst, *that* was held in *his* hand, and the size of a hut, *and* which was obtained by him from the creator Aûharmazd, the spiritual Yathâ-ahû-vairyô ¹.'

42. And one *marvel* is this which is manifested not only in the country of Irân to Irânians, but in every land and to every race: the shattering of the demons' bodies *through* the chanting of the Ahunavair aloud *by* Zarâtûst. 43. Just as that which *a passage*² mentions thus: 'I worship the resources of the Kayân glory, with which the righteous Zarâtûst was associated in thinking about, speaking about, *and* acting about the religion which was, of all embodied existences, the most righteous in righteousness, the most lordly in sovereignty, the most radiant in radiance, and the most glorious in glory. 44. At *his* appearance³ the demons have fallen before him, at *his* appearance their semen (mâyagân) also drops, at *his* appearance the courtesan is also withdrawn by them from mankind;

¹ The first three words of the Ahunavair formula.

² See Yt. XIX, 78-81.

³ Reading *vênđv*dahakih, but the first letter is omitted in all three occurrences of the word.

on hearing¹ him *they* lamented, very violently is it lamented by the demons. 45. By the Ahunavair, which the righteous Zaratûst chanted aloud to them, all the demons are seized *and* buried in the earth, where the complete shattering of their bodies is manifest.' 46. So that, after the shattering of their bodies, it became evident to those in the world *that* they were not able to do mischief in the bodily form of a demon, and they have been declared of the nature of sacred beings to mankind, *but* mankind fully understood that they are not sacred beings, but demons.

47. Zaratûst revealed (gushâftô) to mankind by the word of Aûharmazd, how in this religion *the latter* tells in words to Zaratûst where *and* how, in the embodied existence, mankind consider a demon as exalted *or* as a high-priest, because they are where they say that they must consider *some one* as high-priest. 48. So Aûharmazd spoke to Zaratûst thus: 'How do they who are good people, O Zaratûst! consider a demon as exalted? and how are they that even tell a demon thus: "We should accept you," because the demons speak thus: "It *will* happen to you"?''

49. And Zaratûst spoke thus: 'Only for the *reason*, O Aûharmazd! *that* people hasten on to that which is a jungly plain without dwellings, where no one resides from the departure of light until sun-

¹ If the word be Pahlavi, it is probably intended for snâyân, 'hearing'; but it may be merely an approximate transcript of Av. snaodhentis, which word, if this be the case, must have puzzled Sasanian scholars as much as it does those of the present time. As a transcript, the word might be read snôdîyân, and we might guess the meaning of the phrase to be 'thereupon weeping *they* lamented.'

rise arrives, when *it is* two Hâsars¹ of night, and again silently (agôp) from sunset until their returning together when the two Hâsars of night are gone, they hear that no work, no men, and no voices of dogs are there. 50. Then they say as to that, on arriving back, thus: "We have consulted with the demons there; when we request (zâêm) monarchy (sâstârîh) *and* leadership from them, they give them to us; when we request the possession of flocks and opulence from them, they give them to us."

51. *Then Aûharmazd spoke thus*: 'How can they do such a thing for them, *O Zaratûst!* (that is, how does it happen *that it is* continually given by them *for* those that speak thus: "It happened to us")?'

52. And Zaratûst spoke thus: 'They speak variously, *O Aûharmazd!* as to that generosity; there is *one* who speaks thus: "I have ever after been possessing more flocks, so long as I am *in* consultation with the demons;" and there is *another* who speaks thus: "I have ever after been worse and more ill-fated, so long as we are *in* consultation with those demons;" according as they possess a full subsistence for *themselves* from the demons (that is, when they diversely subsist fully *on* whatever they bespeak from the demons).' 53. Zaratûst also spoke thus: 'So they speak about it, *O Aûharmazd!* thus: "Observe further, where any one of us returns *he* is either shrunk together (that is, he holds *his* head down to *his* chest), or shrunk away (that is, he looks quite aside), or is only pleasantly

¹ Av. hâthra, which, as a measure of time, varies from one to two hours (see Farh. Oîm, p. 43, ll. 1-3).

cast down and, owing to acquiescence in him, the demons tempt (nes,hünd) *him* away out of mankind.”’

54. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: ‘According to thy wish, do thou, *O Zaratûst!* fully observe thy existence, upwards from the head, downwards from the sole¹ of the foot, and afar *on* various sides; and thou shouldst beseech before and behind and *in* every direction, for we *are* not as to thee as the demons *are* as to mankind, we give away everything only in invisibility; but the demons, through close connection, when they rush out, tempt only with pleasantness. 55. Even unto thee, *O Zaratûst!* a fiend *will* rush, a female, golden-bodied *and* full-bosomed (so that she wears a bodice), and she rushes to request companionship from thee; a female, golden-bodied *and* full-bosomed, to request conversation from thee, to request co-operation from thee. 56. *But* thou shouldst not grant her companionship, nor conversation, nor shalt thou prescribe *any* conduct for her; afterwards, to revert her downwards, thou shalt utter aloud that triumphant saying the Yathâ-ahû-vairyo.’

57. Zaratûst proceeded to the habitable *and* friendly world, for the purpose of fully observing that beaten track (khâpîsnö) of the embodied existence; then that fiend came forward when he sat in the vicinity of a garment—that garment² which, when Vohûmanô *was* conveying *him* to the conference, *was* deposited by him—a female, golden-bodied *and* full-bosomed, and companionship, con-

¹ Assuming that lêlyâ stands for zêrîh; the only difference, in Pahlavi writing, being in the first letter.

² See Chap. III, 60.

versation, and co-operation *were* requested by her from him; she also whined (dandīdō): 'I am Spendarmad¹.'

58. And Zarātūst spoke thus: 'She who is Spendarmad *was* fully observed by me in the light of a cloudless day, and that Spendarmad appeared *to* me fine behind and fine before and fine all round (that is, *in* all positions she was handsome); do thou turn *thy* back, and I *shall* know if thou art Spendarmad.'

59. And the fiend spoke to him thus: 'O Zarātūst of the Spītāmas! where we are, those who are females are handsome in front, *but* frightfully hideous behind; *so* do not make a demand for my back.' 60. After she *had* protested a third *time*, the fiend turned *her* back, and she *was* seen by Zarātūst behind in the groin; and when matter was exuded, *it was* full of serpents, toads, lizards, centipedes, and frogs.

61. And that triumphant saying, the Yathā-ahû-vairyô, was uttered aloud by Zarātūst; then that fiend *was* annihilated, and Kêshmāk² the Karap rushed forth. 62. And he grumbled in leaving, thus: 'The misery which is here *below* is such as I have obtained, because, owing to thee, I thought that thy sacred beings *were* more joyful than any heroes who through defeat go to hell; I proceed more joyfully *than* the sacred beings, as regards the life in the body, so that I fully deceive the life in thy body, and thou art fully deceived by me as regards thine.'

¹ The female archangel Bountiful Devotion, in whose special charge are the earth and virtuous women; see Sls. XV, 5, 20-24.

² See Chap. II, 44, 45.

63. Zaratûst also revealed (gushûftö) this secret to mankind, and their knowledge *how* to test a demon is manifested therein, even by a great wonder of the same nature to mankind: the visible rushing of the demons into the world before Zaratûst, *and* their bodies *being* afterwards shattered by the loud chanting of revelation *by* Zaratûst from the Avesta announced, which *was* the acceptance of *its* truth by the ruler Vistâsp and the people of that time; and if this *had* not been so, *and* Vistâsp *and* those of *his* time *were* not accepting the Avesta which *was* announced by Zaratûst *in* this fashion, through *their* considering *it* false, it would not have reached unto us.

64. One *marvel* is this, with which, too, he who *was* Zaratûst became aware from revelation, about the vileness *and* perverted religion of Zâk of the deadly Karaps of Vistâsp and many other Kals and Karaps who *were* at the residence of Vistâsp, their combination for the death of Zaratûst, the preparation for severe abuse of him to Vistâsp, and influencing Vistâsp for his death by command of Vistâsp, *which* extends to awful imprisonment and punishment. 65. Afterwards, too, his knowledge about *his* preservation therefrom, the manifestation of his wondrousness, and the evidence concerning *his* attainment unto prophesying; *also* after the continuance of the last questioning *of* the ten years of conference, *his* departure alone, by the advice *and* command of Aûharmazd, to the residence of Vistâsp and the precinct (var) of that terrible conflict. 66. *His* uttering, on the horse-course (aspânvar) of Vistâsp, a reminder of the power and triumph of Aûharmazd over himself, *as* he invited Vistâsp to

the religion of Aûharmazd ; and with great wisdom Vistâsp heard the words of Zaratûst, on account of his own complete mindfulness and spiritual knowledge of ritual, *and* would have asked for an outpouring of prophecy.

67. *But* thereupon, too—before the words of Zaratûst *were fully* heard by him, *and* he could have understood the character of Zaratûst—owing to the demonizing of the deadly Zâk and the rest of those Kîgs *and* Karaps, *spoken* out with slanderous knowledge *and* perverse actions to Vistâsp about Zaratûst, *there then occurred* his consignment of Zaratûst to that confinement *and* punishment as stated in the words of Zaratûst thus : ‘I have spoken about their three enquiries, and I am bound by thirty of them, I with thirty-three fetters of murderers, wicked ones, and demon-worshippers¹. 68. But the hunger of manhood’s inclination² violently affected the strength of my legs, but the hunger of manhood’s inclination violently affected the force of my arms, but the hunger of manhood’s inclination violently affected the hearing of my ears, but the hunger of manhood’s inclination violently affected the sight of my eyes, and it would force away my bosom up to *my* back (so that it³ would stay behind at my back) through the continuance of that deadly hunger of manhood’s inclination.’

69. And here, through the mightiness of Zaratûst—*who* proceeded alone to the terrible combat *with*

¹ Compare Zs. XXIII, 5.

² Reading gûsn-girâth ; but it might be dûs-vîrâth, ‘bad provision.’ He was left to starve to death in prison.

³ The bosom. The idea of the writer appears to have been that in case of utter starvation the chest would totally collapse, so that the breast bone would touch the spine.

evil, where *there* became manifest, in the mode which is written, the descent of his life into so much punishment, due to hunger and thirst, heavy fetters, *and* other misery unto which the strength of human nature is attaining, *but* unto which *it* is not destined — is manifested a great wonder to king Vistâsp and his officials, when *his* full-glorious person *was* found by them alive in awfulness, imprisonment, and those other transformations (*padgastakîh*) of long-continued starvation.

70. One *marvel* is this, that the sacred beings contrived, for the sake of (*va/ vahân-i*) his preservation from that awfulness, a body possessing life, *and* on his account it became lifeless and imperceptible; afterwards, in the great session of Vistâsp and the assembly of the world, Zaratûst, through the strength and blessedness of the true word, restored the same body anew, like that which is issuing in the statement of the wonder about the splendid horse of Vistâsp¹.

71. One *marvel* is *his* telling and disclosing the thoughts of king Vistâsp and *of* those of the realm, and many other concealed matters, through spiritual perception.

72. One *marvel* is several matters of evil deceit (*vad gamâs*) which Dahâk had done in Bâpêl²

¹ This very slight allusion to the cure of Vistâsp's horse by Zaratûst is sufficient to show that this legend existed in the ninth century; but the writer of the *Dînkard* seems inclined to trace it back to a tale that he vaguely relates in the earlier part of this section, and which he evidently found in older writings; this tale, however, does not mention a horse, but only an animated body. The Persian Zaratûst-nâma develops the legend of the sick horse, whose legs are drawn up to its belly, into 160 couplets.

² Babylon; see Yt. V, 29-31; XV, 19-21.

through witchcraft, *and* mankind had come to idol-worship through that seduction, *and its* increase was the destruction of the world; *but* through the triumphant words of the religion, which Zaratûst proclaimed opposing it, that witchcraft is all dissipated and disabled.

73. One *marvel* is this which is manifested, with wonders owing to Zaratûst, in controversy about the religion with the famous learned of the realm, among whom, known for learning *in* the world, *are* the investigators (girâyagânö) of the words of speech; *and* among those *things* which *are* more surprisingly controversial *are* those later (sibastar) words which *are* to save their creatures by a later religion. 74. Also to proclaim its truth intelligibly, and to make king Vistâsp *and* those previously learned *men* without doubt as to the truth of the religion, the creator Aûharmazd sends some *spirits*, Vohûmanô, Ashavahistô, and the propitious fire¹, as a reminder to Vistâsp about the true prophesying of Zaratûst, *and* the desire of Aûharmazd for the acceptance of the religion *of* Mazda-worship *by* Vistâsp *and* *for its* propagation in the world.

75. The wondrousness which is manifested to Vistâsp *and* those of the realm—both through the travelling (vâzîdanö) of those archangels down from the sky to the earth, and in *their* travelling to the abode of Vistâsp—*was* like this which revelation mentions thus: ‘Then he who is the creator Aûharmazd spoke *to* them, to Vohûmanô, Ashavahistô, and also the fire of Aûharmazd, the propitious, thus: “Proceed! you *who* are archangels, unto the

¹ Compare Zs. XXIII, 7.

abode of Vistâsp, whose resources (*afzâr*) are cattle *and* who is far *and* widely famed, with a view to *his* reliance upon this religion (that is, till he shall stand up for this religion); and, as regards the answering words of the righteous Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas, to approve the nature (*zag sân*) of those words." 76. The archangels proceeded unto the abode of Vistâsp, whose resources are cattle *and* *who* is far *and* widely famed; their radiance, in that lofty residence, seemed to him, that Vistâsp, a heaven *of* complete light, owing to their great power and triumph; this *was* so that, when he thus looked upon it, the exalted Kaî-Vistâsp trembled, all his courtiers (*pêsakô*) trembled, all his chieftains (*padô*) were confused, *and* he of the superior class *was* like the driver of a chariot-horse.

77. 'And the fire of Aûharmazd spoke, in the words of heroes, thus: "Fear not, for *there* is no fearing for thee, *thou* exalted Kaî-Vistâsp! they have not come for alarming thy abode, *as* a reminder of the deputed envoys of Argâsp¹; *there* have not come, for alarming thy abode, the two Khyôns of

¹ Av. Aregad-aspa, king of the *Hvyaonas* (Pahl. Khyôns), mentioned in Yt. V, 109, 113, 116; XVII, 50; XIX, 87. His war with Vistâsp, for the purpose of compelling the latter to abjure his new religion, is described in the *Yâdkâr-î Zarîrân* (see Geiger in *Sitzungsberichten der p.-p. und h. Classe der k. bayer. Akad. der Wiss.* 1890, Bd. II, pp. 43-84). Argâsp sends two envoys, Vîdrafš the wizard and Nâmkhvâst of the Hazârs, to demand Vistâsp's submission; this is refused defiantly by advice of Zarîr, the king's brother; and both nations prepare for war. When the Irânians meet the Khyôns, Vistâsp consults his vazîr Gâmâsp, who prognosticates prodigious slaughter. And, after losing most of their chieftains (including twenty-three brothers and sons of Vistâsp), the Irânians utterly annihilate the Khyôn army. This war is called the 'war of the religion' in Bd. XII, 33; Byt. III, 9.

Argâsp who demand tribute and revenue (sâk va-bâzö); and *there has* not come, for alarming thy abode, the all-overpowering thief who is an injurer, *or* the dog who is a highwayman. 78. We are three who have come over (taristö) to thy abode, Vohû-manô, Ashavahistô, and also the fire of the propitious lord; of these thy knowledge is most wisely most just. 79. If thou helpst vision, so that it becomes wisdom for thee, the worldly *existence* requires the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, which proceeds purely through the recitation which Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas *teaches*. 80. Do thou chant the Ahunavair, do thou praise perfect righteousness¹, and utter no worship² for the demons! because the desire of Aûharmazd, as regards thee, is *for thy* reliance upon this religion; *it* is also the desire *of* the archangels, and the desire, as regards thee, *of* the other sacred beings who are beneficent (sapîrdahakö) *and* righteous.

81. "And as the recompense in this life, if you praise the good *and* pure religion of the righteous Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas, we *will* give unto thee a long reign and sovereignty, and the long lifetime of a life of 150 years; we *will* give unto thee Good Integrity and Rectitude³ which is long-continued in desire for constantly assisting, good for assistance

¹ That is, recite the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô and the Ashem-vohû formulas.

² Pahl. a-aîzîsnîh, literally, a 'non-worship,' which may mean something worse than 'no worship;' but 'execration or malediction' is usually expressed by gazîsn, 'cursing,' which is written exactly like yazîsn, 'worship.'

³ Pahl. Aharîsvang and Râē-astîsnîh, the equivalents of Av. Ashis-vanguhi and Rasāstât who are spiritual personifications of the qualities mentioned in the text.

through constantly assisting, and not passing away ; and we *will* give unto thee a son, Pêshyôtan¹ is *his* name, he is immortal, *and* so is undecaying, hungerless, and thirstless, living and predominant in both existences, *those* of the embodied *beings* and of the spirits. 82. *But*, as the recompense in this life, if you do not praise the good *and* pure religion of the righteous Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas, we *will* not convey thee up on high, and we *will* order thine end ; the vultures which *are* mindful of decay *will* see *and* eat up those *and* these of thine, thy blood *will* reach the ground, and the waters *will* not reach thy body.”

83. One *marvel* is that *connected* with the confidence (vâvari-hastanô) of Vistâsp in the religion, even through that occurrence of the speech of the archangels ; and, afterwards, the obedience (patya-sât?) *of* his thoughts in the case of the delays through the bloodshed owing to Argâsp² the Khyôn and his attendant heroes (pas-gurdânô) throughout the same Khyôns, because of the acceptance of the religion. 84. Also, for the sake of daily *and* visibly showing to Vistâsp the certified victory over Argâsp and the Khyôns, and his own superior position, unceasing rule, splendour, and glory, the creator Aûhar Mazda sends, at the same time, the angel Nêryôsang³ to the abode of Vistâsp, as a reminder for the archangel Ashavahistô to give to Vistâsp to drink of that fountain of life, for looking

¹ Written Pêshyâtânô, both here and in Chap. V, 12. He is the immortal priestly ruler of Kangdez, who was expected to come to restore the religion in Irân in the time of Aûshêdar, see Bd. XXIX, 5 ; Byt. III, 25-32, 36-42, 51, 52.

² Here written Argadâspô ; see § 77.

³ Written Nêrôksang here and in § 85.

into the existence of the spirits, the enlightening food by means of which great glory *and* beauty *are* seen by Vistâsp.

85. Just as this *passage* of revelation mentions thus: 'And he who is the creator Aûharmazd spoke to the angel Nêryôsang thus: "Proceed *and* travel, O Nêryôsang the assembler¹! unto the abode of Vistâsp, whose resources are cattle *and* who is far *and* widely famed, and thou shalt say this to Ashavahistô, thus: 'O Ashavahistô! do thou authoritatively take this fine saucer (tastô), which is fully finer than the other saucers that *are* made (that is, the cup (gâm) is as fine *as* is possible to make for royalty), *and* carry up to Vistâsp the Hôm and Vars² (mûi) which are for us; and do thou give it³ unto the ruler Vistâsp to drink up, by whose word it is accepted.'" 86. Ashavahistô authoritatively taking the fine saucer from him, also, thereupon, gave it unto the exalted ruler Kai-Vistâsp to drink *from*⁴; and the ruler of the country (dîh), the exalted Kai-Vistâsp, lay down when divested of *his* robes, and he spoke to Hûtôs⁵ thus: "You, O Hûtôs! are *she*

¹ Compare Vd. XXII, 7.

² A lock of three, five, or seven hairs from the tail of a white bull, that is tied to a metal thumb-ring which is put into the Hôm-strainer when the Hôm-juice is about to be poured through it. See Haug's Essays, 3rd ed., pp. 397-403. This ring and lock of hair may be the relic of a hair-sieve that may have been used for straining the Hôm-juice in former times.

³ The saucer, or cup, of strained Hôm-juice.

⁴ The foregoing twenty-six words, excepting two, have been here repeated by the writer of the old Bombay MS., after turning over a folio.

⁵ Av. Hutaosa, wife of Vistâsp and descendant of Nôdar (Av. Naotara); see Yt. XV, 35, 36. According to the later authority of the Yâdkar-i Zarîân, § 48, she was also a sister of Vistâsp.

whom the prompt ability (*têzō hûnar*) of Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas should reach; *and* through the diligence of the prompt ability of Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas, you¹ would expound the religion of Aûharmazd and Zaratûst.”’

87. One *marvel* is this which is declared; that when Vistâsp, accepting the religion, praises righteousness, the demons in hell are disabled, and the demon Aeshm² rushes to the country of the Khyôns *and to* Argâsp, the deadly *one* of the Khyôns, because he was the mightiest of the tyrants at that time; and the *most* hideous of all, of so many of them in the country of the Khyôns, are poured out by him for war.

88. And here, too, is manifested a great wonder also to the host (*ram*) of Irân who have been coming there, unto the residence of Argâsp the Khyôn, like this which revelation mentions thus: ‘Then, just at the time his legion is separately displayed, Aeshm the unredeemable (*tanâpûharak*) adheres (*gêrevêdō*) to him, as *being himself* without escort (*agurôh*), and quite opposes (*barâ sperêzêdō*) him, because: “You, who are a Khyôn, *have* become unlucky through want of success after you engage *in conflict*.”’ 89. Henceforth, it is not that the victory of Irân *has* come over foreigners *and* Khyôns—through companionship at the abode of that man who is mightier by the birth of Zaratûst

The similarity of her name to that of Atossa, the wife and sister of Cambyses, whom Darius afterwards married, is striking.

¹ As the verbal forms of the present third person singular and second person plural are alike in Pahlavi, it is doubtful which personal pronoun to use.

² The demon of Wrath; see Bd. XXVIII, 15-17.

of the Spîtâmas—when that hideous sovereignty of Argâsp, the deadly Khyôn, is swallowed up by him (*Vistâsp*), for the confusion of the deadly species (that is, *they are* further smitten by him, one through the other; and are swallowed together by him, mutually struggling and through mutually devouring). 90. And apart from him, that bitter *and* well-hardened Khyôn that is quite disabled by him the good *Vistâsp*, that deadly *fiend* is disturbed about him of eloquent abilities (*Zaratûst*); and so he grumbled at the hideous sovereignty thus: ‘Prompt ability comes into existence *and* the Khyôn came; thereupon prompt ability comes into existence *and* the Irânian has come ¹.’

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CHAPTER V.

1. About the marvellousness which is manifested from the acceptance of the religion *by* Vistâsp onwards till the departure (*vîkhêzô*) of Zaratûst, *whose* guardian spirit is revered, to the best existence, when seventy-seven years² had elapsed onwards from *his* birth, forty-seven onwards from

¹ According to the numbering of the folios of the old MS. of 1659 (brought from Persia to India in 1783) one folio, numbered 313 in Persian words, is here missing. It has not yet been found in India, and, owing to folio 312 apparently completing a sentence, and folio 314 evidently beginning a new chapter, the loss of text is hardly perceptible. It would have filled the next two pages.

² The MS. has ‘57 years,’ through ۵۰ ‘50’ being written instead of ۷۰ ‘70’; but see Chap. III, 51 which states the interval of thirty years between his birth and conference.

his conference, and thirty-five years onwards from the acceptance of the religion by Vistâsp¹.

2. One *marvel* is this *which* is declared that, when Zaratûst chanted revelation in the abode of Vistâsp, *it was* manifest to the eye that it is danced to *with* joyfulness, both by the cattle and beasts of burden, and by the spirit of the fires which *are* in the abode. 3. By *which*, too, a great wonder is proclaimed, like this *which* revelation mentions thus: 'There seemed a righteous joyfulness of all the cattle, beasts of burden, and fires of the place, and there seemed a powerfulness of every kind of well-prepared spirits and of those quitting the abode (mân-hishânö), "that will make us² henceforth powerful through religion," when they fully heard those words which *were* spoken by the righteous Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas.'

4. And one *marvel* is the provision, by Zaratûst, of the achievement of ordeal, that indicator of the acquitted and incriminated for sentence by the judge, in obscure legal proceedings; of which *it* is said in revelation *there are* about (k'igûn) thirty-three kinds. 5. These, too, the disciples of Zaratûst kept in use, after that *time*, until the collapse of the monarchy of Irân; and the custom of one of them is that of pouring melted metal on the breast, as in the achievement of the saintly (hû-fravardö) Âtûrpâd son of Mâraspend, through whose preservation a know-

¹ The contents of this chapter and the next, as far as VI, 11, may be connected with the following summary in Dk. VIII, xiv, 9:—'Information also *as to* many other things which are marvellous, and *as to* a summary of the statements of these seven enquiries, which is *derived* from knowledge of every kind.' For the seven enquiries, see Zs. XXII.

² Or, perhaps, 'make the abode.'

ledge about the religion *was* diffused in the world; and of the manifestation, too, through that great wonder, this is also said, on the same subject, in the good religion, that of those many, when they behold that rite of ordeal, it convinces the wicked ones¹.

6. One *marvel* is that which is afterwards manifested, after the former captivity of Zaratûst² and his speaking about the religion to Vistâsp and those of the realm³, *such* as the acceptance of the religion *by* Vistâsp *and* that which Zaratûst said to him at *his* original arrival, as regards the declaration of a ruler's religion, thus: 'Thine is this disposition, *and* this religion which is calling (khrôsakô) is a property *of* that description *which* thou putttest together, O Kai-Vistâsp! so that *if* thou wilt accept this disposition of thine, thou wilt possess this religion which exists (that is, the learning of learnings), *and be* the ruler that shall cause *its* progress; thou *will* possess in this disposition of thine, as *it were*, a new support (stûnakô), *and* any one *will* uphold *thee* by upholding *it*, as thou art the possessor of the support of this religion.' 7. Also the victory of Vistâsp over Argâsp the Khyôn and other foreigners in that awful battle⁴, just as Zaratûst explained unto Vistâsp in revelation; *and* much which is declared by revelation.

8. One *marvel* is the disclosure by Zaratûst, in complete beneficence, medical knowledge, acquaintance with character, and other professional retentiveness (ptshakô-gîrûkîh), secretly *and* completely, of *what* is necessary for legal knowledge and spiritual

¹ §§ 4, 5 are already translated in AV. p. 145.

² See Chap. IV, 67-69.

³ See Chap. IV, 73.

⁴ See Chap. IV, 88-90.

perception ; also the indication, by revelation, of the rites for driving out pestilence (*sēgō*), overpowering the demon and witch, and disabling sorcery and witchcraft. 9. The curing *of* disease, the counter-action of wolves *and* noxious creatures, the liberating of rain, *and* the confining of hail, spiders, locusts, and other terrors of corn *and* plants *and* adversaries of animals, *by* the marvellous rites which are also relating to the worship of Khûrdad *and* Amûrdad¹, and many other rites which *were* kept in use until the collapse of the monarchy of Irân ; and there are *some* which have remained even *till* now², *and* are manifested with a trifle of marvellousness by the sacred fires. 10. And the disclosure to mankind *of* many running waters from marvellous streams (*ardâyâ*), and remedies for sickness which *are* mixed (*fargardakō*) by well-considering physicians ; many *are* spiritual and celestial, gaseous (*vâyīg*) and earthy ; and the worldly advantage of others, too, is the praise (*lāfō*) which ought to come to one for angelic³ wisdom.

11. One is the marvel of the Avesta itself, which, according to all the best reports *of* the world, is a compendium of all the supremest statements of wisdom.

12. One *marvel* is the coming of this also to

¹ These two archangels personify health and immortality, respectively (see Chap. II, 19), and are supposed to have special charge of water and plants.

² The ninth century, unless this phrase be copied from one of the sources of the Dīnkard.

³ The MS. has *yazdânō-khirađōîh* which has the meaning given in the text ; but this word can also be read *gehânō-khirađōîh*, 'worldly wisdom,' though *gehânō* is the more usual orthography.

Vistâsp, which the archangels announced as a recompense for accepting the religion ¹, as he saw Pêshyôtan the happy ruler, that immortal and undecaying son, not wanting food, large-bodied, completely strong, fully glorious, mighty, victorious, and resembling the sacred beings; the unique splendour of Pêshyôtan for the sovereignty of Kangdez *in yonder world*, as allotted to him *by* the creator Aûharmazd, is manifested even through that great wonder to the multitude ².

CHAPTER VI.

1. About the marvellousness which is manifested after the departure (vîkhêzô) of Zaratûst, whose guardian spirit is revered, to the best existence, *and in the lifetime* of Vistâsp.

2. One *marvel* is this which is declared by revelation, about the provision of a chariot ³ by Srîtô ⁴ of the Vîsraps ⁵; this is through a famous wonder and

¹ See Chap. IV, 81.

² It is singular that nothing is stated here about the death or departure of Zaratûst, which event, according to § 1, ought to have concluded this chapter. But in Chap. III, 39, Dûrâsrôb evidently foretells that Zaratûst will be killed by the evil eye of Brâdrôk-rêsh. In Dk. V, iii, 2, the killing of Zaratûst by Brâdrô-rêsh the Tûr is merely mentioned. In Zs. XXIII, 9, it is stated that Zaratûst passes away (vidîrêdô) forty-seven years after his conference and preaching to Vistâsp. While the modern Persian Zaratûst-nâma does not mention his death, though it speaks of Bartarûsh as his chief enemy in his younger days. But compare Chap. III, 22.

³ Pahl. râē which is written exactly like the Pahlavi ciphers for twenty-two and, no doubt, stands for Av. ratha.

⁴ So spelt ten times in §§ 2-11, but here Srâtô. It is also Srîtô in Dk. V, iii, 2.

⁵ Pahl. Vîsrapân in §§ 9, 11 and Dk. V, iii, 2; but here it is

the coming of a report about the marvellousness of that chariot to Vistâsp, Vistâsp's begging that chariot from Sṛitô, and Sṛitô *saying* in reply to Vistâsp: 'That chariot is for a righteous man, *in* which the soul of Sṛitô in the *lifetime* of Sṛitô's body¹, *and* that of that man in the *lifetime* of his body, come visibly together once in the worldly existence.' 3. And the soul of Sṛitô, through the generosity of that Sṛitô, presents that chariot to the eyesight of that man of righteousness; thereby it becomes evident he had seen *it*, and is told not to act in another manner. 4. The exalted Kai-Vistâsp, as becoming from revelation more particularly aware of this marvel about the future at that time, and for the sake of this marvel being published to the worldly existence (gêhânîgîh), and of *his* becoming

Visrapân, and in § 7 the first letter is omitted, leaving only îsrapân. In Pahl. Vd. XX, 11 (Sp.) we have Sṛit-î, 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭 (in L₄), which latter name may also be îsrapânô, though more likely to be read Sêrzânô when considered by itself. It is almost certain that the person mentioned in Pahl. Vd. XX, 11 is intended to be the same as that named here in the text. But it is doubtful if this person be the Av. Thrîta son of Sâyuzdri (or Sâizdri) of Yt. V, 72; XIII, 113. As the legend in the text appears to refer to the soul of Sṛitô, or Thrîta, revisiting the world to meet Vistâsp, this Sṛitô may have been the warrior Sṛitô, the seventh brother, employed by Kai-Ûs, about 350 years earlier, to kill the frontier-settling ox of that time, but there seem to be no means of so identifying him with absolute certainty.

¹ This is the literal meaning of the Pahl. 'mûn rūbân-î Sṛitô pavan zîndagîh-î Sṛitô tanô,' but it is not quite consistent with Sṛitô's return to the earth as a spirit. The Indian copyists seem to have observed this, as they have omitted several words, so as to alter the meaning to the following:—'That chariot is for a man of the righteous, *with* whom Sṛitô in the *lifetime* of that *man's* body comes visibly together, &c.' But the sentence is not quite grammatical.

more invoking *for* the supremacy of the Mazda-worshipping religion, became discernible by those of the realm, is sought for, *and* is most attended.

5. A great wonder became manifest to Vistâsp and those of the world, just as revelation mentions thus: 'Thereupon the archangels are letting forth the soul of that *Srîtô* from the light of the supreme heaven, from the light on to the earth created by *Aûharmazd*; *and* the soul of Vistâsp proceeded from him into the light to meet *it*. 6. Vistâsp proceeded on to the propitious south (*rapîtvinô*); he *was* producing more gain than the gainers, and he *was* more inquisitive than the inquisitive; to all whom he saw he spoke, and unto such as spoke he listened; when he gazed at them looking simultaneously they stood up, *and* obeisance *was* offered by them unto the soul *and* person of Vistâsp.'

7. Immediately upon that no delay occurred until *there* came on at a run—*besides* the soul of *Srîtô* of the *Vîsraps*—the most horrid (*agrandtûm*) of demons, from the horrid northern quarter of the horrid destroyer (*zadâr*), that was himself black, and his deeds, too, were very black. 8. And as he comes himself, so also he grumbles *to* the soul of *Srîtô* thus: 'Give a maintenance (*khvârag*) *to* Vistâsp who is thy driver¹, for the sake of good fellowship and service, and for that, righteousness is suitable unto a pure *one*; do not *give it* as a thing which is protective (that is, do not *give it* for the sake of worldly gratuity), *but* for love of the righteousness which is owing to the perfect existences.'

9. When those words were fully heard by *Srîtô* of

¹ This speech seems intended as veiled irony.

the Vīsraps, the early bestower (levīnō-vakhsh), he stood still and so he spoke in words thus: 'For righteousness I give thee, *O* mighty Kaī-Vistâsp! this chariot which is without a driver, only for love of the righteousness which is owing to the perfect existences.' 10. As much for righteousness as is best for righteousness, and as much for the soul as is best for the soul, the gift of the whole *was* secured (that is, its acceptance *was* announced as often as three times).

11. Then that chariot became two chariots, one spiritual and the other worldly; in the worldly *one* the exalted Kaī-Vistâsp travelled forth unto the village of the Nôdars¹ in the joyfulness of good thoughts, and in the spiritual *one* the soul of Sritô of the Vīsraps travelled forth unto the best existence.

12. One *marvel* is this which is declared that in fifty-seven years onwards from the acceptance of the religion by Zaratûst², the arrival of the religion is published in the seven regions³; and within the lifetime of Vistâsp, the circumstance (aêdûnôh) is manifested by the coming of *some* from *other* regions to Frashôstar of the Hvôbas⁴ for enquiry about the

¹ Nôdar (Av. Naotara) was a son of king Mânûskîhar (Bd. XXXI, 13) and an ancestor of king Vistâsp. Vistâsp being a descendant of Kaī-Kavâd (Bd. XXXI, 28, 29) who was the adopted son of Aûzôbô (Bd. XXXI, 24) a son of Zâgh, son of Masvâk, son of Nôdar (Bd. XXXI, 23 corrected from XXXIII, 5). Hûtôs, the wife of Vistâsp, was also of the village of the Nôdars (Yt. XV, 35).

² That is fifty-seven years after the conference of Zaratûst (see Chap. V, 1).

³ See the summary in Dk. VIII, xiv, 10:—'Likewise, about the communication of Zaratûst's knowledge of the Mazda-worshipping religion to the world, his attracting mankind to the religion, and the ages, after Zaratûst, until the renovation of the universe.'

⁴ Av. Ferashaostrô Hvôgvô (Yas. LI, 17); he was a brother

religion, *even* as revelation mentions thus: 'Two whose names are thus, Spítôis¹ and Arezrâspô², who have hastened unto Frashôstar of the Hvôbas in search of wisdom.'

13. Thus much splendour and wonder *of* Vistâsp *and* those of the realm regarding Zaratûst³, and thus much due to the coming of the archangels from the sky to the earth before Vistâsp, as evidence about the true prophesying *of* Zaratûst⁴; and that, too, about Pêshyôtan⁵, the chariot of Sritô⁶, and other subjects seen written above, *are* declared by the Avesta, which is the same that they accepted from Zaratûst, as the culmination⁷ (*avarîgânîh*) of Aûharmazd's words. 14. And if this splendour, glory, *and* wonder that *are* written above as regards *what* those learned *men* of the realm saw—which *are* in the statement revealed by the Avesta—*had* not occurred, king Vistâsp *and* those learned *men* of the realm would not have seen what this Avesta had revealed to them—which *was* thus much splendour *and* wonder reported by it to them—*and* not one word about leaving *its* preservation to us would be annexed.

of Gâmâsp (Dk. V, ii, 12; iii, 4; Zs. XXIII, 10), and the father of Zaratûst's wife Hvôvi. The Hvôvas (Pahl. Hvôbas) were a numerous family.

¹ Av. gen. Spítôis (Yt. XIII, 121). He was high-priest of Fradaðafsh, the south-east region.

² Av. Erežrâspa (ibid.) He was high-priest of Vîdaðafsh, the south-west region (see Bd. XXIX, 1). These foreign envoys were brothers, each being a son of Uspâsnu.

³ See Chap. IV, 73.

⁴ See Chap. IV, 74-82.

⁵ See Chap. V, 12.

⁶ See §§ 2-11.

⁷ See Chap. V, 11.

CHAPTER VII.

1. About the marvellousness which is manifested after *the time of* Vistâsp until the collapse (hangaf-tanö) of the sovereignty of Irân.

2. There is marvellousness *which* is manifested after Vistâsp until the collapse of the sovereignty of Irân, apart from the blessedness of ordeal, the accomplishment of other Avestic rites, the great power over the sacred fires, *and* many other religious observances *which* were connected with the disciples of Zaratûst.

3. Even after the devastation which happened owing to Alexander, those who *were* rulers after him brought back much to the collection from a scattered state¹; *and* there are *some* who *have* ordered the keeping of it in the treasury of Shapân².

4. Likewise there is to be brought *forward* what *there is* concerning the names of rulers *and* high-priests, *such* as arrive for it at times *and* periods, which *are* each consecutive, as organizers of the religion and the world; also of the tyrant *or* apostate, who is manifest at various periods, for the disturbance of the religion *and* monarchy and the penance of the world, *with* the coming of the penitential one.

¹ Referring to king Valkhas the Askânian (probably Vologeses I, see S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, p. 413); possibly also to Ardashir Pâpakân.

² So here, but usually written Shapîgân, and sometimes Shas-pîgân. It was no doubt a royal treasury, and Dk. V, iii, 4, calls it so, but uses the words gangö-î khûdâyân, in which Gâmâsp is said to have deposited the Avesta and Zand written in gold upon ox-hides. If Shapîgân be a corruption of shâyagân, 'royal,' it is singular that some copyist has not corrected the spelling.

5. *Such* as Vohûmanô, son of Spend-dâd¹, of the rulers, about whom it says even this in the Avesta, that *he is* Vohûmanô, the just, who is the most efficient of the assembly of Mazda-worshippers.
 6. And Sênôv² of the high-priests, as about him it says even this: 'The religion becomes a hundred years *old* when Sênôv is born, and two hundred years when he passes away; he was also the first Mazda-worshipper *with* a life of a hundred years, and who walks forth upon this earth with a hundred disciples.'

7. Also Alexander of the devastators, as it says even this of him in revelation³, that *in* those three winters, which *are* of like purpose (ham-ayâzakô), that Aeshm⁴ would set up a deadly king in the impenitent world, who is the evil-destined Alexander.

8. And of the high-priests *are* Arezvâk⁵, the interpretation of whose name is 'the pure word;'
 Srûtvôk-spâdâk⁶, the interpretation of whose name is 'the propitious recitation;'
 Zrayanghau⁶, the interpretation of whose name is 'the ocean existence;'
 and Spentô-khratvau⁶, the interpretation of

¹ Av. Spentô-dâta of Yt. XIII, 103, a son of Vistâsp, with whom Avesta dynastic history ends. He was the Persian Isfendiyâr, and his son Vohûmanô is unknown to the Avesta. The *Kitradâd* Nask (Dk. VIII, xiii, 18) mentions a 'Namûn, son of Spend-shêd,' which probably stands for 'Vohûmanô, son of Spend-dâd,' but this appears to have been in a Pahlavi supplement compiled in Sasanian times. He is also mentioned in Bd. XXXIV, 8, a chapter 'about the computation of years by the Arabs,' according to the Irânian Bundahis.

² Av. Saêna of Yt. XIII, 97, where the last clause of the passage here translated from the Avesta occurs. Compare Zs. XXIII, 11.

³ Not in the extant Avesta.

⁴ The demon of Wrath.

⁵ Av. gen. Erezvau and Srûtvô-spâdau in Yt. XIII, 115.

⁶ These two names are written in their Av. gen. forms, as they occur in Yt. XIII, 115.

whose name is 'the propitious wisdom.' 9. Because it says even this about them, namely: 'I mention thy manifestation, *and* also the tokens of its publicity when this religion of thy Mazda-worshippers becomes four hundred years *old*¹; in this law benightedness (lêlyâîh) arises, *and* the embodied existences see the manifestation through calculation *of* the planets and also the stars; and whoever, too, *are* mine are *so* for a century, through the average opinion *of* thirty medium winters for a man²; *and* the righteous Arezvâk and those three others are they of the most righteous existences, over whom they *are* the most masterly *and* most authoritative in that time.' 10. And this, too, that they who glorify the religion of the Mazda-worshippers in the fifth and sixth centuries *are* they; *and* no persons save *their* souls, except *those* who remain for the arrival of the four³ interpretations that *arise* through the authority of these four individuals, Arezvâk, Srûtô-spâdhau⁴, Zrayang, hau, *and* Spentô-khratvau who, all four of them, seek *their* thoughts, words, *and* deeds in the *sacred* text (mânsar).

11. Also Rashn-rêsh⁵ is the apostate of that

¹ If the chronology in Bd. XXXIV, 7, 8 were correct, the interval between the first revelation of the religion and the death of Alexander would be 272 years, and this would make the 400th year of the religion coincide with B. C. 195.

² That is, for a generation. The meaning appears to be, that these four successive high-priests insure the continuance of orthodox religion for more than a century, or well into the sixth century of the religion, as mentioned in § 10.

³ The MS. has the cipher for 'three,' by mistake.

⁴ Here written in Avesta characters.

⁵ In Dk. III, cxcviii, 2, this apostate is said to have been an

time, as *some one*¹ says unto Rashn, *one* of the sacred beings, and about many besides this *one*, thus: 'All who are creatures of the beneficent spirit are distressed by their persecution, *but* put trust in those men, *Arezvâk and* those three others.'

12. And of the organizers of the period is Artakhshatar², son of Pâpak, as it says even this about him, namely: 'Which is that ruler who is powerful, more striving than the Kayâns, *and* mighty, an embodiment of the *sacred* commandments and awfully armed³; in whose abode Aharisvang⁴, the virtuous *and* radiant, walks forth in maiden form, beneficent and very strong, well-formed, high-girded, *and* truthful, of illustrious race *and* noble?

13. Whoever it is that, on the occurrence of strife, seeks prosperity for *himself* with his own arm; whoever it is that, on the occurrence of strife, encounters the enemies with his own arm.'

14. Tanvasar⁵ is also for his assistance, as it says

associate (ham-pâfgar) of the Christian ecclesiastic Akvân, and yells out ten admonitions contradicting those of the righteous Sênôv who is mentioned in § 6 (see Peshotan's edition, vol. v, pp. 239, 311). It does not follow that he was a contemporary of Sênôv, and here he seems to be placed fully two centuries later.

¹ Probably Aûharmazd.

² The founder of the Sâsânian dynasty, who reigned as king of the kings of Persia, A.D. 226-241.

³ Most of these qualities are applied to the angel Srôsh, the personification of obedience (see Yas. LVII, 1); also to Kavi Vistâspa and Karsna, son of Zbaurvant, in Yt. XIII, 99, 106.

⁴ Av. Ashis vanguhi, 'good rectitude,' personified as a female angel; her description is given in Yt. XIII, 107, and is similar to that of Anâhita in Yt. V, 64.

⁵ So spelt here and in §§ 17, 18, thrice in all; it is also thrice spelt Tansar, in Dk. III, last chapter, 7; IV, 25, 25, and this mis-spelling has led to the mis-pronunciation Tôsar. It appears, however, that Tanvasar is a transposition of Tanvars, 'hairy-

this, too, about them : ‘ Zaratûst asked again thus : “ Who is he who is the most salutary *for* a country, which the demons *have* exhausted of everything virtuous, over which his authority is brought and *which* is wicked and teaching falsehood ? ” 15. Âû-harmazd spoke thus : “ An autocrat (sâstâr), to cure a country, who *has* not gone *mad* (that is, he does not annoy the good) and is well-directing (that is, he gives virtuous commands), who is *also* of noble race, and likewise a priest who is acquainted with war, of a famous province, *and* righteous, are most salutary *for* that country. 16. And I tell thee this, that the apostasy of destruction is *just* like the four-legged wolf which the world gives up to running astray (vardak-takhshishnîh) (that is, owing to its action *they are* leading *it* off as astray; which is so that even he who is not opulent is rendered sickly, that they (*the apostates*) may take away his things by the hand of the assassin (khûnyân); and they shall lead the world, the dwelling for *his* residence, into wandering. 17. But that wicked (avârûnô) strife descended upon that country, besides that wicked demon-worship, besides that wicked slander; and not even that wicked strife, nor that wicked demon-worship, nor that wicked slander, is dissipated from

bodied,’ because we are told that Tansar, or Tanvasar, was so called on account of all his limbs being covered with hair (vars). This statement occurs in the introduction to Tanvasar’s letter to Gushnaspsâh (Ar. Gasnasf-shâh), king of Paðashkhvârgar (Ar. Farshvâdgar) and Tabaristân; and is made on the authority of an old Pahlavi copyist, Bahrâm Khûrzâd, whose Pahlavi was translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa in the middle of the eighth century, and that into Persian early in the thirteenth century (see Darmesteter’s edition in *Journal Asiatique* for 1894, pp. 185-250, 502-555).

that country until *the time* when they attach the grant of approval to him, the spiritual leader, the eloquent (pûr-gûftâr), truthful-speaking, *and* righteous Tanvasar. 18. And it is when they grant approval to the spiritual leader, the truthful speaker of eloquence, the righteous Tanvasar, that those *of* the country obtain redress (bêshâzagânih) when they seek *it*, and no deviation (anâyûînakôih) from the religion of Zaratûst.”’

19. As to the nature of the questions *and* statements of the organizer of the religion, Âtûrpâd¹ son of Mâraspend, about the connection of the glory with the race, it also says this, that ‘though righteousness *may* arise from the statements and prosperity of the Tûrânians when extracted by questions, *it is* said that its acceptance occurs there through complete mindfulness²; they benefit the embodied world of righteousness, and produce distress for the fiend; in like manner, they rely upon Vohûmanô, *and* Zaratûst is their delight through the report *of* the birth *of* Zaratûst from us who are archangels. 20. This liberality for thee is *from* us who are archangels, *and* Âtûrpâd, the very best well-destined *man* arose; and this, too, do thou say about him, that it is the steel age in which that man, the organizer of development *and* organizer of righteousness, Âtûrpâd son of Mâraspend, of the convocation, begets Avarethrabau³.’

¹ A high-priest who was prime minister of king Shahpûhar II (A.D. 309-379). He is often mentioned in Pahlavi writings, but in the Avesta he is only alluded to, apparently, by the title Râstarevaghent in Yt. XIII, 106.

² A translation of Av. spenta-ârmaiti, the archangel Spendârmad.

³ So written, all three times in Pâzand. He is the Avarethra-

21. This Avarethrabau, too, is an organizer whose righteous guardian spirit we reverence, and *in* memory of Mânûskîhar, the well-destined, and a progenitor of Âtûrpâd¹, it says that 'only from him comes Avarethrabau;' and *then also arises* this one of the adversaries of the religion, the apostate of apostates, whom they have even called the Mazdag-like (Mazdagîg-iê)². 22. As it says this, too, about them, namely: 'This religion of mine thou dost survey with thoughts of spiritual life, thou dost very thoroughly inspect *it*, O Zaratûst! when many, aware of apostates, call the performance of righteousness and even the priesthood innocence, and few are frank and practising *it*.' 23. In the revelation of the Mazda-worshippers is this, namely: 'Thoroughly look into revelation, and seek a remedy for them and any whatever of them who have become disturbing in the embodied existence, and uncaptivated *by* the orthodox (âyîn-a û mōnd) righteousness which is owing to the perfect existences; and so they divide the religion of the Mazda-worshippers through division of race, they speak regarding the action *of* their own *followers*, and give the endowment to their own. 24. They grant supplies of food, so that they *may* say the food is proportional to the hunger; they speak of procreation, *and* say that they say lineage is through the mothers; and they approve of wolfishness, so that they would act something like

bangh, son of Râstare-vaghent of Yt. XIII, 106, better known as Zaratûst, son of Âtûrpâd in his old age, for whom the Andar'z-î Âtûrpâd-î Mâraspendân was written.

¹ Whose pedigree is traced back to Mânûskîhar in Bd. XXXIII, 3.

² Probably some disciple of Mânih, the heretic who had been put to death A.D. 276-7. Mazdag was put to death A.D. 528. See S.B.E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 257 n, 278 n.

wolves *in* the performance of gratifying their desires, like that of the wolf's progeny behind the mother. 25. Moreover, they form their lineage through the mothers; buying their women *as* sheep, they shall carry off for profit even that son *or* brother who is the progeny, those that we have produced for your companionship; you are not predominant, but *have* remained in companionship; you do not even believe them, *but* you do not establish an ordeal, although *it is* evident that you will be acquitted; they lie even to *their* children, so that the advance of the promise-breaker is through them, and even in their own persons¹.

26. Here it speaks about the organization of the religion *by* the glorified² Khûsrô, son of Kavâd, thus: 'Upon their lingering behind, a man is produced who is righteous, the Glorified *one*², an approver (khênîdâr) of speech who is wise, whom the convocation, on hearing the words that he utters, speaks *of* as a high-priest; that is when he gives out penance (srôshîgîh), so that he may effect the punishment of sinners. 27. The constant outpouring of perplexity (pêk shâridan) *by* the perverters is the fear of that hero, as regards that

¹ This quotation, from a Pahlavi version of an Avesta text, would probably be very applicable to the state of the Persian people at many periods in the fourth and fifth centuries, when heresy was prevalent and orthodox Zoroastrianism was by no means universal. Some of the evils mentioned are inseparable from slavery at all times.

² Literally 'immortal-souled,' Anôshak-rûbân, the usual title of king Khûsrô I, who reigned A.D. 531-578. Before he became king, A.D. 528 or 529, he had summoned an assembly of priests to condemn the heretic Mazdag, when the last important revision of the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta probably took place (see Byt. I, 6-8, and Nöldeke's *Gesch. der Sas.* pp. 463-466).

convocation, when he casts *them forth* by expulsion from the vicinity, so that he may make *them* extinguished very quickly; owing to that, they, *whose* producer is even he who is a person destroying the righteous man, become gloomy on account of the Glorified *one*, through *his* smiting the spiritual life of apostasy; *just* as now, when he who is gloomy, *and* of scattered intellect, is gloomy owing to you *of* the Spitâmas.' 28. This, too, it states, namely: 'In every way, I tell thee, *O* Zarâtûst of the Spitâmas! that their time is mistrustful (*avâvar*) as to him who is an open friend, *and* most deceitful both *to* the wicked and the righteous; the Glorified *one* is a controller (*ayûkhtâr*) exalting the creatures, *and* whoever is possessing the creatures of the righteous *ones*¹, so that he remains again at work in the doings of the Glorified *one*, is *he* who is a combiner *of* the actions *and* an utterer of the true replies *of* that Glorified *one*.'

29. And about the occurrence of a symptom of the devastators of the sovereignty *and* religion of the country of Irân one wonder, which is associated with the religion, is even this *which* it mentions thus: 'Thereupon, when the first symptom of a ravager *of* the country occurs, *O* righteous Zarâtûst! then the more aggressive and more unmerciful *in* malice becomes the tyrant of the country, and through him, too, they ravage (*rêshênd*) the house, through him the village, through him the community, through him the province, *and* through him even the whole *of* that manifestation *in* the country *of* any teaching whatever that occurs *through* the ravager *of* the country; and so the country should

¹ Of the good spirits.

keep a man who is observant *and* learned on the watch, because information is in his mind. 30. *Thereupon, when the second symptom of a ravager of the country occurs, &c.*¹

31. Thereupon, when the third symptom of a ravager of the country occurs, the priestly people are disturbing the tradition, so that they speak nothing wisely; it is even on this account they do not accept them, and it is not when *one* speaks truly *that* the ravager of the country believes them, and through him, too, they ravage the house, through him the village, *through him the community*, through him the province, and through him even the whole of that manifestation *in* the country of any teaching whatever *that* occurs *through* the ravager of the country; and so, too, the country should keep a man who is observant *and* learned on the watch, because information is in his mind. 32. Thereupon, when the fourth symptom of a ravager of the country occurs, it upsets the replenishment of the fires, and upsets those men of the righteous, so that they shall not undertake the care of them; and thus they shall not convey the holy-water to him who is a priestly authority, so that they may not produce the seizing upon the stipend of the priestly authorities *by* him who is the ravager of the country; through him, too, they ravage the house, through him the village, through him the community, through him *the province*, and *through him* even the whole of that

¹ The whole of this section is omitted in the old MS., evidently by mistake. Perhaps the second symptom of devastation was connected with the evil deeds of the warrior class, but this is very uncertain. Passages of four or five words are also omitted by the MS. in §§ 31, 32.

manifestation *in* the country *of* any teaching whatever *that* occurs *through* the ravager *of* the country; *and* so, too, the country should keep a man who is observant *and* learned on the watch, because information is in his mind.'

33. About the collapse of the sovereignty of Irân, it also states this, namely: 'That very villain (*mar*), *O* Zaratûst! brings those provinces on to running astray, so that he may make those quite dissevered which constitute the existence of that powerful sovereignty; and then he is a thorough assailant *of* the righteous, then he is an assailant *of* the righteous with eagerness. 34. That same deadly *one* (*mar*), *O* Zaratûst! does not continue living long afterwards; moreover his offspring disappear (that is, they perish utterly); but his soul falls to the bottom of the gloomy existence which is horrible hell, and upon their bodies every kind *of* unseemly unhappiness comes from themselves, owing to their own actions when they give approval to the imprisonment of a guardian of spiritual *affairs* who is eloquent, true-speaking, *and* righteous. 35. Against that deadly *one* he contends, *O* Zaratûst! for the spiritual lordship *and* priestly authority that I approve *as* good *for* the whole embodied existence; also against the preparation of a decree to produce evil decisions, *and* against the dismissal of litigants, whether heterodox or orthodox, who are of a family of serfs of a far-situated village and are making petitions.'

36. 'And *as to* the land, too, over which he wanders, the evil spirit utterly devastates their country through pestilence and other misery; and, moreover, strife which is tormenting falls upon that

country, besides demon-worship which is iniquitous, *and* besides slander which is iniquitous. 37. And the strife which is iniquitous is not to be dissipated (*apâst-aitanö*) from that country, nor the demon-worshippers who *are* iniquitous, nor the slander which is iniquitous, before the *time* when they give approval to him, to the priest who is a guardian of spiritual *affairs*, who is eloquent, true-speaking, and righteous; and it is when they give him approval, that they obtain healthfulness *for* their country when they pray *for it*, and not irregularly from him, *O Zaratûst!*'

38. And this which is recounted is a statement that is execrated (*nafrîg-aitö*) by many, details from the Avesta as to occurrences *that will* arise after Vistâsp until the dispersion (*angâvisnö*) of the sovereignty of Irân from the country of Irân; *it is also* declared that this which is written happened to the knowledge of those of the world. 39. This, too, is about the evidence of the above:—'And if this which is declared from the Avesta, as to *what* happens after Kaî-Vistâsp until the end of the sovereignty of Irân, should not have happened, and *it being* the pre-eminence of the Avesta which really became this present treasure, it thereby ensues, owing to its position in that *former*¹, and the manifest absence of the destruction of those rulers *and* high-priests from Vistâsp onwards in this *latter*², that it could not be connected with us³.'

¹ The above declaration from the Avesta.

² The present Avesta itself.

³ Meaning perhaps that, for some good reason, it could not be communicated to us in the extant Avesta. If § 39 be not a later addition to this chapter, it implies that the prophetic quotations from the Avesta, regarding the history of the religion after the time

CHAPTER VIII.

1. About the marvellousness which is manifested and is openly specified after the collapsing of the sovereignty of Irân *and* the country of Irân; *also* the end of the millennium of Zaratûst and the arrival of Aûshêdar the descendant of Zaratûst¹.

2. There is this marvellousness, really over-throwing the blessedness of the knowledge of former government, revealed by the Avesta about the ninth and tenth centuries, that which is an indicator of circumstances (aêdûnôih) now visible, *such* as the dispersion of the sovereignty of Irân from the country of Irân, the disturbance of just law *and* custom, the predominance of *those with* dishevelled hair², *and* the haughty profession of ecclesiastics³.

3. Also the collection and even connection of all their four systems of belief (vâvarî-hastanô)⁴ to-

of Vistâsp, were no more extant in the Avesta, when the Dînkard was compiled, than they are now.

¹ The contents of Chaps. VII–XI have some connection with the following summary in Dk. VIII, xiv, 11, 12:—‘*And* about the nature of the advancement of the people of the period, the separation of centuries and millenniums, *and* the signs, wonders, and perplexity which are manifested in the world at the end of each millennium in the world. Also as to the birth *and* arrival of Aûshêdar, son of Zaratûst, at the end of the first millennium, and a report of him and his time, *and* of the many destroyers of the organizers of the period between Zaratûst’s millennium and the coming of Aûshêdar.’

² This meaning for vigârdô-*vars* is chiefly based upon the use of vigârd in AV. XXXIV, 5, for a woman’s hair being ‘combed.’ These invaders of Irân from the east, at the end of the first millennium of the religion, are mentioned in Byt. II, 22, 24, 28; III, 1, 6, 13. They are called ‘Turkish demons’ in § 47.

³ The Byzantine Christians.

⁴ Zoroastrianism, Muhammadanism, Christianity, and either Judaism or Idolatry.

gether for the upper rank; the coming of *one* working with the sacred beings to the inferior, the transient, and the captive of the period; and the dispersion and downfall of dependent and public men in their time.

4. The disappearance of a disposition for wisdom from the foreigners *in* the countries of Irân, which is an indication of shame *at* the truth of the religion, and *at* the praise, peace, liberality, *and* other goodness whose provision *has* lodgement in a disposition for wisdom. 5. Also the abundance *of* the decisions of apostasy, the falsehood, deceit, slander, quarrel-

someness, fraudulence, ingratitude, discord, stinginess, and other vileness whose real connection is a disposition to devour, neglecting heedfulness for the archangels of fire, water, and worldly *existence*¹.

6. The oppressiveness of infidelity *and* idol-worship, the scarcity *of* freedom, the extreme predominance of avarice in the individuals (tanö) of mankind, the plenitude of different opinions about witchcraft, *and* the much inclination of many for paralyzing the religion of the sacred beings.

7. The annihilation of the sovereignty of mankind one over the other, the desolation of localities and settlements by severe actual distress, and the evil foreign potentates who *are*, one after the other, scattering the valiant; the destruction among cattle *and* the defilement *of* the spirit of enjoyment, owing to the lodgement of lamentation and weeping *in* the countries of Irân, the clamour of the demon-worshipper in the country, *and* the unobtainable stature, non-existent strength, blighted destiny, and short

¹ Ashavahistô, Khûrdad, and Spendarmad.

life of mankind. 8. Also the abundance of ordinances (âyinö)¹ of various descriptions, the approval of the apostate among tyrants and the non-approval of the Zoti² who is well-disposed and wise, the coming of the Zoti to want, *and* all the other adversity, disruption, and running astray which *are* overpowering even in districts *and* localities of the countries of Irân.

9. The maintenance of no ritual (apandth) of the religion of the sacred beings; the weakness, suffering, and evil habits *of* those of the good religion; the lamentation and recantation (khûstûkth) of the upholders of the religion; *and* the wickedness and extermination of good works in most of the countries of Irân. 10. Also much other misery in these two centuries is recounted in the Avesta, which passed away with them and is also now so visible therein, and manifestly occurs in them.

11. This, too, is a statement (nisang-1) as to them, *which* revelation mentions thus: 'That is the age mingled with iron (that is, from every side they perceive *it is* of iron) in which they bring forth into life him who is a sturdy praying apostate. 12. This is their sturdiness, that their approval is unobservant of both doctrines (âinakö); and this is their praying, that whenever *it is* possible for them they shall cause misery to others; *also* when an old man publicly advances into a crowd (galakö) of youths, owing to the evil times in which that man who is learned is born, they are unfriendly *to him* (that is, they are no friends of the high-priests of the priestly assembly). 13. They are freely speaking (that is,

¹ Or it may be hênô, 'squadrons.'

² The chief officiating priest in religious ceremonies.

they utter phrases smoothly), they are wicked and are fully maliciously talking, so that they shall make the statements of priests and high-priests useless; they also tear asunder the spiritual lordship *and* priestly authority, and shall bring the ruler *and* priestly authority into evil behaviour as vicious, but they bring together those *who are* singular. 14. Anything they say is always mischief (agîh), and that district which had a judge they cast into the smiting precinct, into hell; it is misery without any intermission they shall inflict therein, till they attain unto damnation (darvandîh) through the recitation they persevere in, *both* he who is the evil progeny disseminated by the apostate *and* he who is the villainous wolf full of disaster *and* full of depravity.'

15. 'Here *below* they fight, the friend with him who is a friend, they also defraud (zivênd) him of his own work (that is, whenever *it is* possible for them, they shall seize upon his property), and they give it to him from whom they obtain prosperity in return; if not, they seek him who is acting as a confederate (nishîn-gûn), and they make that other *one* defraud the poor *man* (so that they shall seize upon his property); they also cheat him when he shall make complaint. 16. I *shall* not again produce such for thee, no friend here for him who is a friend, no brother for him who is a brother, no son for him who is a father, nor yet a father *for* him who is a son; admonished, *but* not convinced, they become the abode of the will of the place, so that they subsist in every single place where it is necessary for them *to be*, in each that is necessary for them they march on together, and on the way they reflect upon the path of blessedness and the

manifold learning they utter owing to knowledge of me¹.'

17. 'These three, our increase, learning, *and* reward, we fully understand through the ascendancy of him who is ignoble, *and* through the downfall of him who is noble *and* superior to him of little thorough instruction who, in every thing, *will* be at the foot of the tyrant. 18. Thinking of a priest *one* becomes spiritual, thinking of a tyrant *one* becomes a Kavīg²; a demon *in* disposition is an incipient demon, a Kavīg *in* disposition is himself attracted towards a youth.'

19. Then, when character and wisdom recede from the countries of Irân (that is, they depart), so *that* destitution and also winter, produced by demons who are worshipping the demon, rush together from the vicinity of disaster (vôighn) on to the countries of Irân, where even rain becomes scanty and pestilence is secretly advancing and deceiving, so that deaths become numerous; thus even *he* of perverted wisdom, who is wicked, and the apostate also, who is unrighteous, rush together in companionship. 20. As what *one* says they *all* exclaim thus: 'Consume and destroy, *O* ruler! for *it* is to be consumed and destroyed by thee; destroy even the fire, consume even as food those who are the protection of the association enforcing *religious* obedience, and those leading on the poor *man* of the righteous dispensation by their guidance.' 21. So that they shall make him thoroughly detached and smite him;

¹ So far, this statement (§§ 11-16) seems to be ascribed to Aûtharmazd; but what follows (§§ 17, 18, 20) appears to represent the sentiments of some Irânians of those later times.

² See Chap. II, 9 n.

likewise wisdom is the wealth they bring him, *and* it is when property is being carried off by them, *that* the wisdom conveyed by them arises.

22. 'And in that age, *O* righteous *one* of the Sptâmas! the coming of my desire is not purely for thee, nor is a thorough belief of the departure of life, so that the bringing *and* conducting of a speaker of promises (*mitragôv*) is not necessary; those of the perfect apostate injure this discourse of thine, the Avesta and Zand, so that they shall make *it* thoroughly weak; *and* those of the perfect apostate harass their own souls, for love of the wealth which he produced.'

23. And about the ninth and tenth centuries this also it says, that, '*as* that age proceeds, this is what occurs, *O* Zaratûst of the Sptâmas! when many apostates utter the righteousness of priestly instruction and authority, *which* is wickedness towards me, they cause begging for water, they wither vegetation, and they put down all excellence which is due to the manifestation of righteousness.'

24. Again Zaratûst enquired of him thus: 'What do they so produce by that, *O* Aûharmazd! when they cause begging for water, they wither vegetation, and they put down all excellence due to the manifestation of righteousness?' 25. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'They so produce those *things* among them, *O* Zaratûst! when they mention a greater reward for bantlings *and* relations than that of their own souls (that is, they talk more concerning their allowance, where it is that for their own). 26. Moreover, they give to the Kîgs *and* Karaps, for some repute *with* the shepherd people of the husbandman, and with the swift-horsed people *of* the warrior, as

though they would provide us¹ here *below* with a large share of meat, that they would make our privilege, just as we¹ here supply him with meat whom we render greatly precious. 27. The property of even a wicked *man* here *below*, O Zaratûst! in the average opinion among the disorganized (anârâstânö) is a dignified provision (that is, we form a strong opinion, the approval of *which* is more to be asserted as *being* the opinion of a poor righteous *man*, about a worthy righteous *man* whose manifest righteousness is a homage (franâmisnö) to duty and good works).'

28. Again he enquired of him thus: 'Is there so perfect a manifestation here *below*, in the age of the worldly existence of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers (that is, is there a lodgement of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers in any one)?' 29. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'It is so, among those men of mine², O Zaratûst! for here *below there* are priests who are eloquent, and they, too, are men voluble and requisite in the embodied existence, all-beneficent and producing the destruction of harm and the wizard; the people of the wicked tyrant say also regarding them, *that*, excepting thee, O Zaratûst! they rightly practise righteousness more largely, more powerfully, and more volubly. 30. Blind are those of the fiend, who are consulting with thee and are unaware of the tyrant; and observant are also those of the fiend who consult with them and think of *their* intelligence, and oppose the imbecile (anâkâsîh-aûmônd) apostate who is near them, so that

¹ The archangels.

² Reading minam, instead of madam which is unintelligible here.

they say¹ this, namely: "*As to* this which thou tellest us, *it* is evidently not so as thou sayest," of which they speak thus: "This duty of thy man is not mine (that is, it is not necessary for me to perform) nor thine (that is, it is not necessary even *for* thee to perform), because *it* is not this which is righteousness (that is, not a good work)." 31. For this *one* is produced for these words *and* thoughts of thine, *of* whom thou, too, art aware, he who is whatever is here *below* of Aûshêdar² of thoughtful controversy, *O* Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas! for he brings into notice, through the intermingling of his own soul, *him* who is righteous, or has not become *so*.'

32. This, too, he says, namely: '*Of* those, *O* Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas! who come in the ninth and tenth centuries, I tell thee that they are *of* the fiend *of* Greed (Âzi); it is in *her* womb that they are to be fashioned, they who assist those who would be vicious, through pre-eminence in leadership, or through excellence in subserviency.'

33. And this, too, it says about them: 'Those men are much to be destroyed;' so it is said by Aûharmazd that 'these who are righteous, who carry away a corpse in this world, distress their fire, according to every high-priest³, and even long-flowing water; their bodies, which are really cess-pools⁴ of a terrible character, become very assisting for the tormentors whose corpses are grievously wicked. 34. Concerning them I tell thee, *O* Zara-

¹ To the apostate.

² See §§ 55-60 and Chap. I, 42 n. Here spelt Aûkhshêdar.

³ Reading dastûr, instead of vastûr.

⁴ Pahl. mayâ-vakhdûn = Pers. âb-gîr.

tûst of the Spîtâmas! that, in the ninth and tenth centuries, *there* come those who are the brood of the fiend and the wound-producer (reshgâr)¹ of the evil spirit; even one of them is more to be destroyed than ten demon-worshippers²; they also produce extermination for these who are mine, for these of my religion, whom they call a provision for destruction (that is, when it is possible to live in our way, and *ours* are wicked, they diminish in superiority).

35. Even the iniquity that they shall commit in leadership and subserviency, the sin which is smiting thee, they call a trifle (khalakö), *O* pure *one* of the Spîtâmas! and the smiter, they say, is *he* whom these of thy religion of Mazda-worshippers smite.

36. Besides thee, *O* Zaratûst! they distress those *duties*, too, which *are* to be acquired *by* thy people (lagânö); they think scornfully of this ceremonial of thine, scornfully of *thy* worship, *O* Zaratûst! and they think scornfully of both the two blessed utterances³, the Avesta and Zand, which *were* proclaimed to thee *by* me who am the most propitious of spirits.

37. They foster villainous outrage, *and* they say the best work for mankind is immoderate fighting whose joyfulness is due to actions that are villainous; those, too, *that* they exterminate are the existences *due* to the spirits, they exterminate their own souls, they exterminate the embodied existences *of* the world; *and* they produce lamentation for the soul, *and* even the religion, as regards what is the mode of controlling orthodox people *together* with the iniquitous of the same period.'

38. And this, too, it says, that Zaratûst enquired

¹ Or it may be riyâgâr, 'hypocrite.'

² Or 'idolators.'

³ Pahl. vâfrîgânîh = Av. urvâtâ.

of Aûharmazd thus: 'So what *shall* we prescribe for those who are not capable, through *being* poor (that is, they have no means), nor have they troops, nor a protector over *them*, and they have many persecutors?' 39. *And* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'The strong-minded¹ man, through understanding, is a token of the development of those who, not being in the army, are capable; their persecutors also are many, and the passing over of authority is owing to the iniquitous of the same period.'

40. This, too, it says, that Zaratûst enquired thus: 'Is he, *O* Aûharmazd! who is a Kaî or a Karap, or he who is a most evil ruler in authority, mingled again with the good?' 41. *And* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Even he².'

42. Zaratûst *also* enquired thus: 'Is he, too, *O* Aûharmazd! who is *one* of those of the good sovereignty, mingled again with the good; or these, *such* as the Kaisar and Khâkân³?' 43. *And* Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'Even that *former*, *O* Zaratûst!'

44. About the same iniquitous⁴ this, too, he says, namely: 'When they are aware and understand about the sayings (galimakö) due to righteousness, they are pleased, so that a bribe seems better to them than duty and good works; they love the darkness *rather* than light, the existence they love

¹ Assuming that tôshtö-mînisnô is a miswriting of toshînö-mînisnô.

² That is, after expiating his misdeeds by his allotted punishment. The last thirteen Pahlavi words of §§ 42, 43 are also added here by mistake in the MS.

³ The Byzantine emperor and the sovereign Khân of the invaders from the east.

⁴ Mentioned in §§ 37, 39.

is the worst existence *rather* than the best existence, *and* they promote difficulty. 45. Concerning them, too, I tell thee that they are more to be destroyed than the leaping (shasṗō) serpent which is like a wolf *or* a lion, and they ever advance in malice *and* persecution from that *time* till when that man arrives who is *Kitrô-mêhônō*¹ the righteous, with the victorious club. 46. He *has* marched with fifty triplets of men² who are disciples, powerful and tall, looking after duties and ordinances, wide-shouldered, stout-armed, *and* very hairy (kabad-milḥ), so that their appearance is rough and of a black colour³, wherefore the demon and the iniquity *proceeding* from him fear them. 47. He also smites the evil spirit, *together* with *his* creatures; *and* those three manifest branches, that worship the fiend with simultaneous worship, are really these who march for eminent service on horses, even the Turkish demons with dishevelled hair, the Arab, and also Shedâspô⁴ the ecclesiastical Arûman.

¹ So spelt here, but in Dk. IX, xli, 6, it is *Kitrâg-mêhônō*, and other slight variations occur in the best MSS. of Bd. XX, 7, 31; XXIX, 5; Byt. III, 25, 26; Dd. XC, 3; but they can all be traced to an original *Kitrô-mêhan* = Av. *Kithrô-maêthanem*, 'of the racial home,' a title applied both to the river and the immortal sacerdotal ruler of Kangdez. The latter is supposed to be Pêshyôtanō, a son of king Vistâsp, who is expected to restore religious rites in Irân and throughout the world.

² With 150 disciples, as stated in Byt. III, 27, 29, 42. Here it is written *levatē 50 3-gabrâân*.

³ Byt. III, 27, 29, 42, states that they wear black marten fur.

⁴ In Byt. III, 3, 5, 8, 21, this name is written *Shêdâspth* which can also be read *Shêdâsfas*, and is probably a corrupt pronunciation of the name of some Byzantine emperor or general (such as Theodosius) who had signally defeated the Persians some time in the fifth to seventh century, in which period Zaratûst's millennium probably ended.

48. 'And he *has* then to attract men, contented and discontented, mostly through the incentive of duty; he who is not contented (that is, not agreeing with what he says) contentedly pays respect to him, *O Zaratûst!* (so that he brings him into the religion). 49. Likewise, through that club, he makes *one* press in the same manner; so that *one* is distressed by his hand to hold *others in* contempt, through the valiant arm and through the youthful bodily organs. 50. And he attaches power and triumph to his religion of *Aûharmazd*, and through that power and triumph they become ever respected thenceforth, when those arrive who are the sons of Zaratûst, who shall produce the renovation in an existence undecaying *and* immortal, hungerless and thirstless, the long-continued perpetuity including all.'

51. And about the separation (*burînakö*) of the ten centuries in the one millennium of Zaratûst, *and* the tidings of *Aûshêdar*¹, son of Zaratûst, it says also this, namely: 'When that century fully elapses which is the first of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, from *the time when* Zaratûst came forward to *his* conference, what is the separation of *this* first century?' 52. And *Aûharmazd* spoke thus: 'The sun conceals *itself*.' 53. 'What is the separation after the second, third, fourth, *fifth*, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, *or* tenth century?' 54. And *Aûharmazd* spoke thus: 'The sun conceals *itself*.'

55. Then, when thirty winters of the tenth century are unelapsed (that is, thirty winters *are* remaining) a maiden, who is Shemig-abû², walks up

¹ See Chap. I, 42.

² 'Having a renowned father,' the Zvâris of Av. Srûta*d*-fedhri, Yt. XIII, 141.

to the water; she that is the mother of that famous Aūshêdar, and her former lineage is from Vôhû-rôkô-i Frahânyân¹ in the family of Îsadvâstar, the son of Zaratûst *that* is brought forth by Arang. 56. Then she sits in that water *and* drinks *it*, and ~~she~~ kindles in a high degree those germs which were the third *of* the last that the righteous Zaratûst *was* dropping forth originally, and they introduce that son whose name is the Developer *of* Righteousness². 57. Though *she* is fifteen years old, the girl (kanîg) *has* not before that associated with men³; nor afterwards, when she becomes pregnant, *has she done so* before the time when she gives birth.

58. When that man becomes thirty years old, the sun stands still in the zenith (bâlistô) of the sky *for* the duration of ten days *and* ten nights, and it arrives again at that place where it *was* first appointed by allotment, where it occupies one finger-breadth out of the four finger-breadths, and it shines over all the regions which are seven. 59. So, too, O Zaratûst! of them themselves, their declaration is thus, that they know that the separation of the millennium, which this religion *has* heard about by listening, is thus; *and* of those who do not even then know, that it is something which is different.

60. Then, when that man becomes thirty years old, he confers with the archangels, the good rulers *and* good providers; *on* the morrow, in the daylight of the day, *it is* moreover manifest, when the *embodied* existence is thus undistressed—without

¹ See Yt. XIII, 97.

² The Pahlavi interpretation of Aūshêdar which is an imperfect transcript of the Av. Ukhshyad-ereta of Yt. XIII, 128.

³ Pahl. 'levatô gabrâânô barâ vepayîdô.'

a Kai and without a Karap (that is, not deaf and blind to the affairs of the sacred beings), and is to be appropriated (that is, has not made its own self apart *from* the affairs of the sacred beings), and is produced full of life—that it has become extending (vâlân), and remains again great *in* various places in Aîrân-vêg where the good Dâitt¹ *is*.

61. These are the characteristics as regards the two centuries which are the ninth and tenth; the accuracy of what *was* to come has continued *and* this has happened, and both are declared as regards the accuracy which is stated on evidence as to what *will* happen.

CHAPTER IX.

1. About the marvellousness which is after the end of the millennium of Zaratûst and the arrival of Aûshêdar, until the end of the millennium of Aûshêdar and the arrival of Aûshêdar-mâh; and as to tidings of the same period.

2. The marvellousness of Aûshêdar as to birth², glory of person, sayings and actions; the standing of the sun ten days amid the sky³; the perishing of the fiend of the four-legged race; the production of a three-spring cloudless influence⁴ for vegetation; the weakening of superfluity *and* destitution; the extreme strengthening of alliance; the gratification *due to* the good friendship of foreigners; the great increase of the wisdom of religion; and the praise

¹ See Chap. III, 51, 54; Bd. XX, 13. It is the name of a river.

² See Chap. VIII, 55-57.

³ See Chap. VIII, 58.

⁴ Pahl. '3-zaremde an-avargarh.'

of Aûshêdar's smiting *with* a serpent-scurge of several kinds *in* the religion of the Mazda-worshippers.

3. The mightiness of the resources in the fifth century of the same millennium; the manifestation of the wizard Mahrkûs¹ for seven years, in the year which is reported in all the regions which are seven; the coming on *and* arrival of the winter of Mahrkûs, the perishing of most *of* mankind *and* animals within three winters and in the fourth, through the awfulness *of* those winters *and* the witchcraft of Mahrkûs; and the dying away of Mahrkûs of scanty progeny (gasûkô-zahisnô), during the fourth winter, through the Dâhmân Âfrîn². 4. The opening of the enclosure made by Yim, the coming of mankind *and* animals therefrom, *and* the complete progress of mankind and animals again, arising specially from them.

5. After those winters, the abundant and great increase in the milk of cattle, and the abundant nourishment *of* mankind by milk; the less distress of body *in* cattle, the fullness and prosperity *of* the world, the celebrity of assembled mankind, *and* the great increase of liberality. 6. Also the feebleness

¹ Av. Mahrkûsha of Westergaard's Fragment VIII, 2, who is evidently a wizard or fiend; according to Pahl. Vd. II, 49 (Sp.) the evil winter which was foretold to Yim is called the winter of Markûs. In later times this name has been understood as Heb. Malkôš, 'autumnal rain;' so the idea of the fatal freezing winter of Mahrkûs, the intender of death, was abandoned for that of the deluging rain of Malkôš, as in Mkh. XXVII, 28. In Dd. XXXVII, 94, both snow and rain are mentioned as produced by Mahrkûs or Markûs (as it is always written in Pahlavi), and in Sd. IX, 5 only his name is stated. The most complete account of him is given in our text.

² The Âfrîn of the Ameshâspends.

of poverty among mankind, *just* like what revelation mentions thus: 'Even so he, *O* Zarātūst! though he be more unfortunate than he who is accepting *from him*, is like the creator whose bounty of permanent liberality does thus, in the embodied existence, remain in his dwelling.'

7. And this, too, it says, namely: 'When that winter passes away, *of* which *it is* said that *it is* boisterous and destructive¹, then a wild beast, black and wide-travelling, walks up to the Mazda-worshippers, and thus it thinks, that they *who* worship Mazda *will* therefore not finally hate us more than him who is their own progeny, the son whom they thus bring up *as* a Mazda-worshipper here *below*, in fondness *and* freedom from malice towards well-yielding cattle.

8. 'Then Ashavahistō calls out to the Mazda-worshippers from the upper region, *and* thus he speaks: "You are for the worship of Mazda; let no one *of you* become such a slaughterer of cattle as the slaughterers you have been before. 9. Recommend increase in gifts, recommend neighbourliness in person; are you worshipping Mazda? do you slaughter cattle? do you slaughter those of them which give you assistance, which speak to you thus: 'On account of your helpfulness *one* tells you that you are worshipping Mazda *and* you *may* eat?' I *am* in neighbourliness before that, until *the time* when you exclaim: 'Mine *are* the serpent and toad.'

10. "'And you recommend increase, you recommend neighbourliness, *and* the Mazda-worshippers slaughter cattle, even those of them who give them

¹ The Pahlavi version of Av. 'stakhrāhê meretō zaya' in Westerg. Frag. VIII, 2.

assistance, so that you are worshipping *Mazda* and you eat; I *am* in neighbourliness before that, until *the time* when you exclaim: 'Mine *are* the serpent and toad.'

11. "Contentedly the *Mazda*-worshippers slaughter cattle, contentedly the cattle of the *Mazda*-worshippers let *them* butcher¹, and contented are the cattle when they do not butcher *them*; contentedly the *Mazda*-worshippers eat cattle, and contented *are the cattle* when they eat them. 12. And then, when *there* are spirits, the slaughterers and whatever they slaughter, the butchers and whatever they butcher, and the eaters and whatever they eat *are* alike watched by *them*."

13. And this, too, it says, namely: 'When that century fully elapses, which is the fifth in the second millennium as regards the religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers, then of all those who *are* upon the earth, the existences which are both wicked and righteous, two-thirds *in* the land of Irân are righteous and one-third wicked; and so likewise the Tûrânians and those who *are* around Irân remain non-Irânian around Irân; the chief increase in dwellings here below, of those in the embodied existence, remains just as now.'

14. And this, too, it says, namely: 'When that millennium *has* fully elapsed, which is the first of the religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers, what is the separation after the first century?' 15. And Aûhar-mazd spoke thus: 'The sun conceals *itself*.' 16. 'And what is the separation after the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, or tenth

¹ Assuming that bûr'zâva and stands for bûr'nênd which occurs in § 12.

century?' 17. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'The sun conceals *itself*.'

18. Then, when thirty winters of the tenth century *are* unelapsed (arânakō), a maiden, who is Shapîr-abû¹, walks up to the water; *she* that is the mother of that good Aûshêdar-mâh², and her former lineage is from Vôhû-rôkô-i Frahânyân³ in the family of Îsadvâstar, the son of Zaratûst *that* is brought forth by Arang. 19. Then she sits in that water *and* drinks *it*, *and* she kindles in a high degree those germs which were the second *of* the last that the righteous Zaratûst *was* dropping forth originally, and they introduce that son whose name is the Developer *of* Worship⁴ (that is, he augments liberality). 20. Though fifteen years old, the damsel (zihânakō) *has* not before that associated with men; nor yet afterwards, when she becomes pregnant, *has she done so* before the time when she gives birth⁵.

21. When that man becomes thirty years old, the sun stands still in the zenith of the sky *for* the duration of twenty days *and* nights⁶, *and* it shines over all the regions which are seven. 22. So, too, the declaration of them themselves is that they know

¹ 'Having a good father,' the Zvâris of Av. Vanghu-fedhri, Yt. XIII, 142.

² See Chap. I, 42.

³ See Chap. VIII, 55-57.

⁴ The Pahlavi interpretation of Aûshêdar-mâh which is an imperfect transcript of the Av. Ukhshyad-nemangh of Yt. XIII, 128.

⁵ Compare the summary in Dk. VIII, xiv, 13, as follows:— 'The arrival of Aûshêdar-mâh, son of Zaratûst, at the end of the second millennium; information *about* him and his time, *and* the destroyers *of* the organizers who *were* within the millennium *of* Aûshêdar.'

⁶ The MS. omits a clause here, which occurs in Chap. VIII, 58, possibly by mistake, as part of it is given in Chap. X, 19.

that the separation of the millennium, which this religion *has* heard about by listening, is even thus; *and* of those who do not even then know, that it is something which is different.

23. When that man becomes thirty years old, he confers with the archangels, the good rulers *and* good providers; *on* the morrow, in the daylight of the day, *it is* moreover manifest, when the embodied existence is *thus* undistressed—without a Kaî and without a Karap (that is, not blind *and* not deaf to the affairs of the sacred beings), and is to be appropriated (that is, has not made its own self apart *from* the affairs of the sacred beings), and is produced full of life—that it has become extending, and is again great *in* various places in Aîrân-vêg where the good Dâiti *is*.

CHAPTER X.

1. About the marvellousness which is after the end of the millennium of Aûshêdar and the arrival of Aûshêdar-mâh, until the end of the millennium of Aûshêdar-mâh and the arrival of Sôshâns; *and* as to tidings *of* the same period.

2. The marvellousness of Aûshêdar-mâh as to birth¹, glory of person, sayings, and actions; the standing of the sun amid the sky twenty days long²; and the increase of the milk of cattle arrives at a maximum (*avartûm*), *just* as what it says, that *one* milks only one mature cow (*tôrâ az*) for a thousand men, *and* that he brings as much milk as a thousand men *require*; also the feebleness of

¹ See Chap. IX, 18-20.

² See Chap. IX, 21.

hunger and thirst is *just* as it says, that by only a single ration *one* becomes satisfied *for* three nights, *and* whoever eats a leg *of* mutton *has* plenty for himself *for* three days *and* nights. 3. The diminution *of* decay and extension (vêshth) of life, the increase of humility and peace, *and* the perfection *of* liberality and enjoyment in the world.

4. Like this which revelation states, that, when the first ten winters in the last millennium pass away, the Mazda-worshippers then make enquiry together thus: '*Are* we really more hairy-headed (sar-vars-ik-tar) than occurred before, owing to the well-yielding cattle, so that food and clothing are less necessary for us? Has affection come to us more completely, owing to those cattle, than it was ours before? *Have* we grown up less deteriorated in the hair, by old age, than *those* grown up before? *Are* the thoughts, words, *and* deeds *of* our women and children more instructed than they were before?'

5. And *has* this thing occurred, that he is classed as disqualified who in training a child has become quite retrogressive (pas-ûruzd), and is *his* penalty arranged? Does the fiend think of the Karap class, and *are they* utterly destroyed by her through those whose thoughts are most evil, devoid of righteousness, *and* devoid of a liking for righteousness? 6. Near here, in the disturbance of the existences, does that happen as heard by us from the ancients, when listening *to* the true proclaimers of the Mazda-worshippers? And now, even when our numbers *are* so greatly maintaining this dispensation, do we sanctify (aharâytnem) righteousness (that is, do we perform duty and good works) more vociferously *and* more strenuously?'

7. This, too, it says, even that no one passes away in the last millennium, other than those whom they smite with a scaffold weapon¹, and *those* who pass away from old age. 8. When fifty-three years of that millennium of his have remained, the sweetness and oiliness in milk *and* vegetables are so completed that, on account of the freedom of mankind from wanting meat, they shall leave off the eating of meat, and their food becomes milk and vegetables. 9. When three years have remained, they shall leave off even the drinking of milk, and their food *and* drink become water and vegetables.

10. And in his millennium *are* the breaking (lānakō) of the fetters of Dahāk², the rousing of Kerēsāspō³ for the smiting of Dahāk, the arrival of Kai-Khūsrō⁴ and his companions for the assistance of Sōshāns in the production of the renovation *of the universe*, and the provision of most *of* mankind with the Gāthic disposition and law; also the occurrence of many other wonders and marvels is manifest in that millennium of his.

11. And this, too, it says, namely: 'When that millennium *has* fully elapsed, which is the second of the religion *of* the Mazda-worshippers, what is the separation after the first century?' 12. And Aūharmazd spoke thus: 'The sun conceals *itself*.' 13. 'And what is the separation after the second,

¹ Reading pavan dār snesh, as in some modern copies; but the old MS. of 1659 has run the last two words together, so as to produce pavan dārêgūsh, 'as destitute,' which must be wrong.

² For details see Byt. III, 55-57; Bd. XXIX, 9; Dd. XXXVII, 97; Dk. IX, xv, 2. It may be noticed that this release of the demoniacal tyrant is expected to follow the triumph of strict vegetarianism.

³ See further Byt. III, 59-61; Bd. XXIX, 7, 8.

⁴ See Mkh. XXVII, 59-63; LVII, 7; Dd. XXXVI, 3.

third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, *or* tenth century?' 14. And Aûharmazd spoke thus : 'The sun conceals *itself*.'

15. And when thirty winters of the tenth century *are* unelapsed, that maiden, who is Gôbâk-abû¹, walks up to the water; she that is the mother of that testifying Sôshâns who is the guide to conveying away the opposition of the destroyer, and her former lineage is from Vôhû-rôkô-î Frahânyân² in the family of Îsadvâstar, the son of Zaratûst *that* is brought forth by Arang. 16. 'That maiden whose title is All-overpowerer is thus all-overpowering, because through giving birth she brings forth him who overpowers all, both the affliction owing to demons, and also that owing to mankind³.' 17. Then she sits in that water, when she is fifteen years old, *and* it introduces *into* the girl him 'whose name is the Triumphant Benefiter, and *his* title is the Body-maker; such a benefiter as benefits (savînêdô) the whole embodied existence, and such a *body*-maker, alike possessing body and possessing life, as petitions about the disturbance of the embodied existences *and* mankind⁴.' 18. Not before that *has she* associated with men; nor yet afterwards, when she becomes pregnant, *has she done so* before the time when she gives birth⁵.

¹ 'Having a testifying father,' the Pahlavi of Av. Eredad-fedhri, Yt. XIII, 142.

² See Chap. VIII, 55-57.

³ The Pahlavi version of Yt. XIII, 142, latter clause.

⁴ From the Pahlavi version of Yt. XIII, 129.

⁵ Compare the summary in Dk. VIII, xiv, 14, 15, as follows:—
'The coming and arrival of Sôshâns, son of Zaratûst, at the end of the third millennium, the destroyers *of* the organizers who *were* within the millennium of Aûshêdar-mâh, the arrival of Sôshâns,

19. When that man becomes thirty years old, the sun stands still in the zenith of the sky *for* the duration of thirty days *and* nights, and it arrives again at that place where it *was* appointed by allotment.

CHAPTER XI.

1. About the marvellousness which is after the end of the millennium of Aûshêdar-mâh and the arrival of the Triumphant Benefiter, until the end of the fifty-seventh year of Sôshâns and the production of the renovation among the existences.

2. Concerning the marvellousness of Sôshâns as to splendour *and* glory of person, it says that 'when the coming of the last rotation of those rotations of the seasons of Aûshêdar-mâh *occurs*, the man Sôshâns is born¹ whose food is spiritual *and* body sunny (that is, his body is as radiant as the sun);' also this, that 'he looks on all sides with six-eyed power (6-dôtsarîh), *and* sees the remedy for persecution by the fiend.'

3. This, too, that with him is the triumphant Kayân glory 'which the mighty Frêdûn² bore when Az-î Dahâk³ *was* smitten by him; also Kaî-Khûsrôî⁴ *was* bearing it when the Tûr Frangrâstîyâk⁵ *was* smitten by him; also Frangrâstîyâk bore it when the Drvê Zênîgâk⁶ *was* smitten by him; *and* Kaî-

and information about Sôshâns and his time. Also, as to the renovation of the universe and the future existence, *it* is declared that they arise in his time.'

¹ The date here indicated seems to be about twenty-eight years later than that intended in Chap. X, 15-19.

² See Chap. I, 25.

³ See Chap. I, 26.

⁴ See Chap. I, 39.

⁵ See Chap. I, 31, 39.

⁶ Av. Drvau Zainigâus, an Arab chieftain who invaded Irân

Vistâsp¹ shall bear it when you fully attract him to righteousness, *and* through it he shall carry off the fiend *from* the concerns of the world of righteousness².

4. And this, too, that in fifty-seven *of* his years *there* occur the annihilation of the fiendishness of the two-legged race *and* others, and the subjugation of disease and decrepitude, *of* death and persecution, and *of* the original evil *of* tyranny, apostasy, and depravity; *there* arise a perpetual verdant growth of vegetation *and* the primitive gift *of* joyfulness; *and there* are seventeen years *of* vegetable-eating, thirty years *of* water-drinking, *and* ten years *of* spiritual food.

5. And all the splendour, glory, and power, which *have* arisen in all those possessing splendour, glory, *and* power, *are* in him on whom they arrive together and for those who are his, when many inferior human beings are aroused splendid *and* powerful; and through their power and glory all the troops of the fiend are smitten. 6. And all mankind remain of one accord in the religion of Aûharmazd, owing to the will of the creator, the command *of* that *apostle*, and the resources of his companions.

7. At the end of the fifty-seven years the fiend *and* Aharman are annihilated, the renovation *for* the future existence occurs, *and* the whole of the good creation is provided with purity *and* perfect

in early times and killed many with his evil eye, till the Irânians invited Frangrâstiyâk to destroy him (see Darmesteter's French translation of part of Chap. XLI of Irânian Bundahis in Annales du Musée Guimet, vol. xxii, p. 401).

¹ See Chap. I, 41.

² From a Pahlavi version of Yt. XIX, 92, 93, with the second and third clauses transposed.

splendour. 8. *Just* as revelation states thus: 'When that millennium *has* fully elapsed, which is the third of the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, that Mazda-worshipper whose name is so Triumphant¹ then marches forward from the water Kanyisâ² with a thousand companions and also maidens *of* restrained disposition and blindly-striving behaviour³; and he smites the wicked people who *are* tyrannical, and annihilates them.'

9. Then those Mazda-worshippers smite, and none are smiting them. 10. Then those Mazda-worshippers produce a longing for a renovation among the existences, *one* ever-living, ever-beneficial, and ever desiring a Lord. 11. 'Then I, who am Aûharmazd, produce the renovation according to the longing among the existences, *one* ever-living, ever-beneficial, *and ever* desiring a Lord.'

¹ See Chap. X, 17.

² Reading the name as Pâzand; if it were Pahlavi it would have to be read Kân-mâsâf, because Irânian Pâz. yi is very like Pahl. mâ. It is Kyânsih in Bd. XIII, 16; XX, 34; XXI, 6, 7, and represents Av. Kâsava, the brackish lake or sea of Sagastân.

³ Reading 'va-bigar-îk-i vand khîm va-kûr-kakhô râs,' and assuming that bigar is Ar. bikr, as an Arabic word is occasionally used in the Dînkard (see Chap. II, 2 n) though very rarely. Bd. XXX, 17, mentions 'fifteen men and fifteen damsels' as assisting Sôshâns at the time of the renovation of the universe.

DĪNKARD.—BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

1. The triumph of the creator Aûharmazd, and glory of complete wisdom, is the divine (ahûtg) religion of Mazda-worship.

2. The fifth *book* is about the sayings of the saintly Âtûr-farnbag¹, son of Farukhzâd, *who* was the leader of the orthodox, even as to the manuscript which is called Gyêmarâ². 3. The collected replies of Âtûr-

¹ He was the leader of the orthodox about A.D. 815-835, and held a religious disputation with the heretic Abâlis in the presence of the Khalîfah Al-Mâmûn (A.D. 813-833), as detailed in the *Mâdgân-i Gugastak Abâlis*. He was also the first compiler of the *Dînkard*, probably of its first two Books, which are not yet discovered, as well as of some of the materials for the other Books. (See S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, p. 411, n. 1.)

² The name of this MS. can be only guessed. It occurs three times in each of the two MS. authorities, B and K₄₃, and the simplest reading of five of these six occurrences would be Sîmrâ, so that the remaining one (Sarmâ) may be neglected as a corruption. A final â in Pahlavi is a very certain indication of a Semitic word, for if a final of similar form occurs in an Irânian word, it represents either h or kh; so if the name were Irânian, its most probable reading would be Sîmurkh. But, in § 3, it is intimated that the MS. belonged to an ancient tribe, or congregation (ram); it also seems, from Chap. IV, 8, 9, that the religion of this tribe was not so inconsistent with Zoroastrianism as to prevent its members being taught that orthodox faith; and §§ 4, 5 of the present chapter appear to quote from that MS. some

farnbag, son of Farukhzâd, the leader of the orthodox, about several significant questions that *are* the wonder of the moderns, which *are* like the friendly words, spoken by him *as to* those of the ancient tribe¹ (kâd mon-ramân) who call *it* really their Gyêmarâ, which *are* obtaining² a like wonder for them openly accessible to him³.

4. About the unswerving *and* co-operating chieftainship of those forefathers who went in mutually-friendly command of troops, *and* the complete enclosure of that tribe within the military control of Bûkht-Narsîh⁴. 5. About the disabling of vicious habits and evil deeds, which are entirely connected, and of the heinous demon-worship and mischief which

particulars regarding the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. From these circumstances we may suspect that Âtûr-farnbag, while collecting materials for his *Dînkard*, had asked some Jewish friends what information their MSS. contained regarding the old Persians, as the two peoples had been in contact, more or less, ever since the time of the Achaemenian dynasty. If he did so enquire, the Jews would naturally search in the Talmud, in which references to the Persians still survive, though the text is no longer complete. The question is, therefore, whether the MS., whose name has been provisionally read Sîmrâ, can have had any connection with the Talmud. It will be at once evident to any Pahlavi student that Pahl. sî may be read gyê equally well, and that we have no better reason for reading Sîmrâ than for the Gyêmarâ, which has been put into the text, as a suggestion that Âtûr-farnbag was really referring to the Gemarâ of the Jews, the supplement to their commentary upon Scripture. Whether this can be clearly proved remains to be seen, and positive evidence seems scanty.

¹ Or 'congregation.'

² Or 'including (vandîg).'

³ Pahl. 'mûnsânō ham-shkûp-vindîg frâs aûbas yehamtûnisîg.' From which it appears as if there had been a mutual interchange of information between him and his Jewish friends.

⁴ The Pahlavi form of Bu'ht-i-najar, or Nebuchadnezzar.

are owing to them, through the ruler Kaî-Loharâsp¹ being sent, with Bûkht-Narsih, from the country of Irân to Bêtâ-Makdis² of Arûm, and *their* remaining *in* that quarter. 6. And the orthodox belief in the rude particulars *of* religious custom in the mutual deliberation of those of the tribe, the acquaintance with religion of a boor (durûstakö-1), the difficult arrangements, and the enquirer doubtful of the religion after the many controversial, deliberative, and cause-investigating questions and answers adapted to the importunities of that wordy disciple³.

7. About how the accepting of this religion *by* the prophets before Zaratûst *occurred*⁴, how the pure *and* saintly Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas came⁵, and who *will* afterwards come *as* bringers of the same pure *and* good religion *hereafter*⁶. 8. That is, of the prophets, apostles, and accepters of the religion, *there were they* who accepted *it* concisely *and* completely *such* as Gâyômarâd was, from whom *came* irregularly (durûstakö) *such* as Masyê and Styâmak, Hâôshâng, Tâkhmôrup, Yim, Frêdûn, Mânûskêthar, the Sâmân, the Kayân, and also many other leaders in *those* times⁷. 9. And their acceptance expressly at various times is produced for action, and thereby the adversity of the creatures is removed, benefit

¹ The father of Kaî-Vistâsp (see Bd. XXXI, 28, 29; XXXIV, 7). His expedition to Jerusalem is mentioned in Pahl. Mkh. XXVII, 67, and by some Arab writers.

² 'The holy place,' a title of Jerusalem.

³ Not identified. From this point to Chap. IV, 7, Âtûr-farnbag must have used the same authorities as the writer of Dk. VII; but he returns to the Gyêmarâ in Chap. IV, 8.

⁴ Dk. VII, i, 7-40.

⁵ Ibid. 41.

⁶ Ibid. 42.

⁷ See the details in Dk. VII, i, 7-40. §§ 1-8 have been already translated in Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, ii, 93-94.

and prosperity *are* sought, the world is controlled, and the creator and good creations are propitiated.

CHAPTER II.

1. In the pure light *and* equal to the archangels—collected together and reckoned together, since the original creation, *and* completely unmixed—Zarātūst was spiritually fashioned and provided und defectively for the acceptance and propagation of the religion in the world¹. 2. And when he is sent for the manifestation of restrained saintliness (môkîh) and bodily substance, great glory and radiance become as much discernible in *him* as the same *had* come into the posterity of Yim who are Pôrûshâspô², his father, *and* Dûkdâûb³ who is his mother; and also while *he* is *being* born and *for* the duration of life, he produced a radiance, glow, and brilliance from the place of his own abode, that issued intensely and strongly, like the splendour of fire, to distant lands⁴.

3. Also *about* the wizards and witches, tyrants, Kîgs, and Karaps, and other miscreants who have produced outrage for him during his birth and childhood, with desire for his destruction; who *have* manifestly come about *his* death *or* disablement, and even so far as *those* who *have* come into the visible assembly *about* the destruction of *his* glory and other *causes* of helplessness⁵. 4. And also including the wolves *and* other wild beasts, to whom *he* was

¹ Dk. VII, ii, 1, 2, 14-21, 36-42, 46, 47; Zs. XIII, 4.

² Ibid. 13.

³ Ibid. 3-8; Zs. XIII, 1-3.

⁴ Ibid. 56-58; Zs. XIV, 7.

⁵ Dk. VII, iii, 5-14; Zs. XVI, 1-7.

cast forth by those of Pôrûshâspô's kinsmen who *were* wizards, *and* the kindred of those frequenting demon-worship, but only as a test ¹.

5. *In* like manner *it* is declared *that*, on account of Vohûmanô *being* welcome to him, he laughed outright at birth ². 6. His coming for conference *with* Aûharmazd ³, and owing to *his* accepting the religion, Aharman and many demons and fiends have come to him with exhibition of fear, offering of service, and the argument and entreaty of supplicants ; and all these have returned from him disapprovingly, defeatedly, and confusedly, through the pure proclamation of his Avesta, the unique perfection of Aûharmazd's will ⁴, and the indication of a prepared armament (vîrâstô-zênîh), a declared reward, a powerful sovereignty, and a way of injury *to* the destroyer.

7. Also the triumph of the sacred beings *in* the end, and the peculiarity *of* the joint control *of* the demons ; how, before that, they rushed openly into the world *and* have dwindled, *their* bodily forms *are* shattered ⁵, and they are so converted into secret decay, that *their* supplicants, deceived and deceivers, became awful disputants through confession of it.

8. And when, through completely accepting the religion from Aûharmazd, he came to the obedient king Kai-Vistâsp to attract those of the world, he exhibited glorious actions of many kinds and the

¹ Dk. VII, iii, 15-19 ; Zs. XVI, 8-11.

² Ibid. 2 ; Zs. XIV, 12, 13.

³ Ibid. 60-iv, 1 ; Zs. XXI, 11-XXII, 13.

⁴ Dk. VII, iv, 36-41, 61, 62.

⁵ Ibid. 42. 44-46, 63.

smiting of demons and fiends ; and *he* openly spoke the thoughts of king Vistâsp and many of the multitude *about* hidden matters¹, *thus* : ' A person is possessing life only by destiny, and without his body, *but with* a like destiny, the person possessing life is restored ;' *he was* also opposing many wizards, demon-worshippers, demon-consulters, *and* those seduced *by*² deceivers who are awful disputants.

9. And this *was* the utterance of those twelve stars whose names *are those* of the twelve zodiacal constellations, and the primitive learned of Bâpêl³, that have come to these, who *are* asking questions of the chief rulers of Khvanîras, *have* to justify *it*, in the controversy, with the spiritual and material customs and rude observances which are diversely manifested, onwards from *the time of* Yim the splendid and the evidence of it, discernible with him, *was that of* Vohûmanô, Ashavahistô, the fire, and some other good spirits⁴.

10. Afterwards, too, the estimating and weighing of the whole utterance of the religion of Aûharmazd *were* held out by him to Vistâsp and those of the world, as very accountably a wonder ; and further, too, he remained as *it were* more conflicting with fellow-disputants than his own words opposing the fellow-disputants.

11. Also when, through the effect of glory and the struggle *for being* saved, every class of apostles and prophets and manifestation of tokens and such-like *were*, with certain *and* striking evidence, casting down blessings, even thereupon the obedient king

¹ Dk. VII, iv, 65, 71.

² B has ' and demon-separatists (va-shêdâ-gvîdakân).'

³ Dk. VII, iv, 72.

⁴ Ibid. 74, 85 ; Zs. XXIII, 7.

Kaī-Vistâsp's fear of the adversary of religion, and also other causes, arose, on account of which he *was* then accepting the propagation of the religion¹, when its great glory *and* beauty² *were* seen by him. 12. At first, Zarīr³, Spend-dâd⁴, Frashôstar, and Gâmâsp⁵, several of the realm *who were* noble, conspicuous, and well-acting, the good *and* princes of mankind, beheld visibly the will and desirableness of Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the progressive religion of the creatures, fit for those completely victorious (hûktragântg).

13. Lastly, the seizure and capturing (gīrīnīšnō) by the demons *are* beheld *and* watched; *and* they have remained opposing, owing to the number of idolators competing wranglingly. 14. And much conflict and slaughter occurred, which arose purely, so that the mingling of the religion in the world proceeded⁶.

15. *There* are also his pure new bringers and complete controllers of the same religion, Aûshêdar⁷, Aûshêdar-mâh⁸, and Sôshâns⁹; and through the complete progress of this religion of Aûharmazd, all the good creatures become without disturbance and all-radiant¹⁰.

¹ Dk. VII, iv, 87.

² K43 has varâzō; but B, omitting the first letter, has lāfō, 'praise.'

³ A brother and commander-in-chief of Vistâsp, killed in the battle with Argâsp, see Bd. XXXI, 29; YZ. 54-56.

⁴ A son of Vistâsp; see Dk. VII, vii, 5; YZ. 82-85.

⁵ Two brothers, see Chap. III, 4; Dk. VII, vi, 12; Zs. XXIII, 10.

⁶ See Chap. III, 1.

⁷ Dk. VII, viii, 55-ix, 13.

⁸ Dk. VII, ix, 18-x, 10.

⁹ Dk. VII, x, 15-xi, 5.

¹⁰ Dk. VII, xi, 6-11.

CHAPTER III.

1. About that which is manifested as regards the propitiousness, forward intellect, and complete virtue of Zaratûst, it is openly declared that, according to his explaining statements, *there occurred such events* as the victory of Kai-Vistâsp and the Irânians over Argâsp¹ and an army of Khyôns and other foreigners *of* innumerable kinds, *and* details on that subject; also other assistance of Vistâsp and those of the realm in other necessities.

2. The killing of Zaratûst himself *by* Brâdrô-rêsh² the Tûr; the provision of a chariot *by* Srtô³ of the Visraps; and whatever is on those subjects.

3. Also, specially, matters in the times to come, each consecutively, *when* therein arrive devastators *such* as Alexander⁴, and the killer of Akre-khiradô⁵, Mahrkûs⁶, Dahâk⁷, and other devastators; extenders of belief (vîravîsn-vâlân) *such* as the Messiah (Mashikh), Mânih⁸, and others; periods *such* as the steel age⁹, *that* mingled with iron, and others; and organizers, restorers, *and* introducers of religion, *such*

¹ Dk. VII, iv, 77, 83, 84, 87-90; v, 7; this victory occurred in the thirtieth year of the religion, see Zs. XXIII, 8.

² Dk. VII, v, 12 n.

³ Dk. VII, vi, 2-11.

⁴ Dk. VII, vii, 7.

⁵ Or Aghrêrad (Av. Aghraêratha), killed by his brother Frâsîyâv or Frangrâsîyâk of Tûr, see Bd. XXIX, 5; XXXI, 15, 20-22.

⁶ Dk. VII, i, 24; ix, 3.

⁷ Ibid. i, 26.

⁸ A heretic who flourished A.D. 216-242; see Dk. IX, xxxix, 13 n.

⁹ According to Byt. II, 21, 22, the steel age was the time of Khûsrô Anôshêrvân, and that mingled with iron at the end of Zaratûst's millennium.

as Artakhshatar ¹, Âtûrpâd ², Khûsrôï ³, Pêshyôtan ⁴, Aûshêdar, Aûshêdar-mâh, Sôshâns ⁵, and others.

4. The formation of custom, and the indications which *have* come to manifestation and *will* arrive at various periods; and the proclamation of these, too, by Gâmâsp ⁶, from the teaching of Zaratûst, is what he wrote, together with the Avesta and Zand, upon oxhides, and it was written *with* gold, and kept in the royal treasury ⁷. 5. And it was from it the high-priests of the rulers made many copies; and afterwards, too, it is from it that it happened, both to the less intelligent and the corrupters, that *they* were introducing different opinions *and* different views.

CHAPTER IV.

1. About the selectness and perfection of the race of Irân, that is, how the destroyer and the mingling of defects came into the creation, first into the distribution of the race [of mankind] ⁸ from the children of Sîyâmak ⁹, *and* good intellect, good disposition,

¹ Ardashîr Pâpakân (A.D. 226-241), the founder of the Sâsânian dynasty.

² Son of Mâraspend, and prime minister of Shahpûhar II (A.D. 309-379).

³ Anôshêrvân (A.D. 531-578).

⁴ A son of Vistâsp and immortal ruler of Kangdez, see Dk. VII, iv, 81.

⁵ See Chap. II, 15.

⁶ See Chap. II, 12.

⁷ This was the original Avesta prepared by order of Vistâsp, as stated in the last chapter of Dk. III, § 3 (see S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, p. xxxi).

⁸ B omits the words in brackets.

⁹ Son of Masyê, called Sâmak in Dk. VII, i, 15.

proper affection, proper praise, proper modesty, observance of hope, liberality, truth, generosity, good friendship, *and* other capability, glory, and proper duty are more particularly included for Fravâk¹, and again altered for frontier peoples.

2. Such-like goodness and glory, again, through selection from a promiscuous origin—even till the coming on of various new contaminations, from the demons, among the children of Fravâk—*were* for Hâôshâng and Vâêgered², as Hâôshâng through superior glory *was* ruler of the world, and Vâêgered³ through provincial government (dahyûkânih) became the cultivator and cherisher of the world; and their well-destined descendants³ aggrandized the race of the monarchs among the well-born provincial governors (dahyûkân).

3. In union, such-like glory and goodness proceeded, mutually connected, in various ages as settled by the annals (mâdîgân), and the frontiers of Atûr⁴ are penetrated; also in various annals *there* were in succession *such men* as Tâkhmôrup, Yim, Frêdûn the Âspîgân, and Aîrîk of Irân, the progenitor of Mânûs, Mânûs-khvârnar, and Mânûskîhar⁵.

4. And, besides including this one, who *was* a monarch of superior glory, and other monarchs *such* as *are* also in the same race⁶, the Kayâns⁷ *were*

¹ Son of Sîyâmak; he was progenitor of the fifteen undeformed races of mankind (see Bd. XV, 25, 30, 31).

² Dk. VII, i, 16-18.

³ K43 has 'children.'

⁴ Probably Assyria; but it is possible to read atval as Ar. a/val, and to translate 'ancient frontiers.'

⁵ For the foregoing names see Dk. VII, i, 19-30; ii, 70.

⁶ Such as Âûzôbô in Dk. VII, i, 31.

⁷ From Kaî-Kobâd to Kaî-Khûsrô, as stated in Dk. VII, i, 33-40.

chosen. 5. Even thus, as regards the Kayâns, the annals *have* always to consider him who is monarch as the right *one*, who is a fellow-descendant *of* the lineage, and in whom the glory is residing.

6. The creator Aôharmazd has informed Nêryô-sang¹, his own reminder, *that* a similar instance is the supreme Zarâtûstship, and the glory of the religion due to the same; also many other reasons, which *are* recountable, *are* declared in the Avesta, indications known only *to* an Irânian person of the best lineage. 7. And this, too, he has said, namely: 'Great glory and goodness of this description *are* appropriatable by the same race, and *are* even now² visibly manifest.'

8. About what *are* the requirements of the tribe of those who call *this* really their Gyêmarâ and how *they are* effected by our acquaintance with revelation, that is, *by* much recitation of it; only, several occasions (yâvar 1-*k*and) are necessary in these times. 9. Also action and precaution *are* possible for them, and among the actions and precautions *one* is to assume more especially law and custom, and whatever *was* perverted by us and again made true; and, as to those taught, several persons who *are* intellectual, seeking means, and friends of the soul, *have* come to teach complete delusions to them; also for the same tribe and whomever it is proper to teach, when it is necessary for them, even a worldly

¹ The usual messenger of Aôharmazd, see Dk. VII, iv, 84, 85.

² B has 'even anew,' by writing kevan backwards, which converts the word into navak. From Chap. I, 7 to this point, the compiler could have found very little of his materials in a Jewish MS., excepting such as had been recently obtained from Persian sources.

priestly authority is guiding for *that* same tribe, because he has come¹.

¹ It would seem that the tribe professed a different religion, but one that bore some resemblance to the Parsi faith in certain essential particulars. The remaining five-sixths of Dk. V are devoted to a miscellaneous collection of religious subjects, resembling a Rivâyat.

SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM.

SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM¹.

CHAPTER XII.

1. About the coming of the religion at a *given* time *being* a resemblance such-like as the birth of a child through two united powers, which are the reception of semen *by* females in procreation, and delivering *it* back to the fathers, and a period of struggling and intermingling, especially by two means: a monarchy with ² religion of the same tenets (ham-vâk-dênôih), and the existence of similar tenets to *those of* the monarchy *in* the custom *of* the religion. 2. The religion *of* the Mazda-worshippers, when the period of material

¹ Zâd-sparam was Dastûr of Sîrkân, about thirty parasangs south of Kirmân, in A. D. 881. At a later date, probably about A. D. 900, he compiled three series of Selections, from religious texts then extant, and these have been preserved by the Parsis in the same MSS. as contain the Dâdîstân-î Dînk (see the Introduction). The first eleven chapters of this first series of Selections have been already translated in S. B. E., vol. v, pp. 155-186, as they refer to some of the subjects detailed in the Bundahis. The remaining chapters are here translated, except the last which refers to the Nasks and Gâthas, and will be found in S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 401-405. The MS. authorities for the text are K35 and T (see p. 2 and Introduction).

² T has 'devoid of.'

organization is being converted again into a spiritual nature, became manifest on the earth, first through Spendarmâd¹ and afterwards through Aûharmâd, like the reception of a child *by* mothers and delivering *it* back to the fathers.

3. The manifestation of the religion through Spendarmâd was at that time when Frâsiyâv² kept back the water from the country of Irân, and brought the water again; in damsel form she was a speaker for *its* manifestation, *in* reply to foreigners, at the house of Mânûskêhar³, the monarch of the country of Irân. 4. She *was* also dressed, and wore radiant clothing which shone out on all sides *for* the length of a Hâsar⁴, which is *a distance*, like a Parasang; and, tied on her waist, she wore a golden *sacred* girdle which was the religion of the Mazda-worshippers itself.

5. As to the belt of the religion, it is *that* to which are connected the thirty-three fetters upon the thirty-three sins⁵, according to which all sin is divided; so that (kû) the damsels, by whom the tied *sacred* girdle of Spendarmâd *was* seen, have become impetuous (taftlgö) after that for a tied girdle, on account of *its* seeming beautiful.

6. And this was the motherhood which is supplied through Spendarmâd, as a gift, in the year 528

¹ The female archangel who has special charge of the earth and virtuous women (see Dk. VII, ii, 19 n).

² See Dk. VII, i, 31; and regarding his irrigation canals, see Bd. XX, 17, 34; XXI, 6.

³ See Dk. VII, i, 29.

⁴ A thousand steps of the two feet, or Roman mile; see Bd. XXVI, 1.

⁵ Thirty sins are detailed in Mkh. XXXVI, and thirty-three good works in XXXVII (see S. B. E., vol. xxiv, pp. 71-75).

before Zaratûst came out to *his* conference¹, which is *one of* their statements from the annals of the religion *in* a manuscript of the ancients.

7. The name of Zaratûst is also cited on the earth at 300 years before his conference². 8. For Irân, at the supplication even of the priests in the land, and for the sake of the pacification of a dispute arisen, Aûharmazd produced a great ox, by whom the boundary of Irân next to Tûrân was intimated by pawing with *his* hoofs, and he was kept in a jungle. 9. Whenever contention arose, the boundary was fully made known by that ox, until it was the wish of Kaî-Ûs to take, fully covetously, a portion of the land of Tûrân back *into* Irân, and he saw that the ox is *about* to act very ill-naturedly, because it *was* not besought with *forms* which were prescribed for it, where a boundary was intimated by it³.

10. *There* were seven brothers, and he who was

¹ If this coming to conference with the spirits be 'the coming of the religion,' in the thirtieth year of Vistâsp's reign, then, according to Bundahis chronology, these 528 years will carry us back to twenty-eight years before the accession of Mânûskîhar. As any alteration in the date of Mânûskîhar's accession would disturb the millennial arrangement of Bd. XXXIV, it is probable that some copyist has miswritten the ciphers, and we ought to read 428. This legend appears not to occur elsewhere.

² According to Bd. XXXIV, 7, Kaî-Ûs reigned from 360 to 210 years before 'the coming of the religion.' At this point a dislocation of the text occurs in all existing MSS., owing to the misplacement of a loose folio in some unknown copy written before 1530; the contents of this folio, §§ 8-16, are found in the existing MSS. three folios further on (after Chap. XIV, 14), and are here restored to their original position, as determined by the meaning of the text.

³ T has 'by that ox.' This legend is also told in Dk. VII, ii, 62-66.

the seventh was called Sritô¹ the Seventh, the largest in body *and* chief in strength, belonging to those instructed in many subjects for Kai-Ûs, and he was among his princes. 11. Kai-Ûs summoned *him* into *his* presence and ordered *him* thus: 'Go and kill that ox in the jungle!'

12. Sritô went, *and* the ox whom he wished to kill expostulated with him, in human words, thus: 'Do not kill me! for though thou canst kill me, he whose guardian spirit is in the Hôm, the death-dispeller, *will* also become manifest on the earth, *he* whose name is Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas², and *will* proclaim thy bad action in the world. 13. And the distress in thy soul becomes such as is declared in revelation thus: "As it occurs to him, *so* it *does* to Vadak³, when they mention his iniquity," and thy death becomes the like and, owing to death, it is mixed up with hers (that is, owing even to hers is the death of Sritô).'

14. When those words *were* heard by him, Sritô turned back, *and* went again to Kai-Ûs; also by his manner, and even apart from this, he stated⁴ what the ox *had* spoken with awfulness, *and also* thus:

¹ Sritô, the seventh son (compare Dk. VII, ii, 64), is not easy to identify. He could not have been Thrîta the father of Keresâspa, because this Thrîta the Sâmân is said to have been a third son in Pahl. Yas. IX, 30 (Sp.). He may have been Sritô of the Vîsrap, whose soul visited Vistâsp in the latter part of his reign, about 350 years later, regarding which a legend is related in Dk. VII, vi, 2-11, and again mentioned in Dk. V, iii, 2; but there is a want of corresponding details for identification.

² This is the citation of his name mentioned in § 7.

³ The mother of Dahâk, whose iniquity is considered as equal to that of the evil spirit, see Dd. LXXII, 5; Dk. IX, x, 3.

⁴ T has 'also by his manner he intimated *and* separately stated.'

'I *am* more desirous *than* any one who is in the earth *created by* righteousness, *that* you *should* now order destruction for the ox.'

15. And Kaî-Ûs uttered *his* will, with the conviction of superior wisdom, thus: 'It is not certain whether he whose guardian spirit is in the Hôm, the death-dispeller, is himself, or not; and if he be, and be born ¹, *whether* he *will* become manifest, or not;' and he commanded with severity, thus: 'Go and kill it!'

16. *And* Sritô spoke thus: '*It is* not that I am without strength to kill, because *its* reprieve by me *was* owing to its remonstrance, mentioned to me, that a high-priest is to arise ².'

17. So *it* is declared thus, *in* another revelation (dênô zagâi) ³, when the Tûrânians *were* backward *in* heart, Kaî-Ûs spoke thus: 'Go out to a certain jungle, in which dwell many chiefs of the witches, and they *will* cut thee up without *any* striving of heart.'

18. And Sritô went up to the jungle, *where* many witches saw him, who kept their jaws open, and they *spoke* about the handsome *man* thus: 'Slay *and* do not spare!' 19. And compassion *having* gone out of his heart, he went back to the *other* jungle and, with his fist, he broke the back of the ox in three places; and the ox, awfully convulsed (skiftö barhamakö), kept *up* an outcry.

20. After the slaughter of the ox, owing to its convulsed state which *was* heard by him, the

¹ T omits 'and be born.'

² The misplaced folio, which begins with § 8, ends here, but it is not quite certain that a few lines of text are not still missing.

³ T has 'at another *time* (dên zagâi).'

remembrance of it then became grievous to Sritô ; and he went back to Kat-Ûs, and informed him how it was, and begged him that he *should* finish off by slaying him¹, because his life was not desirable.

21. Kat-Ûs spoke thus : '*Shall* I slay thee, for it *was* not designed by thee?'

22. *And* Sritô spoke thus : 'If thou wilt not slay me, then I *shall* slay thee.'

23. *Again* Kat-Ûs spoke thus : 'Do not thou slay me, for I am the monarch of the world.'

24. Sritô continued *his* discontent, until Kat-Ûs ordered him thus : 'Go out to a certain jungle, because a witch in the shape of a dog is in it, and she will slay thee.'

25. *Then* Sritô went out to that jungle, and that witch in the shape of a dog *was* seen by him ; after he smote the witch, she became two ; and he constantly smote *them* till *they* became a thousand, and the host (girdô) of them slew Sritô on the spot.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. About the glory of Zaratûst becoming manifest even before *his* birth, *it* is thus declared, that forty-five years before *the time* when Zaratûst came out to his conference², when Frênô gave birth to the mother of Zaratûst³, whom they called Dûkâk, it

¹ T has 'that he *should* command the slaying of him.'

² That is, forty-five years before he was thirty years old (see Chap. XXI, 1-14).

³ It is necessary to translate in this manner, to agree with Dk. VII, ii, 3, but the text, which is ambiguous, runs as follows:—
'amat Frênôg (Frênô-î?) Zaratûst am, zyârân Dûkâkôg karîuntô,

came down from the endless light, in the manner of fire, *and* mingled with the fire which was before her; *and* from the fire it mingled with the mother of Zaratûst¹.

2. For three nights it was manifest, to all passers-by, as a species of fire *in* the direction of the house, *and* passers *on* the road always saw great radiance.

3. Also when she became fifteen years old, the radiance of that glory which *was* in her, *was* even such *that*, on the path she was walking *along*, its brightness *was* then shed by her².

4. About the combination of Zaratûst, *whose* guardian spirit is revered; that is, his guardian spirit, in the Hôm, and his glory are given the cow's milk, by his father and mother drinking *it* up³, *and* *his* spiritual life (ahvô) came into the combination, as was proclaimed *by* his statements in the manuscript about the Guidance of the Ceremonial⁴.

5. About the backward connection of Zaratûst with Aûharmazd, through the two who *are* Yim, the best of the worldly existences, and Nêryôsang of the spirits. 6. The enumeration of the lineage of Zaratûst is Zaratûst, *son of* Pôrûshaspô⁵, of Purtarâspô,

zerkhûntô;’ which might also be translated thus: ‘when Frênô, the mother of Zaratûst, whom they called Dûkzâk, was born.’ This Frênô, whether mother or daughter, does not seem to correspond with any Frêni mentioned in the Avesta.

¹ See Dk. VII, ii, 2, 3.

² Ibid. 7, 8.

³ Ibid. 46, 47.

⁴ Not identified, but probably like the Nîrangistân.

⁵ This genealogy was, no doubt, derived originally from the same source as that in Dk. VII, ii, 70, but there are several variations, especially in orthography, which are here preserved, unless clearly copyist's blunders. The names marked with an asterisk are written in Pâzand.

of Ahûrvadâspô, of Hâêkadâspô, of Kîkhshnûs, of Paîtiraspô, of Aregadarst*, of Kharedhar*, of Spîtâmân, of Vaêdîstô, of Ayazem, of Fris, of Arig*, of Dûrasrôbô, of Mânûskîhar, of Mânûs-khûrnar, of Mânûs-khûrnâk, whom Nêryôsang the messenger of Aûharmazd brought, and whose mother was Vizag, daughter of Aryag, of Sritak, of Bitak, of Frazûsak, of Zûsak, of Fragûzag, of Gûzag, daughter of Airtê, son of Frêdûn of the Âspigâns to the total of ten Âspigâns, of Yim, of the Vîvang, has, of the Ayang, has, of the Anang, has, of Hôshâng, of Fravâk, of Siyâmak, of Masiyâ, of Gâyômarz.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. About the wonderful striving of the fiend for the destruction of Zaratûst. 2. When it became near to his birth, the Fever demon, the Pain demon, and the Wind demon of Aharman, each one with 150 demons, have come out to kill Zaratûst, and from his spirit they have gone forth to *his* mother. 3. And she is hurried from there by Fever, Pain, and Wind; and at *the distance of* one league (para-sang) *there* was a wizard, Impudent (Storkö) *by* name, who was the most medical of wizards; in hope of practice he stood up from his seat, *as* she stopped in her progress.

4. A messenger *of* Aûharmazd uttered a cry thus: 'Do not go to a wizard! for they are not healing (bêshazintdâr) for thee; but go back to the house, wash *thy* hands on the morrow with cow's butter held over the fire, also burn (tâpö) ¹ firewood

¹ T has 'consume (viddzö).'

and incense for thy own self *and thy* progeny which is in thy womb.' 5. And she acted accordingly and became well ¹; *and* the co-operators of the demon, *and* those of equal power, who *had* not obtained their remedy from her body, are again exposed ², and spoke thus: 'On account of the existence of fire from all sides we have not succeeded; *it is* a help for every one who is her friend more than opponent; therefore it was not for us, because of the power within her.'

6. The same night as she gave birth, Aharman selected commanders and arrayed his champions (gûrd); there are *some* who *are* with one thousand demons, and there are *some* who *are* with two thousand demons; pursuing *and* attacking they have contended. 7. The opposing stand *of* the sacred beings ³, especially of the glory itself at the family ⁴ fire, was manifest at that birth; and for its splendour and brightness (padrôkô), settled opposite a distant place, they have then found no remedy.

8. At last, Aharman sends Akômanô ⁵ on, and spoke to him thus: 'Thou canst be very spiritual, who canst be most intimate; thou canst go with deceit into the mind of Zaratûst, and make him turn

¹ Compare Dk. VII, ii, 53-55.

² T has '*and* all the co-operators *who had* entered her body, *and* those of equal power *who had* reached them, returned helpless from them.'

³ Thus summarized in Dk. VIII, xiv, 2:—'Also about the arrival of both spirits, the good *one* for developing, and the evil *one* for destroying; the victory *of* the good spirit, and the rearing of Zaratûst.' The 'rearing' is continued in Chaps. XV-XX.

⁴ Assuming that 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 stands for 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 dûdak.

⁵ The archdemon of 'evil thought' (Bd. XXVIII, 7) and special opponent of Vohûmanô, the archangel of 'good thought.'

his mind to us who are demons.' 9. And Aûharmazd sends Vohûmanô on against him; Akômanô advanced to the front, *and* had come forward to the door, *and* wished to go inside.

10. Vohûmanô schemingly (*êârakögarîhâ*) turned¹ back, and exclaimed to Akômanô thus: 'Go inside!' 11. Akômanô imagined thus: '*There* is nothing to be accomplished by me of what *was* mentioned to me, for Vohûmanô has gone back.' 12. And Vohûmanô went inside, *and* mingled with the reason (*vârôm*) of Zaratûst, *and* Zaratûst laughed outright², for Vohûmanô is a gratifying spirit.

13. Also seven wizards³ were seated before him, *and* owing to the light in the dwelling, his *having* laughed at birth was conveniently seen, which is opposed to the *habit* of the rest of mankind who cry out at birth *and* are quite terrified.

14. Also, at the same time of birth, he authoritatively accepted the religion from Aûharmazd, as it is stated in revelation, that he spoke at birth thus: 'As is the will of the spiritual lord (*ahvô*) mayst thou be who art the officiating priest (*zôtô*) (that is, mayst thou be the leader of the creatures)⁴.'

15. As Zaratûst, on account of his worldly body, spoke with a worldly voice, Aûharmazd spoke *in* reply to him, on account of the spirits, thus: 'So

¹ Assuming that *stô* stands for *vastô*.

² Compare Dk. VII, iii, 2; V, ii, 5. This laughing is not mentioned in Dk. IX, xxiv.

³ 'Seven midwives' are mentioned in Dk. VII, iii, 2.

⁴ This is one form of the Pahlavi Ahunavair (see Dk. IX, xxiv, 4). At this point the text in the MSS. is interrupted by the erroneous insertion of Chap. XII, 8-16, the contents of a loose folio in some former copy, which have been restored to their original position in this translation.

mayst thou be the priestly authority (*rad' shâe*), and so mayst thou be virtuous, owing to whatsoever righteousness *occurs*; and I confidently proclaim *thee* righteous (that is, I am thy controller) ¹.'

16. Another day, Pôrûshaspô went and enquired of the wizards who kept in front at the place, thus: 'What is the *cause* when infants cry out at birth, beyond that *which occurs* when they laugh outright ²?' 17. And they replied thus: 'Because *those who* are made to cry *have* seen mortality as *their* end, and *those* having laughed *have* seen their own righteousness.'

CHAPTER XV.

1. About the brothers who *were* a band of opponents of Zaratûst. 2. The Karaps and Aûsikhshes ³ *were* brothers' sons, and have become the devastation (*gâstâragîh*) of the Irânians; the devastators of the Irânians (*Êrânân*) *were* from Kôkharêd ⁴, and Kôkharêd *was* born from Aêshm and Mânûsak, the sister of Mânûskêthar ⁵. 3. At the place where Zaratûst *was* born, five brothers have been, whose names were Brâd-rûkhsh, Brâd-rôyisn, Brâd-rêsh the Tûr, Hazân, and Vadast ⁶. 4. Their

¹ Compare Dk. IX, xxiv, 4. ² Compare Dk. VII, iii, 24, 25.

³ Av. 'Karapâ Usikhsh-kâ' of Yas. XLIV, 20 c; the Kavâ, a third class of pre-Zoroastrian priests, is also mentioned *ibid.* 20 d. Compare Dk. VII, ii, 9 n.

⁴ Av. *Kahvaredha*, Yas. LX, 6, 7 (Sp.) where it is translated by *kâstâr*, 'diminisher, devastator,' of whom it is here said to be the father; see also Yt. III, 9, 12, 16.

⁵ Compare the legend of the descent of the ape and bear from a demon and Yimak, sister of Yim, in Bd. XXIII, 1.

⁶ As these names do not occur in the Avesta, their pronunciation

brotherhood of five—of which the middle *one* was Brâd-rêsh the Tûr, who became more of an adversary of Zaratûst—*was* a semblance *of* the brotherhood of five who *were* sons of Pôrûshaspô, of whom the middle *one* was Zaratûst.

5. Of the four brothers *of* Zaratûst, the names of the two before Zaratûst *were* Ratûstar and Rangûstar, and of the two after *him* Nodarigâ and Nivêdis¹.

6. The middle position of Zaratûst is for the reason that he is so produced at that time, as an inter-medium of the early narrators and the later narrators, that three millenniums came before him and three after. 7. So that he *has* prescribed to the creatures in what manner he would teach the ancients as to what *had* occurred, and *in* what manner *it* is also to be done as regards what *will* occur; as is stated in the Gâthas² thus: 'Both those I ask of thee, O Aûharmazd! even whatever *has* happened till now, *and* whatever shall happen henceforth?'

CHAPTER XVI.

1. About the trials (aûzmâyisnô) which occurred

has to be guessed so as to give a probable meaning to the Pahlavi spelling. The writing of the last name is complicated; it is written  and  in the two MS. authorities, which forms can be most obviously read Vasam and Saman, but Saman can also be read as the Zvâris yadâ=dast, 'a hand;' this leads to the conclusion that the original name underlies the form Vadast, and this is confirmed by the name of the Karap Vaêdvôist written at full length in Dk. VII, iv, 21-24. See *ibid.* ii, 9 n.

¹ These brothers seem unmentioned elsewhere, and the existence of the elder two would imply another mother. The pronunciation of the names is guessed.

² Pahl. Yas. XXXI, 14 a.

to him whose practice *was* lawful, and the signs of prophecy *that* are seen therein, *it* is thus declared, namely; 'Another day, when *the child had* been born, Pôrûshaspô called one of those five brothers of the race of Karaps, and spoke thus: "Fully observe the marks *and* specks of my son Zaratûst."'

2. *The Karap* went and sat down before Zaratûst, and the head of Zaratûst *was* thereupon severely twisted by him, in order that he should be killed; *but* he, being fearless, watched the wizards whose terror *was* distressing¹. 3. As *it was* in those ten nights for hospitality, Aûharmazd sent Spendarmad, Arêdvisûr, and Ardâî-fravard² down to the earth, by way of female *care*; thereupon no variation occurred to *the child*, and, further, the hand of that Karap *was* withered³, and that wizard demanded the life⁴ of Zaratûst from Pôrûshaspô for the harm from him, which sprang *upon* himself from his own action.

4. *At* the same time Pôrûshaspô took Zaratûst, and gave him to the Karap, that he might do with him according to his own will. 5. He seized him and threw him out, at the feet of the oxen who were going on a path to the water; the leader of that drove of oxen stood still in *his* vicinity, and 150 oxen, which walked behind it, *were* kept away from him thereby; *and* Pôrûshaspô took *him*, and carried him back to the house⁵.

6. Also the second day, *the Karap* threw *him* out

¹ Assuming that vôshîg stands for vêshîg=bêshîg.

² The three female spirits that represent the earth, pure water, and guardian spirits, respectively.

³ Compare Dk. VII, iii, 4-7.

⁴ Assuming that the MS. dênô stands for gân.

⁵ Compare Dk. VII, iii, 11, 12.

at the feet of the horses; and the leader of the horses stood still in the vicinity of Zaratûst, and 150 horses, which walked behind it, *were* kept away from him thereby; *and* Pôrûshaspô took *him*, and carried him back to the house ¹.

7. Also the third day, firewood is gathered together by *the Karap*, and Zaratûst is deposited on *it* by him, the fire is stirred up by him, yet *with* the same result (*ham-bûn-ik*), the *child* is not burnt by it, and those marks, which existed *and were* made upon him, *were* a preservation from it ².

8. And the fourth day, he is thrown by *the Karap* into the lair (*âshyânakö*) of a wolf; the wolf was not in the lair, *and* when it wished to go back to the den (*sûrâkö*), it stopped when it came in front of some radiance, *in* the manner of a mother, at the place *where its* cub was. 9. In the night, Vohûmanô *and* Srôsh the righteous brought a woolly (*kûrû-sakö*) sheep *with* udder *full* of milk into the den, and it gave milk to Zaratûst, in digestible draughts (*guvârakö guvârakö*), until daylight ³.

10. In the dawn, the mother of Zaratûst went to that place, in the expectation that it *would* be necessary to bring a skeleton out of the den, and the woolly *sheep* came out *and* ran away; his mother supposed that it was the wolf, and she spoke thus: 'Thou *hast* devoured to repletion; mayst thou endure for ever without it!' 11. She went farther, *and* when she saw Zaratûst quite safe, she then took him up and spoke thus: 'I *will* not give *thee* to any one during life, not though both the provinces of Râgh and Nôdar *should* arrive here together ⁴.'

¹ Compare Dk. VII, iii, 13, 14.

² Ibid. 9, 10.

³ Ibid. 15-17; V, ii, 4.

⁴ Ibid. 18, 19.

12. Because these *princes were* among the spiritual from two provinces which *are* in Âtûr-pâdakân, such as *are* at sixty leagues (parasang) from Kîst; Zaratûst arose from Râgh, and Vistâsp from Nôdar.

13. And of these two provinces, Râgh was according to the name of Êrikö, *son* of Dûrêsrôbô, *son* of Mânûskêthar¹, from whom arose the race of Zaratûst; and Nôdar *was* according to the name of Nôdar, *son* of Mânûskêthar, from whom arose the race of Vistâsp.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. These were his tokens at birth:—One day, one of those five brothers of the Karaps saw Zaratûst, and he looked a long while upwards, downwards, *and* on all sides around².

2. Pôrûshaspô enquired thus: 'What *was* there when thou lookedst upwards, what when *thou* lookedst downwards, *and* what when thou lookedst on all sides?'³

3. And he replied thus, namely: 'When I looked upwards, it *was* for this reason, when I saw that our souls³ *that* go up to the sky, *will* go up to the best

¹ Compare Chap. XIII, 6; Dk. VII, ii, 70.

² Compare Dk. VII, iii, 27-30.

³ Assuming that the MS. gad, 'glory, or destiny,' has lost an initial n, with which it was originally nismd=Chald. נִשְׁמָה 'the soul;' as the copyists have not been aware of the existence of this Zvâris equivalent for rûbân, 'the soul,' for some centuries, it has been altered into gad, by the omission of its first letter, in nearly all but the very oldest existing MSS., such as K20 and M6 in Bd. XV, 3-5, and even there the medial m is really missing, though apparently existing in the final d; the irregularity of using s for sh- is common in Pahlavi.

*existence*¹, owing to the words of this soul of mankind. 4. When I looked downwards, I saw that, owing to the action of this *one*, the demon and fiend, the wizard and witch become buried below the earth, *and* fall paralyzed back to hell. 5. And when I looked on all sides, I saw that the words of this *one will* extend through the whole earth; and when *they have* become as the law of the seven regions, each person is kept clothed *with* a robe (kapâh) of seven skins, in which the glory of the seven archangels *has* arisen.'

6. And Brâd-rûkhsh the Tûr went forth; when he went to the right side (arakö), Zaratûst hastened away to the left, and when he went to the left side, Zaratûst hastened to the right, and he is thereby concealed from Brâd-rûkhsh the Tûr, *who* has not met with him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. About his diverse want of participation (gvîd akhvêsth) with *his* parents this also is declared, that the demons, at an assembly of wizards, produced an outcry *for* a conference (ham-vâkô lâyisnô) thus: 'That son of Pôrûshaspô is senseless and foolish *and* secretly corrupted; no one, man *or* woman, *will* consider *or* accept *him as* exalted.'

2. The tidings came to Pôrûshaspô, and Pôrûshaspô spoke unto Zaratûst thus: 'I thought that I *had* begotten a son who *would* become a priest, a warrior, and a husbandman, and now thou

¹ The ordinary heaven; see Dd. XX, 3.

wouldst be foolish and secretly corrupted; thou shouldst proceed to the Karaps, so that they may cure *thee*.'

3. Zaratûst gave answer thus: 'I *am* *he* that is thy son, a priest, warrior, and husbandman.' 4. And, by command of Pôrûshaspô he harnessed two horses to a chariot (*vardînô*), and he went with Pôrûshaspô.

5. When they came to the place according to the decision of Pôrûshaspô, into the presence of one Karap of those said five brethren, that wizard took a cup and made water, and spoke thus: 'This he should drink who is a son of thine, so that he *may* become well;' and he acted with this conviction, that so he would change to the same nature as theirs.

6. Zaratûst spoke to Pôrûshaspô thus: 'Thou mayst give *it* back to him who is thy protector *and* high-priest;' and he arose (*âkhêgîd*)¹ and went back to *their* place.

7. On the way, Zaratûst gave *their* two horses water, on account of *their* thirst; and he thought thus: 'Unprofitable was my going to the residence of the Karaps, except *in* this manner, when, through giving water to the horses, my soul *was* then expanded.'

CHAPTER XIX.

1. About his interfering talk (*andarg-gôbisnôth*) with the iniquitous, this also is declared, that one

¹ T has 'he saluted (*nîyâyîd*).'¹ This legend has not yet been found elsewhere.

day Dûrêsrôbô¹ the Karap, as *it were* from the same five brethren, came out to the house of Pôrûshaspô; and Pôrûshaspô placed a bowl (*gâmakö*) of mare's milk before *him*, and spoke to him thus: 'Consecrate *it*.'

2. Zaratûst expostulated with Pôrûshaspô thus: 'I *will* consecrate *it*.' 3. Pôrûshaspô spoke thus: 'He should consecrate, and the grace is to be offered up by you²;' and as many as three times *they* mutually disputed.

4. *Then* up stood Zaratûst, and his right foot struck at the bowl and emptied it, and he spoke thus: 'I reverence righteousness, I reverence the righteous and the poor, men and women; do thou, O Pôrûshaspô! prepare a portion for him in whom *there* is worthiness.'

5. And Dûrêsrôbô spoke unto Zaratûst thus: 'As *some* of my portion of daily food was first thrown away by thee, it is I who *will* bring *it* on both thy lives, and *will* utterly destroy thee.' 6. Zaratûst spoke interruptingly³ thus: 'With complete mindfulness I *will* look upon thee with both eyes, and *will* utterly destroy thee.'

7. And, for a long time, they constantly looked, one at the other, with unshrinking gaze; *but* the divine nature of Zaratûst is victorious over the witchcraft of that *wizard*, and Dûrêsrôbô is further disturbed; he also asked for *his* horse and spoke thus: 'On account of this *boy*, *it* is impossible for me to stay.'

¹ So spelt in Zs., but Dûrâsrôbô in Dk.; also the former has always Pôrûshaspô, but the latter Pôrûshâspô. Compare the same legend in Dk. VII, iii, 34-45.

² Pahl. 'valâ aê yazêdô, alêd vâg dahisnô.'

³ Or 'inwardly.'

8. He sat upon the horse, *and* when he had gone a little *way*, he fell off from the horse, through severe distress, and died ; and the children of his children's children have died upon the same spot ¹.

CHAPTER XX.

1. About the righteousness of his desires *it* is thus declared, that when he became fifteen years old, the sons of Pôrûshaspô demanded a portion from *their* father, and their portions are allotted out by him. 2. Among the clothes *there* was a girdle, the width of which *was* four finger-breadths; and of the four ² portions around and the girdle, which it was possible to bring forth, Zaratûst selected *the latter* and tied *it* on himself. 3. This was owing to the precepts (parvânakân) of Vohûmanô who came into his reason at birth ; as to whatever is not the custom *his* mind *was* now quite closed, and in that which is the custom *it was* impetuously exercised by him.

4. About *his* compassionate disposition and the streams of the Arag province ³, this also is declared,

¹ Probably meaning that he died childless.

² The MSS. have 'three,' but there were five sons (Chap. XV, 5), and the numbers are written in ciphers which are very easily corrupted.

³ Pahl. 'Aragistân ôdhâvô (T dhâ)' = 'ôdhâ-î Arangîstânô' of P. Vd. I, 77 (Sp.); compare Av. 'upa aodhaêshu Rang, hayau,' of Vd. I, 19; Yt. XII, 18. In the Irânian Bd. XX, 8 we are told that 'the Arang river is that of which *it* is said that it comes out from Albûrz in the land of Sûrak, which they call also Sham (Shâm); and it passes on through the land of Êgiptôs, which they call also Misr, and there they call it the swift river Êgiptôdis.' It is

that *there* was a river, *and* from them the body of a naked woman floated, for the reason that, on account of the strength and swiftness of the river, a woman, except when she was quite naked while she *was* in it, was not able to pass; and an old person, such as he who is of seventy years *and* is called in revelation a Hânô¹, for want of power (*apâdîyâvandîh râî*), was not able to go back through it by his own strength. 5. Zaratûst came on to the bank of the water, *and* of women *and* old people seven persons had come, and are passed on by him, *in* the manner of a bridge²; it was an emblem of the *spiritual* performers³ of bridging work, that is, of those providing a passage to heaven.

6. About his liberal disposition *it* is declared, that the fodder of Pôrûshaspô, which was stored for the beasts of *burden*, *was* not *only* for the beasts of Pôrûshaspô in a scarcity, but *also* for distribution among the beasts of others, which, owing to their hunger on account of the scarcity, then constantly ate off the tails of each other; *and it was* given to them plentifully.

7. About his abandoning worldly desire, *and* his laying hold of righteousness of way, this, too, is declared, that when he became twenty years old, without the consent (*bên akâmakîh*) of *his* father and mother, he wandered forth *and* departed from

one of the two mythical rivers which were supposed to bound the Irânian world, and seems to represent the Aras as a northern and the Nile as a western boundary. Arang often becomes Arag in Pahlavi, just as sang becomes sag.

¹ Av. hanô in Vd. III, 19, 20; &c.

² Probably holding each other's hands.

³ The sacred beings who assist the righteous souls to pass over the *Kinvad* bridge.

their house, and openly enquired thus: 'Who is most desirous of righteousness *and* most nourishing the poor?' 8. And they spoke thus: 'He who is the youngest (kêhistô) son of Aûrvaitô-dih¹ the Tûr, who every day gives an iron caldron (*gâmak*), which is the height of a horse, full of bread and milk *and* other food, unto the poor.' 9. Zaratûst went on to that place, and with his co-operation, for the nourishment of the poor, some of the chief men performed duty by carrying forth food for the poor.

10. About his compassion, not only upon mankind, but also his other creatures, this, too, is declared, that a bitch *was* seen by him, which had given birth to five² puppies, and it was three days then that she *had* not obtained food³. 11. Whom-ever she saw, she then advanced her mouth towards him, and became as it were prostrated; Zaratûst provided a remedy, *by* swiftly bringing up bread for her, *but* when *he was* bringing it she had expired.

12. About his own desire for the good quality⁴ of a wife, on account also of the will of *his* parents, *and his* not mingling his own seed before a suitable obtainment, this, too, is declared, that when his father sought a wife for him, Zaratûst argued with the bride (nêshâ) thus: 'Show me thy face, so that I may find out (barkhâm) its kind of appearance, *and* this, too, whether its appearance *be* undesirable, or shall not be gratifying;' and the bride turned away her face from him. 13. And Zaratûst spoke thus:

¹ See Dk. VII, iv, 7 n.

² T has 'seven,' but this difference may have arisen from an erroneous mode of writing the ciphers in T.

³ T has 'a bone for food.'

⁴ T has 'good child-bearing.'

‘Whoever takes away a sight from me, does not practise respect for me.’

14. About his *having* accepted progress even from the iniquitous, *that* listened sinfully desirous, who accepted so much advantageousness as *was* manifest, this, too, is declared, that he came into an assembly who were well known in the place for much knowledge, and he enquired of them thus: ‘What is most favourable for the soul?’ 15. And they spoke thus: ‘To nourish the poor, to give fodder to cattle, to bring firewood to the fire, to pour Hô-m-juice into water, and¹ to worship many demons with words, with the words which are called revelation (dênô).’ 16. Then Zaratûst nourished the poor, foddered the cattle, brought firewood to the fire, and squeezed Hô-m into water, *but* never are any demons whatever worshipped with words *by* Zaratûst.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. About his coming to thirty years of age *it is* thus declared, that *on* the lapse of thirty years onwards from *his* appearance, *on* the day Anêrân of the month Spendarmad², he had proceeded in that direction *in* which *there* occurred the so-called festival of spring (*gasnô-i vahâr*)³, forty-five days beyond

¹ T inserts ‘not’ here, which is clearly wrong, and must have been introduced by some copyist who did not observe that the assembly, though learned, was sinful; and that the object of the anecdote is to exhibit Zaratûst’s ability to distinguish between good works and sin, when still untaught by the sacred beings.

² On the last day of the twelfth Parsi month.

³ The Maidhyôzaremayâ season-festival, held on the fifteenth day of the second Parsi month.

new-year's day, *at* a place become specially noted, where people went, from many quarters, out to the place of festival (*gasnōkâr*).

2. When Zaratûst, for the sake of going off to the festival place, halted on the way in walking, he chanced upon a solitary (*aêvatâk*) plain, and he saw, in a vision, that mankind and a much-adorned worldly *existence were* kept away to the north, so that all the people in the earth have become fully manifest in the north. 3. And he at the head (*pavan têkh*) of them *was* Mêdyômâh, son of Ârâstât¹, *even* as Ârâstât was brother of Pôrûshaspô²; Mêdyômâh *was* the leader of all mankind *who* have gone out to the presence of Zaratûst, and he became *their* guide, so that first Mêdyômâh *and* afterwards the whole material existence are attracted.

4. And about his coming out to the conference, *on* the lapse of those forty-five days, *at* the place of festival *at* dawn *on* the day Dadvô³-pavan-Mitrô of the month *Ardavahistô*. 5. And Zaratûst, for the purpose of squeezing the Hôm, went forth to the bank of the water of the Dâltîh, because it is the river⁴ of the conference for the supremacy (*patîh*) of Zaratûst, *and* is the water of *Âvân*⁵ which has consisted of four channels (*bêtâ*). 6. Zaratûst also

¹ See Yt. XIII, 95.

² So Mêdyômâh was first cousin of Zaratûst, and became his first convert; see also Chap. XXIII, 1.

³ The Pahlavi letters represent Av. *dadhvau*, 'creator'; compare the Khvârizmian name ذو of the fifteenth day of the month in Sachau's *Albîrûnî*, p. 57, l. 35. The date here given is the fifteenth of the second month, as in § 1.

⁴ Assuming that *rud* stands for *rûd*.

⁵ Probably Anâhita, the female spirit of pure water, mentioned by her title *Arêdvisûr* in Chap. XVI, 3.

passed on through it; and its first *channel* was up to the ankle¹, the second up to the knee, the third up to the parting of the two thighs, and the fourth up to the neck. 7. This was an indicator that his religion comes four times to supremacy; the manifestations of which are through Zaratûst, Aûshêdar, Aûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns².

8. When he came up from the water, and put on his clothes, he then saw the archangel Vohûmanô³ in the form (âyûtnakô) of a man, handsome, brilliant, and elegant, who wore his hair curve-tailed⁴, because the curved tail is an indication of duality; *who* had put on *and* wore a dress like silk, than which *there* was no making anything superior, for it was light itself; and his height was nine *times* as much as *that* of Zaratûst.

9. He also enquired of Zaratûst⁵ thus: 'Who mayst thou be, and from whom of them mayst thou be? also what is mostly thy desire, and the endeavour in thy existence?' 10. And he replied thus: 'I am Zaratûst of the Spîtâmas; among the existences righteousness is more *my* desire, and my wish is that I *may* become aware *of* the will of the sacred beings, and *may* practise so much righteousness as they exhibit to me in the pure existence.'

11. And Vohûmanô directed Zaratûst⁶ thus: 'Do

¹ Literally 'up to the leg (zang).'

² The past and future apostles of Zoroastrianism. For the last three, see Dk. VII, ix-xi.

³ Compare Dk. VII, iii, 51-54.

⁴ Assuming that vagdumak is a variant of the usual gagdûmak. The scorpion (vagdum) would be a sign of duality, as, being a noxious creature, it was produced by the evil spirit Aharman.

⁵ Compare Dk. VII, iii, 55-59.

⁶ Compare *ibid.* iii, 60-62.

thou proceed to an assembly of the spirits!' 12. As much as Vohûmanô walked on in nine steps, Zarâtûst *did* in ninety steps, and when he had gone ninety steps farther than him, he saw the assembly of the seven archangels. 13. When he came within twenty-four feet of the archangels, he then did not see his own shadow on the ground, on account of the great brilliancy of the archangels; the position of the assembly was in Irân, and in the direction of the districts on the bank of the water of the Dâîtîh. 14. Zarâtûst offered homage, and spoke thus: 'Homage to Aûharmazd, and homage to the archangels!' *and* he went forward *and* sat down in the seat of the enquirers.

15. As to the asking of questions by Zarâtûst, he enquired of Aûharmazd thus: 'In the embodied world which is the first of the perfect ones, which the second, *and* which the third?' 16. And Aûharmazd replied thus: 'The first perfection is good thoughts, the second good words, *and* the third good deeds.'

17. Zarâtûst also enquired thus: 'Which *thing* is good, which is better¹, and which is the best of all habits?' 18. *And* Aûharmazd replied thus: 'The title² of the archangels is good, the sight of them is better, and carrying out their commands is the best of all habits.'

19. Afterwards he demonstrated the duality of the original evolutions (bûn gastânô)³, and the divergence in each control, *and* spoke thus: 'Of those spirits, he who *was* wicked preferred the

¹ Both MSS. have 'worse' here.

² This title, ameshaspenta, is 'immortal benefactor.'

³ The two prime movers in creation.

practice which is iniquitous (Aharman's desire was *for* the practice which is iniquitous), *and* the spirit of righteousness, the propitious (Aûharmazd) prefers righteousness¹. 20. Specially he demonstrated the divergence in each control of the exhibitors of light, and he spoke thus: 'Neither our thoughts², nor desires, nor words, nor deeds, nor religion, nor spiritual faculties *agree*³; *he* who is loving light, his place is with the luminaries; *and he* who is loving darkness is with the dark ones⁴.'

21. On the same day also, his omniscient wisdom appeared three times: as regards the same first questions, it pointed out the sky in great light and splendour, and in its exhibition *of* the prevention *of* darkness, at the sight of which *it becomes* an opposing existence as regards that darkness. 22. And it exhibited its own appearance proportionally *to* the sky, when it kept its head at the summit of the sky, *its* feet at the bottom of the sky, and *its* hands reached to both sides of the sky; the sky also kept *it* covered, in the manner of a garment.

23. The six archangels⁵ were manifest by their similar stature (ham-basnîh), in such manner that it is obvious each one successively is apparently one finger's *breadth* shorter than the other. 24. The archangels exhibited three kinds *of* achievement

¹ Quoted from Pahl. Yas. XXX, 5 ab. The words in parentheses are glosses inserted by the Pahlavi translator.

² Both MSS. have 'spirits' by inserting a stroke in the middle of the Pahlavi word.

³ An imperfect quotation, omitting glosses, from Pahl. Yas, XLIV, 2 cde (Sp.).

⁴ A similar idea is expressed in Vd. XIX, 30, but the Pahlavi version of half of it is lost,

⁵ Apart from Aûharmazd, their president.

(pasákhtan)¹ for the religion; first, *by* means of fires, and Zaratûst walked three steps on *them*, with *the words*, 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds,' and *was* not burnt; and secondly, hot metal is poured on to *his* chest, cooled thereby, and, grasping *it* with *his* hand, he held *it* for the archangels. 25. Aûharmazd spoke thus: 'After *the establishment* of the pure religion, when a dispute occurs in the religion, those who are thy disciples *will* pour *it* on to a spiritual lord, they *will* take *it* up with the hand, and *will* thoroughly believe in him who is over the whole embodied existence.' 26. The third *was* cutting with a knife, *and* the vital parts (ahvôn) becoming visible, which are inside the abdomen, *with* a flowing forth of blood; and, after the hands are rubbed over *it*, it became healed. 27. And this is pointed out, namely: 'Thy and thy correlative religionists' accepting of the pure religion is, as to the steadfast *in* other religions, such that, through such-like burning of fire, pouring of hot metal, and through an operation with a sharp instrument, *there* is no perversion from the good religion.'

CHAPTER XXII.

1. About the seven questionings (7-frasnôth), with reference to religion, of the seven archangels, *which* occurred in seven places².

2. For the occurrence of the first questioning³, that of Aûharmazd, the person of Zaratûst, who *was*

¹ By way of ordeal, a relic of the old faith in incantation.

² Compare Dk. VIII, xiv, 5, 6, 9.

³ This has been narrated in the preceding chapter.

the upholder of Aûharmazd, came out to a conference on the bank of the water of Dâtîh¹.

3. For the occurrence of the second, *which* is Vohûmanô's, five animals out of the five species² which are the worldly tokens of Vohûmanô, have come with Zaratûst to a conference on Hûgar and Aûsind³; and on that day also, before their coming out to the conference, *their* tongues are fully liberated *and* spoke with human words. 4. And among the rest⁴ is a fish of one species, Arzuvâ⁵ *by* name; of those in burrows (khanôlgânô) *are* the white ermine *and* white marten; of the flying creatures (vâyan-dagân) *is* the Karsipt⁶, a bird like a species of water-fowl; of the wide-travellers (farâkhvô-raftârânô) *is* the hare which is showing wild beasts the way to the water; and of those suitable for grazing (karakô-argânlgân) *is* the white ass-goat; with human words they also accepted the religion from Aûharmazd. 5. With the chieftainship of the five species they are intrusted, so that the like animals also, with their own voices, *and* as much as their knowledge is capable, shall recount the powerfulness *of* the religion.

¹ See Dk. VII, iii, 51, 54.

² These species, which are named in § 4, are those mentioned in the Avesta, Visp. I, 1.

³ Av. Hukairya of Yt. XII, 24, and Us-hindu of Yt. VIII, 32, described in Bd. XII, 5, 6, as two neighbouring mountains, for the pure water of Arêdvisûr falls from the summit of Hûgar to Aûsind which stands in the circumambient ocean.

⁴ The remainder of K 35, the MS. brought by Westergaard from Kirmân, is lost; but an old copy of it (BK, see the Introduction) exists in Bombay, which supplies the missing text, as an authority independent of T.

⁵ See Bd. XIV, 26; apparently the same as the Ariz, or Kar, the chief of fish, *ibid.* XVIII, 3, 5; XXIV, 13.

⁶ See Bd. XIV, 23; XIX, 16; XXIV, 11.

6. And freedom from assault, exemption from persecution, and proper maintenance of the five species of animals, *were* prescribed by him ¹ to Zaratûst with seemingly very awful admonition.

7. For the occurrence of the third questioning, which is *Ardavahistô's*, the spirits of the fires have come out with Zaratûst to a conference at the Tôgân water ²; and, in that questioning, care for the proper maintenance of the Varahrân fire ³, and the propitiation of all fires, is explained to him.

8. For the occurrence of the fourth questioning, which is *Shatvêr's*, the spirits of the metals have come with Zaratûst to a conference at Sarâî ⁴, a settlement on the Mîvân ⁴; *and he was* fully admonished about various proper preservations of the metals, *and as to* not producing warlike accoutrements of gold.

9. For the occurrence of the fifth questioning, which is *Spendarmad's*, the spirits of the regions, frontiers, stations (aûstâmân), settlements (rûdastâkân), and districts, as many as were desirable, have come out with Zaratûst to a conference *where* there is a spring (khânîgô-aê) which comes out from the Asnavad mountain ⁵, *and* goes into the Dâitîh, like those of Satavês who is blowing the Pâîrîgs ⁶. 10. And *Zaratûst was* also thus ad-

¹ By Vohûmanô, as the protector of useful animals.

² Possibly the Tegend river, the Zend or Zôndak of Bd. XX, 7, 15.

³ The Bahrâm, or sacred fire at places of worship.

⁴ Names not clearly identified, and readings uncertain.

⁵ In Âtûr-pâtakân, and the Gûsnasp, fire was established upon it (see Bd. XII, 2, 26; XVII, 7).

⁶ Pahl. 'Satavês-i Pâîrîg damânô ânô kîgûn.' Referring probably to Yt. VIII, 8, 9. Satavês is the *southern* chieftain of the stars, as correctly stated in the Irânian Bûndahis (compare Bd. II, 7; XIII, 12); and the Pâîrîgs are meteors.

monished by her, about the care and propitiation of the earth: that each district is *to be* intrusted *to* a faithful testifier (gôkâs-i vâvar), each settlement *to* a judge acquainted with the law, *each* station *to* an officiating priest (magôpatö) of just intentions, *and* each frontier *to* a pure priestly authority (radö); over all is proclaimed the councillor of the spirits, the supreme priest (magôpatânö magôpatö), and through him the sovereignty of Aûhar mazd is provided.

11. For the occurrence of the sixth questioning, which is Khûrdad's, the spirits of seas *and* rivers have come with Zaratûst to a conference at the Asnavad mountain¹, and he *was* told about the care and propitiation of water.

12. For the occurrence of the seventh questioning, which is Amûrdad's, the spirits of plants have come out with Zaratûst to a conference on the precipitous bank of the Darega², on the bank (bâr) of the water of Dâtîth, and different places; and he *was* informed about the care *and* propitiation of plants.

13. The seven questionings are explained within the length of these winters, which are *of* five months, *and* within ten years³.

¹ See § 9.

² Pahl. 'pavan Daregân zbâr' = Av. 'Dregya paiti zbarahi' of Vd. XIX, 4; a mythical river in Aîrân-vêg, where Pôrûshaspô resided (Bd. XX, 32).

³ The Pahlavi is rather vague, but it is clear that Zaratûst starts for his conference at thirty years of age (Chap. XXI, 1), returns from it ten years later (Chap. XXIII, 1), and the conversion of Vistâsp occupies two years longer (Chap. XXIII, 5), occurring when Zaratûst was forty-two years old and thirty-five years before his passing away at the age of seventy-seven (Chap. XXIII, 9).

At this point another dislocation of text occurs in all existing

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. On the completion of revelation, that is, at the end of the ten years, Mēdyômâh, son of Ârâstâl, became faithful to Zaratûst.

2. Afterwards, on *having* obtained *his* requests¹, he came back to the conference of Aûharmazd, and he spoke thus: 'In ten years *only* one man *has been* attracted by me.' 3. And Aûharmazd spoke thus: '*There will* be days when so few *are* not attracted by you, who *are* themselves the occasion of the resurrection of the world; when, apart from Dahâk², the beneficence of the formation of the renovation *of the universe* attracts every one besides, and the impenitence of Dahâk is destroyed.'

4. When he came out from the presence of Aûharmazd, with the same paradox, he thereby indicated his religion *as* complete to Spendarmad through *his* intelligence.

5. In the two years after that³, the Kavigs *and*

MSS., owing to the accidental interpolation of three loose folios of another text, between this chapter and the next, in some unknown copy written before 1530. In the MSS. the text is written continuously, without division into chapters. But the connection of this chapter with the next one, which is here restored to its proper position, is clearly shown by the reference to the 'ten years' of conference, with which this chapter ends, and the next one begins. The accidentally interpolated text is here classified as Chaps. XXIV and XXV, but its real connections have not yet been traced.

¹ That is, the replies of the archangels to his enquiries.

² See Dk. VII, i, 26. He was chained by Frêdûn in Mount Dimâvand, to escape in the latter days, to be slain by Keresâsp, and to be specially punished at the resurrection (Bd. XII, 31; XXX, 16; Byt. III, 55-61).

³ See Dk. VII, iv, 2.

Karaps of Vistâsp, *in* the manner of opponents (hamêstarânîh), propounded thirty-three enquiries (khvâstakö)¹ to him, so that *by* command of Vistâsp he became the explainer of those thirty-three enquiries. 6. Of the thirty-three habits² of iniquity, come for opposition to the religion of the sacred beings; of the declaration, by revelation, of those thirty-three indications of fetters³; *and* of the restraint of the thirty-three iniquitous practices by the thirty-three best good works, *there are* statements in revelation. 7. Including the acceptance of the religion *by* Vistâsp from Zaratûst, after the redemonstration of its judicially multiform prophecy and spiritual character, which are looked into through the evidence of three speakers about *them*, the archangels who, with worldly manifestation, have become apparent unto Vistâsp and *his* councillors *and* mighty ones; *they* are Vohûmanô, Arda-vahistô, and the Bûrzîn-Mitrô fire⁴.

8. About the reward which *existed* before the beneficence of Zaratûst, and *its* being seen how, through guidance by Aûharmazd, *it* is demonstrated by him to those of the world, so that Mêdyômâh is attracted in the tenth year in the forest of reedy hollows (kanyâstânö⁵ vêsakö) which is the haunt of swine of the wild-boar *species* (khazûrâ-î varâzö gâs); in the twentieth year the Kavîg who is son

¹ See Dk. VII, iv, 67.

² Reading sôn = Pers. sân; but the MSS. have dênô, 'religions.' The thirty sins and thirty-three good works, detailed in Mkh. XXXVI, XXXVII, are certainly referred to at the end of this section.

³ Compare Chap. XII, 5, and Dk. VII, iv, 67.

⁴ See Dk. VII, iv, 74.

⁵ Hybrid Zvâris of Pers. nayistân.

of Kûndah¹ is attracted; in the thirtieth year the Khyôns² arrive, who make an incursion (*vardakö*) into the countries of Irân, owing to the Kavîgs, those who *are* more of their own race; and in the fortieth year Vohûnêm, son of Avarôstar³, is born.

9. In the forty-seventh year Zaratûst passes away, who attains seventy-seven years and forty days in the month *Ardavahistô*, *on* the day Khûr⁴; *and* for eight rectified (*vêhiakö*) months, till the month Dadvô and day Khûr, he should be brought *forward* as to be revered.

10. *In* the same month *Ardavahistô*, in the sixty-third⁵ year, Frashôstar⁶ passed away, and in the sixty-fourth *year* Gâmâsp⁷, *the same* as became the priest of priests after Zaratûst; in the seventy-third year Hangâûrûsh, son of Gâmâsp⁸; in the eightieth year Asmôk-khanvatô⁹, and *also* in the eightieth

¹ Or Kûnîh which is the name of a demon (see Sg. XVI, 13, 16, 18, 19); but such an identification is uncertain.

² Av. *Hvyaona* of Yt. IX, 30, 31; XVII, 50, 51. Compare Dk. VII, iv, 77, 83, 84, 87-90; v, 7.

³ Av. gen. 'Vohu-nemang,hô Avâraostrôis' of Yt. XIII, 104.

⁴ The eleventh day of the second month.

⁵ T has 43d, and the date is lost in the other MS. authority. But 43d is highly improbable for two reasons: first, it would make this date the only one out of chronological order in the series here given; secondly, it would render it inconsistent with the statement, in Dk. VII, vi, 12, that two priests came, from other regions, to ask Frashôstar about the religion, fifty-seven years after it had been accepted by Zaratûst. By substituting 63d (the Pahlavi cipher most likely to be corrupted into 43d) both these inconsistencies are removed.

⁶ See Dk. VII, vi, 12; V, ii, 12.

⁷ See Dk. V, ii, 12; iii, 4.

⁸ Av. gen. 'Hang,haurushô Gâmâspanahê' of Yt. XIII, 104.

⁹ Av. gen. 'Asmô-hvanvatô' of Yt. XIII, 96, and Westergaard's Yt. XXII, 37.

year Kabad-ûs-spâê¹, who is called also Akht the wizard, is killed.

11. Of the six great upholders of the religion there are the two daughters of Zaratûst, whose names are Frênö and Sritö², *with* Aharûbö-stôtö, *son* of Mêdyômâh³, and another three, who *are* renowned for their religion for a hundred years, who are Vohûnêm⁴ that is born in the fortieth year of the religion, Sênô⁵ is *afterwards* born and passes away in the two-hundredth year, *and* as to his hundred-discipledom⁶, it exists day and night till the three-hundredth year. 12. Afterwards the religion is disturbed and the monarchy is contested (*gangt-aîtö*).

13. About the three customs (*dâdö*) which Zaratûst prescribed as the best:—The first of them is this: ‘Do not go without others, except with magisterial authority (*apatkâr radîhâ*);’ the second is: ‘Though they shall proceed unlawfully as to you, consider *your* actions lawfully beforehand;’ *and* the third is: ‘Next-of-kin marriage, for the

¹ As kabad is Zvâris for ‘many,’ we may assume that kabad-ûs = Av. nom. *pourus* which usually becomes *pouru* in compounds; so that the compound name, or title, in the text, probably represents Av. *Pouruspâdha* (Yt. X, 109, 111), ‘having many troops,’ a suitable title for Akht the wizard (Av. *Akhtya* of Yt. V, 82) who is said, in Gf. I, 2, to have invaded a district with an army of seven myriads. He was killed, in Zoroastrian fashion, by the recital of a religious formula.

² There was a third daughter, *Pôrukîst* (see Bd. XXXII, 5), but she may not have survived her father.

³ Av. gen. ‘*Ashastvô Maidhyôî-maung,hôis*’ of Yt. XIII, 106.

⁴ See § 8.

⁵ He was born in the 100th year; see Dk. VII, vii, 6.

⁶ This seems to be the sixth upholder of the religion, the third of those lasting about a century.

sake of the pure progress of *your* race, is the best *of* the actions of the living, which *are* provided for the proper begetting of children ¹.'

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. About the five dispositions of priests, and the ten admonitions with which all instruction as to religion is connected ².

2. Of those five dispositions the first is innocence.

3. The second is discrimination among³ thoughts, words, and deeds; [to fully distinguish the particulars of destruction from indestructiveness, *such* as

¹ This chapter ends the first series of Selections of Zâd-spāram, and is immediately followed in the MSS. by a second series. It is evident from the extent of this chapter, as compared with the amount of text contained in the three misplaced folios (see p. 162, n. 3), that this chapter could have occupied only about one folio and a half in the dislocated MS., so that the second series must have commenced on the same folio as contained the end of this chapter, and that Chaps. XXIV, XXV cannot have belonged to this series. The three misplaced folios contain two distinct texts; the first (Chap. XXIV) is an Irânian version of the Five Dispositions of priests and the Ten Admonitions, and is here translated; the second (Chap. XXV) contains some details about the Nasks and Gâthas, and has been already translated in S.B.E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 401-405.

² This Irânian version of the Dispositions and Admonitions is more complete than the Indian version, which, like the Bundahis, was brought from Irân five or six centuries ago, and is found in two MSS. (Pt. and J) written in India about 500 years ago, and now in the libraries of Dastûrs Dr. Peshotan and Dr. Jâmâsp, respectively. Passages which occur only in the Irânian version are here enclosed in brackets, and other differences between the two versions are mentioned in the notes.

³ The Indian version has 'of.'

noxious creatures from cattle ; and of production from unproductiveness, *such* as the righteous *and* worthy from the wicked *and* unworthy].

4. The third is authoritativeness, because that priestly master is always wiser and speaking more correctly who is taught wisely and teaches with more correct words.

5. The fourth is to¹ [understand *and* consider the ceremonial as the ceremonial of Aûharmazd, *and* the essentials with all goodness, beneficence, *and* authority; to be steadfast in his religion, and to consider the indications of protection (sâyag)² which are established for his religion. 6. To maintain the reverence of the luminaries prayerfully, *also* the reverence of the emanations³ *from* the six⁴ *archangels*, be they fire, be they earth, *or* be they of bodily form, and of the creatures *which* are formed by them ; *also* the pure cleansing from dead matter, menstruation, bodily refuse, and other hurtfulness ; this is in order that they *may* be characterised, and thereby constituted, *as* better-principled, more sensible⁵, and purer, and they *may* become less faulty. 7. The reverence of mankind is to consider authoritatively about knowledge *and* property ; the reverence of cattle is *about* fodder, little hardship, and moderate maintenance ; the reverence of plants is *about* sowing and ripening for the food of the worthy. 8. The ceremonial which is glorifying all

¹ Ind. vers. has only: 'to celebrate the ceremonial of the sacred beings with the correct words, inward prayers, and complete mastery of the text (narm-nasgîhâ) in the ritual.' It omits §§ 6-8 altogether.

² T has 'limit (kûstak).'

³ T has 'issue.'

⁴ T has 'seven.'

⁵ Or 'more fragrant ;' hû-bôdtar has both meanings.

the sacred beings, praises the luminaries *and* worldly creations improperly, and is antagonistic to them, because complete glorification is proper through complete recitation of the ritual; and the ceremonial of any one whatever is his own proper duty professionally, so long as it is possible to keep proceeding with very little sinfulness].

9. The fifth is to struggle prayerfully¹, day and night, with *your* own fiend², *and all* life long not to depart from steadfastness, nor allow *your* proper duty³ *to go* out of *your* hands.

10. And the first of those ten admonitions is to proceed with good repute, for the sake of occasioning approving remarks *as to*⁴ the good repute of *your* own guardian *and* teacher, high-priest *and* master⁵.

11. The second is to become awfully refraining from evil repute, for the sake of evil repute not occurring *to* relations and guardians.

12. The third is not to beat *your* own teacher with a snatched-up stick, and not to bring scandal upon his name, for the sake of annoying him, by *uttering* that which *was* not heard from *your* own teacher.

13. The fourth is *that* whatever is taught liberally by *your* own teacher, *you have* to deliver back to the worthy, for the sake of not extorting a declaration of renown from the righteous⁶.

14. The fifth is *that* the reward of doers of good

¹ Ind. vers. has: 'to remain in diligence intelligently.'

² Ind. vers. has: 'opponent.'

³ Ind. vers. has: 'steadfastness in religion, and to be diligent in *your* proper duty.' But it omits the rest of the sentence.

⁴ Ind. vers. has: 'for the sake of the appropriateness of.'

⁵ Or 'father.'

⁶ T has: 'not extracting the purity of the righteous.'

works *and* the punishment of criminals *have to be* established by law, for the sake of progress¹.

15. The sixth is to keep the way of the good open to *your* house, for the sake of making² righteousness welcome in *your* own abode.

16. The seventh is *that*, for the sake of not developing the fiend insensibly in *your* reason, *you are* not to keep *it* with the religion of the good³, nor to remain in impenitence of sin.

17. The eighth⁴ is *that*, for the sake of severing the fiend from the reason, *you have* to force malice *away* from *your* thoughts, and to become quickly repentant of sin.

18. The ninth is to fully understand the forward movement⁵ of the religion, also to keep the advancing of the religion further forwards, and to seek *your* share of duty therein; and on a backward movement, when adversity happens to the religion, to have the religion back again, and to keep *your* body in the continence (makavadîh) of religion.

19. The tenth is *that there is* to be a period of obedience (Srôshdârîh) towards the ruler and priestly authority, the high-priesthood of the religious⁶.

¹ Ind. vers. adds: 'of religion.'

² Ind. vers. inserts: 'a token of;,' and T has: 'making the righteousness of the sacred beings in writing welcome.'

³ Ind. vers. has: 'not to maintain malice with the good,' which is more probable, and kênô, 'malice,' is easily corrupted into dênô, 'religion,' in Pahlavi writing.

⁴ This eighth admonition is omitted in the Irânian MSS.

⁵ Ind. vers. adds: 'and backward movement.'

⁶ Chapter XXV, about the three divisions of revelation, is translated in S. B. E., vol. xxxvii, pp. 401-405.

INDEX.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references, in this index, are to books, chapters, and sections ; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers.

2. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the text, only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached ; except when the forms differ so much as to be widely separated in the index.

3. Pâzand forms are printed in italics, as their orthography is usually corrupt. In all such italicised names any letters which would elsewhere be italic are printed in roman type.

4. Abbreviations used are :—Av. for Avesta, Dk. for *Dînkard*, Int. for Introduction, m. for mountain, meas. for measure, MS. for manuscript, n. for footnote, Pahl. for Pahlavi, patron. for patronymic, r. for river, Zs. for Selections of *Zâd-spâram*.

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 Îsadvâstar, man, Dk. VII, 8, 55; 9, 18; 10, 15.
 Isfendyâr, prince, Int. 39, 42; Dk. VII, 7, 5 n.
 J in Oriental words is printed G.
 Jerusalem, Int. 14; Dk. V, 1, 2 n.
 Jews, Int. 14; Dk. V, 1, 2 n.
 Kabad-ûr-spâê, wizard, Zs. 23, 10.
 Kaî=Kavig, Dk. VII, 4, 64; 8, 40, 60; 9, 23.
 Kaî-Arsh, prince, Dk. VII, 1, 35.
 Kaî-Kâûs, priest, Int. 32.
 Kaî-Khûsrôî, king, Int. 12, 50, 55; Dk. VII, 1, 39; 10, 10; 11, 3; V, 4, 4 n.
 Kaî-Kobâd, king, Int. 55; Dk. VII, 1, 33; 6, 11 n; V, 4, 4 n.
 Kaî-Loharâsp, king, Int. 14, 55; Dk. V, 1, 5.
 Kaîsar, Int. 27; Dk. VII, 8, 42.
 Kaî-Siyâvakhsh, prince, Dk. VII, 1, 38.
 Kaî-Ûs, king, Int. 3, 15, 55; Dk. VII, 1, 35, 37; 2, 62, 63, 65, 66; 6, 2 n; Zs. 12, 9-11, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24.
 Kaî-Vistâsp, king, Int. 3, 29, 55; Dk. VII, 1, 41, 47, 49; 4, 1, 76, 77, 86; 5, 6; 6, 4, 9, 11; 7, 39; 11, 3; V, 1, 5 n; 2, 8, 11; 3, 1.
 Kangdez, fortress, Int. 7, 10, 43;

- Dk. VII, 1, 38; 4, 81 n; 5, 12; V, 3, 3 n.
 Kanyisâ, lake, Dk. VII, 11, 8.
 Kar, fish, Zs. 22, 4 n.
 Karap, Int. 4-6, 16, 17, 47, 49, 55; Dk. VII, 2, 9, 45; 3, 4, 7-9, 11, 13, 15, 20, 24, 26, 28, 32, 34, 39, 41, 50; 4, 2, 6, 14, 21, 25, 61, 64, 67; 8, 26, 40, 60; 9, 23; 10, 5; V, 2, 3; Zs. 15, 2; 16, 1-4, 6-8; 17, 1; 18, 2, 5, 7; 19, 1; 23, 5.
 Karapans, Int. 30.
 Kardâr-tôrâ, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70.
 Karvîpt, bird, Zs. 22, 4.
 Karsna, man, Dk. VII, 7, 12 n.
 Kavâd, king, Int. 58; Dk. VII, 7, 26.
 Kava Husrava, king, Int. 30, 70.
 — Kavâta, king, Int. 70.
 — Usa, king, Int. 70.
 Kavîg, Int. 4, 55; Dk. VII, 2, 9; 8, 18; Zs. 23, 5, 8.
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 Kavi Vistâspa, king, Int. 30, 70; Dk. VII, 7, 12 n.
 Kayân glory, Dk. VII, 4, 43; 11, 3.
 Kayâns, Int. 3; Dk. VII, 1, 33; 2, 9 n; 7, 12; V, 1, 8; 4, 4, 5.
 Kerêsâspô, hero, Int. 12, 29; Dk. VII, 1, 32; 10, 10; Zs. 23, 3 n.
 Kêrsêvazd, prince, Dk. VII, 1, 39.
 Khâkân, Int. 27; Dk. VII, 8, 42.
 Khalîfah, Al-Mâmûn, Dk. V, 1, 2 n.
 Khûr, day, Zs. 23, 9.
 Khûrdad, angel, Dk. VII, 2, 19, 38; 5, 9; 8, 5 n; Zs. 22, 11.
 Khûrdâd fire, Int. 41.
 Khûsrô I, king, Int. 9, 26, 27, 58, 68; Dk. VII, 7, 26; V, 3, 3.
 — II, king, Int. 58, 61.
 Khvanîras, region, Dk. VII, 1, 26; 2, 70; V, 2, 9.
 Khvêtûkdas, Int. 6, 47, 49; Dk. VII, 4, 4 n.
 Khyôns, nation, Int. 7, 55; Dk. VII, 4, 77, 83, 84, 87-90; 5, 7; V, 3, 1; Zs. 23, 8.
 Kîg, Int. 6, 47, 49; Dk. VII, 2, 9 n; 3, 50; 4, 2, 6, 14, 67; 8, 26; V, 2, 3.
 Kirmân, town, Zs. 12, 0 n.
 Kobâd, king, Dk. VII, 1, 35.
 Kôkharêd, Zs. 15, 2.
 Kûndah, Int. 55; Zs. 23, 8.
 Kûtâl-tôrâ, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70 n.
 Kaispîr, ruler, Int. 70.
 Kêkast, lake, Int. 50; Dk. VII, 1, 39.
 Kêshmak, demon, Dk. VII, 2, 44, 45; 4, 61.
 Kikbîshnus, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70; Zs. 13, 6.
 Kinvad bridge, Zs. 20, 5 n.
 Kîst, Zs. 16, 12.
 Kitradâd nask, Int. 3, 14, 20; Dk. VII, 1, 34 n; 7, 5 n.
 Kitrô-mêhônô, prince, Int. 10; Dk. VII, 8, 45.
 Macedon, Int. 55 n.
 Mâda, land, Dk. VII, 1, 26.
 Mâdigân-î Gugastak Abâlis, MS., Dk. V, 1, 2 n.
 Mahrkûs, wizard, Int. 11, 55; Dk. VII, 1, 24; 9, 3; V, 3, 3.
 Maidhyôzaremayâ, festival, Int. 18; Zs. 21, 1 n.
 Mânîh, heretic, Dk. VII, 7, 21 n; V, 3, 3.
 Mânûsrak, princess, Zs. 15, 2.
 Mânûsrîr, for Mânûsrîhar, Dk. VII, 1, 29 n.
 Mânûs-khûrnâk, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70; V, 4, 3; Zs. 13, 6.
 Mânûs-khûrnar, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70; V, 4, 3; Zs. 13, 6.
 Mânûsrîhar, king, Int. 15, 16, 55; Dk. VII, 1, 29-31; 2, 51 n, 70; 6, 11 n; 7, 21; V, 1, 8; 4, 3; Zs. 12, 3; 13, 6; 15, 2; 16, 13.
 Mâraspend, priest, Int. 64, 88; Dk. VII, 5, 5; 7, 19, 20.
 Marvels of Zoroastrianism, Int. 1.
 Marvâk, man, Dk. VII, 6, 11 n.
 Masyâôî, woman, Int. 48, 55; Dk. VII, 1, 9, 12-14.
 Masyê, man, Int. 48, 55; Dk. VII, 1, 9, 11-14; 2, 70; V, 1, 8; 4, 1 n; Zs. 13, 6.
 Mâzandar, land, Dk. VII, 1, 26.
 Mâzandarân, land, Dk. VII, 1, 18 n.
 Mâzanô, demons of, Dk. VII, 1, 18.
 Mazda, Dk. VII, 9, 7-10.
 Mazdag, heretic, Int. 26, 43; Dk. VII, 7, 21, 26 n.
 Mazdakites, sect, Int. 58.
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 Mazda-worshippers, Dk. VII, 7, 5, 6, 9, 10, 23; 8, 28, 35, 51; 9, 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14; 10, 4, 6, 11; 11, 8-10; Zs. 12, 2, 4.

- Mêdyômâh, man, Int. 18, 19, 29, 30, 55; Zs. 21, 3; 23, 1, 8, 11.
 Messiah, Dk. V, 3, 3.
 Millennial apostles, Int. 3.
 Misr, land, Zs. 20, 4 n.
 Mivân, river (?), Zs. 22, 8.
 Mûrdað, angel, Dk. VII, 2, 38.
 Nâmkhvâst of the Hazârs, Dk. VII, 4, 77 n.
 Nasks, Int. 64.
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 Nebuchadnezzar, king, Int. 14; Dk. V, 1, 2 n.
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 Nêrôksang, for Nêryôsang, Dk. VII, 2, 21 n, 70; 4, 84 n.
 Nêryôsang, angel, Dk. VII, 1, 29; 2, 21; 4, 84, 85; V, 4, 6; Zs. 13, 5, 6.
 Nêvak-tôrâ, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70.
 Next-of-kin marriage, Dk. VII, 1, 10; 4, 5, 6, 8, 11; Zs. 23, 13.
 Ninus, king, Int. 71, 74.
 Nîrangistân, MS., Zs. 13, 4 n.
 Nîvêdir, man, Zs. 15, 5.
 Nôdar, man, Int. 17; Dk. VII, 2, 51; 3, 19, 39; 4, 86 n; 6, 11 n; Zs. 16, 11-13.
 Nôdarigâ, man, Zs. 15, 5.
 Nôdars, tribe, Dk. VII, 6, 11.
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 Nôshêrvân, king, Int. 43.
 Numûdârih-i Yazisnô, MS., Zs. 13, 4.
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 Paêtrasp = Paitiraspô, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70; Zs. 13, 6.
 Pâirîgs, meteors, Zs. 22, 9.
 Pâpak, prince, Dk. VII, 7, 12.
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 Pouruspâdha, wizard, Zs. 23, 10 n.
 Proconnesian Zoroaster, Int. 73.
 Purtarâspô, man, Zs. 13, 6.
 Pûr-tôrâ, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70.
 Ragan, man, Dk. VII, 2, 51 n, 70 n.
 Ragîun, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70 n.
 Râi, city, Int. 32.
 Râk, man, Dk. VII, 2, 51; 3, 19, 39; or Râgh, Int. 17; Zs. 16, 11-13.
 Ramak-tôrâ, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70.
 Rangûstar, man, Zs. 15, 5.
 Rasâstât, angel, Dk. VII, 4, 81 n.
 Rashn, angel, Dk. VII, 7, 11.
 Rashn-rêsh, apostate, Int. 9; Dk. VII, 7, 11.
 Râstare-vaghent, priest, Int. 64, 70; Dk. VII, 7, 19 n.
 Ratûstar, man, Zs. 15, 5.
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 Sacred fires, Dk. VII, 7, 2.
 Sagastân, land, Int. 6, 47; Dk. VII, 4, 31.
 Salm, prince, Dk. VII, 1, 30.
 Sâmak, man, Dk. VII, 1, 15.

- Sâmân, patron., Dk. VII, 1, 32; V, 1, 8.
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 Saoshyant, apostle, Int. 30.
 Sarâi, town, Zs. 22, 8.
 Sâsânian, Int. 9, 31, 50, 57, 68, 69.
 Satavêš, star, Zs. 22, 9.
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 Shahpûhar II, king, Int. 26, 58, 61, 63, 64, 88; Dk. VII, 7, 19 n.
 — III, king, Int. 64, 87.
 Sham = Shâm, land, Zs. 20, 4 n.
 Shapân, Dk. VII, 7, 3.
 Shapigân or Shaspigân, Dk. VII, 7, 3 n.
 Shapîr-abû, woman, Dk. VII, 9, 18.
 Shatraver, angel, Dk. VII, 2, 19.
 Shatvêr, angel, Zs. 22, 8.
 Shêdâsfar (Theodosius?), Int. 10, 27; Dk. VII, 8, 47 n.
 Shedâspô, Dk. VII, 8, 47.
 Shemîg-abû, woman, Dk. VII, 8, 55.
 Sirkân, town, Zs. 12, 0 n.
 Siyah-tôrâ, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70.
 Siyâmak, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70; V, 1, 8; 4, 1; Zs. 13, 6.
 Siyâvakhsh, prince, Dk. VII, 1, 39.
 Sôg-tôrâ, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70.
 Sôshâns, apostle, Int. 12, 13, 55; Dk. VII, 1, 42, 53; 10, 10, 15; 11, 1, 2; V, 2, 15; 3, 3; Zs. 21, 7.
 Spendarmad, angel, Int. 6, 15, 55; Dk. VII, 2, 19; 4, 57, 58; 8, 5 n; Zs. 12, 2, 3, 5, 6; 16, 3; 22, 9; 23, 4.
 — month, Zs. 21, 1.
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 Spend nask, Int. 1, 2, 14, 20, 27, 46; Dk. VII, 2, 1 n.
 Spentô-khratvau, priest, Dk. VII, 7, 8, 10.
 Spêtô-tôrâ, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70.
 Spîtâm, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70; Zs. 13, 6.
 Spîtâmas, tribe, Int. 30; Dk. VII, 2, 9, 11, 29, 57; 7, 27; 8, 22, 35.
 Spîtôir, priest, Dk. VII, 6, 12.
 Sritak = Thritak, man, Zs. 13, 6.
 Sritô, hero, Int. 8, 15, 55; Dk. VII, 2, 63, 64; 6, 2, 3, 5, 7-9, 11, 13; Zs. 12, 10, 12-14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25.
 Sritô, woman, Zs. 23, 11.
 Srôbôvar, snake, Dk. VII, 1, 32.
 Srôsb, angel, Dk. VII, 3, 17; Zs. 16, 9.
 Sritûvôk-spâdâk, priest, Dk. VII, 7, 8, 10.
 Sûdkar nask, Int. 44.
 Sûrak, land, Zs. 20, 4 n.
 Sênôv, priest, Int. 9, 54, 55; Dk. VII, 7, 6; Zs. 23, 11.
 Tabaristân, land, Dk. VII, 7, 14 n.
 Tâkrmôrup, king, Int. 48, 55; Dk. VII, 1, 19; V, 1, 8; 4, 3.
 Talmud, MS., Dk. V, 1, 2 n.
 Tanâpûhar, sin, Dk. VII, 4, 19, 20.
 Tanvasar, priest, Int. 9, 62; Dk. VII, 7, 14, 17, 18.
 Tâz, man, Dk. VII, 1, 34.
 Tegend, r., Zs. 22, 7 n.
 Ten admonitions, MS., Zs. 24, 10-19.
 Thritak, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70.
 Tistar, star, Dk. VII, 2, 38 n.
 Tôgân, r., Zs. 22, 7.
 Trojan war, Int. 71.
 Tôg, prince, Dk. VII, 1, 30.
 Tûmâsp, prince, Dk. VII, 1, 31.
 Tûr, land, Dk. VII, 1, 31, 39.
 — = Tûrânian, Int. 6, 47; Dk. VII, 4, 6-10, 14-16, 20; 5, 12 n; 11, 3; V, 3, 2; Zs. 15, 3, 4; 17, 6; 20, 8.
 Tûrân, land, Dk. VII, 2, 62; Zs. 12, 8, 9.
 Tûrânian, Dk. VII, 2, 9 n, 63, 68; 3, 28; 7, 19; 9, 13; Zs. 12, 17.
 Turkish demons, Dk. VII, 8, 47.
 Urugadbasp, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70.
 Usikhsh, Int. 30.
 Uspâsnu, man, Dk. VII, 6, 12 n.
 Vadak, woman, Dk. VII, 2, 64; Zs. 12, 13.
 Vadast = Vaêdvôirt, Zs. 15, 3.
 Vaêdist, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70; Zs. 13, 6.
 Vaêdvôirt, karap, Int. 6, 47; Dk. VII, 2, 9 n; 4, 21, 23, 24.
 Vâêgered, prince, Int. 3; Dk. VII, 1, 16; V, 4, 2.
 Vakgir, land, Dk. VII, 1, 39.
 Vanôfravîm, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70.
 Varahrân fire, Zs. 22, 7.
 Vars, hair, Dk. VII, 4, 85.

- Varstmânsar nask, Int. 10.
 Verethraghna, angel, Int. 30.
 Vîdadafsh, region, Dk. VII, 6, 12 n.
 Vidrafr, wizard, Dk. VII, 4, 77 n.
 Vigîrkard-i Dênig, MS., Dk. VII, 2, 70 n.
Virafsang, man, Dk. VII, 1, 34 n.
 Visperad, MS., Int. 3.
 Visraps, tribe, Dk. VII, 6, 2, 7, 9, 11; Zs. 12, 10 n.
 Virtâsp, king, Int. 6-10, 14, 19, 29, 47, 49, 52, 55, 70; Dk. VII, 1, 2; 2, 9 n; 3, 31; 4, 63-67, 69-71, 74-76, 83-85, 89, 90; 5, 1, 2, 6, 7, 12; 6, 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 11 n, 12-14; 7, 1, 2, 5 n, 38, 39; V, 2, 8, 10; 3, 1; Zs. 16, 12, 13; 23, 5, 7.
 Vivangha, man, Dk. VII, 1, 20; 2, 70; Zs. 13, 6.
Vîzak, woman, Dk. VII, 2, 70; Zs. 13, 6.
 Vohûmanô, angel, Int. 5, 16, 55; Dk. VII, 1, 4; 2, 17, 19, 24-26, 29, 33; 3, 17, 22, 26, 51, 52, 54, 56, 58-60, 62; 4, 29, 57, 74, 75, 78; 7, 19; V, 2, 5, 9; Zs. 14, 9-12; 16, 9; 20, 3; 21, 8, 11, 12; 22, 3, 6 n.
 — king, Int. 9, 55; Dk. VII, 7, 5.
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 — II and III, kings, Int. 58, 61.
 Yim, king, Int. 55; Dk. VII, 1, 20-22, 24, 25, 26 n, 32, 36; 2, 21, 59-61, 70; 9, 4; V, 1, 8; 2, 2, 9; 4, 3; Zs. 13, 5, 6; 15, 2 n.
 Yimak, princess, Zs. 15, 2 n.
 Yim's enclosure, Int. 11.
 Yûgyâst, meas., Dk. VII, 3, 16, 45.
 Zâd-sparam, priest, Int. 15, 25; Zs. 12, 0 n.
 Zâgh, man, Dk. VII, 6, 11 n.
 Zâinîgâv, prince, Dk. VII, 1, 34 n.
 Zâk, karap, Dk. VII, 2, 9 n; 4, 64, 67.
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 Zaratûst-nâmak of Zs., contents, Int. 15-19; MSS., Int. 24.

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- Zarâtûstship, Dk. V, 4, 6.
 Zarîr, prince, Dk. VII, 4, 77 n; V, 2, 12.
 Zartust Bahrâm Pazdû, writer, Int. 32, 43, 46.
 Zartust-nâmah, Persian, Int. 31, 45, 46; Dk. VII, 4, 70 n; 5, 12 n; contents, Int. 32-44.
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 Zôis, man, Dk. VII, 2, 3, 4.
 Zôndak, r., Zs. 22, 7 n.
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 Zrayang, hau, priest, Dk. VII, 7, 8, 10.
 Zûsak, man, Dk. VII, 2, 70; Zs. 13, 6.
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ERRATUM.

P. 20, l. 4. The name of the district of Alâk should probably be read Arâk, as the province is called Râgh in Zs. XVI, 13.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Phoen.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.		III Class.								
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	...	...	क	𐬕	𐤊	𐬑	𐤊	𐤊	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	...	...	ख	𐬖	𐤋	𐬒	...	𐤋	kh	
3 Media	g	...	...	ग	𐬗	𐤍	𐬓	...	𐤍	...	
4 " aspirata	gh	...	...	घ	𐬘	𐤎	𐬔	...	𐤎	...	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	...	...	...	...	𐤏	𐬕	...	𐤏	...	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	...	...	...	{ 𐬙 (ng) 𐬛 (N) 𐬜 (ngko)	...	...	...	...	...	
7 Spiritus asper	h	...	...	ह	𐬚	𐤐	𐬖	...	𐤐	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
11 " asper fricatus	'h	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	...	...	क	𐬕	𐤊	𐬑	...	𐤊	k	
14 " aspirata	kh	...	...	ख	𐬖	𐤋	𐬒	...	𐤋	kh	
15 Media	g	...	...	ग	𐬗	𐤍	𐬓	...	𐤍	...	
16 " aspirata	gh	...	...	घ	𐬘	𐤎	𐬔	...	𐤎	...	
17 " Nasalis	h	...	...	ह	𐬚	𐤐	𐬖	...	𐤐	...	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬨 ^{init.} 𐬩 𐬪	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis	...	(y)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus	...	s	...	श	𐬰 𐬱	𐬰	ش	ش	ש	z
22 " lenis assibilatus	...	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬢	𐬢	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬣	𐬣	تھ	تھ	ת	th
25 " assibilata	...	...	TH	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Media	d	...	...	द	𐬤	𐬤	د	د	ד	...
27 " aspirata	dh	...	...	ध	𐬥	𐬥	دھ	دھ	ד	...
28 " assibilata	...	...	DH	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	न	𐬦	𐬦	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	ल	𐬧	𐬧	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1	...	l	...	ळ	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2	...	...	L	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	स	𐬩	𐬩	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2	...	...	s (ʃ)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
36 " asperimus 1	...	...	z (ʒ)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2	...	...	z (ʒ)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)

- 38 Tenuis
39 " aspirata
40 Media
41 " aspirata
42 Nasalis
43 Semivocalis
44 " fricata
45 " diacritica
46 Spiritus asper
47 " lenis

Labiales.

- 48 Tenuis
49 " aspirata
50 Media
51 " aspirata
52 Tenuissima
53 Nasalis
54 Semivocalis
55 " aspirata
56 Spiritus asper
57 " lenis
58 Anuvāra
59 Visarga

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VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.								
	II Class.										
1 Neutralis	0				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ö				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā		(a)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī		(i)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	h				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	h̄				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	rī				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	o				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	ô (ai)				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " " " " " "	ei (ēi)				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " " " " " "	oi (ōu)				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ô (au)				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " " " " " "	eu (ēu)				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " " " " " "	ou (ōu)				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ā				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ū				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ō				...	...	...	...	...	...	...



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